Synopsis

The Ndwandwe ruler, Yanga (son of Mkhontho, born of Sikhove, born of Ndwandwa), begot two sons; his rightful heir, Zwide born of LaMkhwanazi and Soshangane born of LaZikode of the Mangweni people. Soshangane was born in the left hand-house, and did therefore not stand to inherit the kingship. As Soshangane grew up he had the loyalty of the Ndwandwe regiments and engaged in neighboring raids without the permission of his father, Yanga. In an effort to avoid succession disputes, Yanga appointed his brother Mnguni as co-heir with his sons Soshangane and Zwide, and built an homestead for Soshangane at Mandlakazi whilst Zwide had an homestead at Mthonjaneni.

Soon after the death of their father, Zwide and Soshangane, in a co-operative effort, victoriously attacked the Majozi people and killed their leader [re: I think it is important that this man is called a king by Mkhatshwa]. Soshangane, on behalf of Zwide, also attacked the Mthethwa, and the Manthansi people. These raids were used by Soshangane to expand his power, and some of the raids took place without Zwide's approval. At this time, the Zulu military state was expanding, and a clash with the Ndwandwe kingdom was immanent. The Ndwandwe had organized a successful end to Dingiswayo, and a failed assassination attempt on Shaka's life, and after Shaka had ascertained the mutinous situation in the Ndwandwe kingdom, he (Shaka) attacked.

In the interview the chronology of raids, battles, and counter raids are not clear. What is clear however, is that the Ndwandwe were dealt a decisive blow and the power of Zwide was finally broken. Soshangane took the bulk of the Ndwandwe regiments and together with the heir of Zwide, Somaphunga, as well as the daughter of Zwide, Tsandzile, fled southward. It was here — in the land of the Zulu — that Soshangane's son, Mawewe was born.

After the sojourn in the south, Soshangane and his followers went to Thonga land and, after a temporary settlement at *ka*Nqabe, he built a more permanent settlement at Magudu II. The Thonga ruler, Ngwanaza, did not oppose the domination of Soshangane in the area and paid tribute to him. Shaka had sent some regiments to follow and finally route Soshangane, but they did not succeed and, on their return, a Ndwandwe inspired rebellion brought about Shaka's end. Those sections of the Ndwandwe people that did not move away from the their previous territory, now gave their allegiance to the Ngwane *umntfiwanenkosi*, Bhukwana.

Whilst at Magudu II, the Ngwane approached Soshangane for a marriage alliance. Soshangane was grateful to the Swazi for having 'armed' him (probably with the *chito* that caused the rebellion against Shaka), and Zwide's daughter — Tsandzile — was given as the wife of Somhlolo. The marriage with Tsandzile gave to the Swazi access to the Ndwandwe specialist knowledge around the first fruit ceremony, and Tsandzile brought some ritual specialists along with her — Dludlume, Siganda and Mkhatshwa.

After designating Mawewe as his heir, Soshangane returned to *ka*Nqaba/Jozini where he died and was buried by the Myeni people. In an ensuing succession dispute between the rightful heir, Mawewe and the left-hand house heir, Mzila, Mswati supported his uncle, Mawewe. None the less, Mawewe lost and he and his supporters, were then given land by Mswati in the area between Mnhlonhlweni and the sea/Mozambique; although they function as a separate polity, the ultimate ownership of the land rests with the Swazi.

Date of printout: 11 6 2021

-Huw Jones comment on the various sections of praises - how will we handle the variations of praises - we will need to say that it differs from some of the published versions

-Huw Jones makes the point that is misleading to refer to certains sibongo as 'Swazi *sibongo*' because since it makes the inference that all these people were are aree under swazi influence

-How much do we comment in our EN? eg. Huw Jones says we should point out that Thandile is not the sister of Mawewe [p76]. In other words, do we comment on the validity of our informants claim in the footnotes, or do we leave that level of comment/interpretation to the essays that Philip will write? What did they do in the JSA?

Title: There are many ways to argue about the history of the Swazi'.

Interviewed at: Swaziland Broadcasting Servicesⁱ

Date: 1 July 1982

Narrator: Bongani Mkhatshwaⁱⁱ (BM)

Interviewer: Dumisa Dlaminiⁱⁱⁱ (DD)

Transcriber and Translator:

** [p1]

(DD)** *Nine bekunene**, there are many ways in which to argue about the history of the Swazis; to argue about the history of the history of the swazis; to argue about the history of this and that. Today we are going to argue with this child of Mnguni. But, ** we shall start by saying that here, at *ka*^dNgwane*, when you go to Nkambeni*, you hear that there are Ndwandwe people — the people of Zwide* — there; <when> you go to [p2] Zikhotheni**, you hear that there are Ndwandwe people — the people of Zwide — there **; kewise, when> you go to Mozambique. Today, even as we talk, there is a place there, Ngwavuma**, where there are Ndwandwe people. They are said to be the people of Zwide. ** I once arrived there, bekunene, and found one who was a member of parliament in *ka*Zulu*. He was of Zwide. ** When you pass the *ka*Ngwane, on your way to Maputo, you find the people of Zwide

^aNine bekunene: literally, 'you (plural) of the right hand'; a polite salutation drawn from the subsidiary praise names of the Dlamini, and used widely in everyday speech. In this case, it is the radio listeners who are thus addressed. ^btibongo: clan name, family name, surname; praises, praise poetry (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.6).

^cchild of Mnguni: meaning, Bongani Mkhatshwa.

Original has: *umntfane*Mnguni which literally means son of Mnguni, but it also more broadly means descendent of Mnguni. Mnguni is a subsidiary praise name associated with the Ndwandwe, and some informants, like Bongani Mkhatshwa, claim Mnguni as a remote ancestor, or progenitor.

^dka: locative prefix indicating 'at the place'.

there; you pass on, until you arrive down there, in Zimbabwe. Am I making a mistake, Mnguni?^a

(BM)It is the truth!

(DD)** When you go to this place, this side where the Boers* [p3] today say it is <u>kaNgwane</u>* * * * Mabuza's*** <a href="mailto:\square\text{and} - which he has held back for himself - you again find the Mkhatshwa***." They are also of Zwide.

I request you, child of Mnguni, to explain to me at length about this *sive*^b of Zwide's, before we pass on to the other stories about which we are going to argue.

Let me explain to you, *nine bekunene*, this does not mean that this, <our talking here today> is making a law, that this is what we know, or <that> it is the truth, but we are putting <forward> what we have heard. I hope, Mnguni, that is what I <should> say **?

(BM)It is the truth!

(DD)As well as what we think, ** everyone is free to say what he or she thinks about this history which we are going to hear today, **. As for [p4] today, we start with the people of Zwide.

** Tell me about the *sive* of Zwide, child of Mnguni.

(BM) Wo! Myself, I am Bongani Mkhatshwa. ** I am of Gasaxiv.

(DD)It is he, <the one who is praised as>,

'black Gasa of Manukuza^d'.xv

(BM)I am <a descendent> of Mawewe^{xi}, of Soshangane^{xiii} ** myself.

(DD)He is the one who sat on a path, trusting a fist.

(BM)Yes, I am his <descendant>. I am of Mawewe, of Soshangane.

The hero left,

using the rear exit of the homestead^a,

without having told his father, Langa.

Soshangane has *shakazisa*^b'd homesteads of men'c.

The praiser^d of us of Gasa, when he praises^es, he says:

'Get out moon, so that we [p5] can bask in you

For the long ones can bask their necks,

^cOriginal has:Liqhawe liphuma

ngehla kwemuzi

noyise uLanga lingakambikeli.

USoshangane ushakazis'imizi yamadoda.

^aHere the name Mnguni is being used as a polite term of address (see also footnote C, p.621).

bsive ((S) sive tive:(Z) isizwe izizwe); variously translated as 'tribe', 'nation', 'clan' and 'state'.

^cWo: Interjection of disappointment or agreement.

^dOriginal has: Gasa omnyama kwaManukuza.

^eOriginal has: Ngyena lowahlala endleleni wetsemba sibhakela.

The significance of this remark is not clear. It is probably a line from a praise poem.

^aOriginal has: *umuti* ((S) *ti*, *umuti imiti*; (Z) *zi*, *umuzi imizi*) abode, homestead, village; members of a family (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.12, Rycroft gives one further translation of the word as a dark birth mark).

bshakazisa'd: possibly a derivative of shakaza, to flower (as do maize plants). Shakazisa may mean to force something to flower.

^dOriginal has: *imbongi*.

^eOriginal has: bonga (verb kubonga): thank; praise; recite praises (Rycroft, Dict., p.6).

While the short ones can bask their backs'f.

That is when he <the praiser> praises⁸, escorting us to the mountain.

* *

We are discarded^h on the mountain.

* *

Let me explain something to you: ** the history of the Ndwandwe does not begin with Zwide, born of Yanga. That is the middle. It begins with Ndwandwa^{xxiii}; then it is Sikhova^{xix}; then it is Mkhonto^{xx}, then it is Yanga^{xxii}. <Yanga who is praised as follows>,

Yanga *umyambiya*ⁱ, the one that comes out

<so that> we can bask in you,

For the long ones can bask their necks,

While the short ones bask their backs

Yanga *uyamemyabiya*, come out [p6]

<so that> we can bask in you'^k.

* *

He is begotten by Yanga, Zwide was of Yanga.

* *

Enhhe^b. Yanga's other child was Soshangane. ** I sucked this Ndwandwe <history>. I was staying with them, <the ones who gave it to me>, in Johannesburg in 1957.

/[p28]I was told <the history> by Somaphunga xxii s children, born of Mgojana xxii , born of Somaphunga. I used to stay with them in Johannesburg, at Jibhi xxii , [p29] there in Boksburg xxii . Even today, if you would to go there with me, we would find them there. It is they who are called 'emaRisha'.

(DD)I remember these *emaRisha*; even in Durban they are there.

fOriginal has: Phuma nyan

Phuma nyanga sikothe abade bakothe ngetam,

abafisha bakothe ngomhlubulo.

^gOriginal has: bonga.

^hOriginal has: *lahlwa* (passive form of *lahla*), literally, to be thrown away. Also figuratively, discard, abandon,

discontinue; to be lost, to escape notice, or to be placed where one can not be found; to be buried.

uyambiya: we are unable to offer a translation for this phrase.

juyamenyabiya: we are unable to offer a translation for this phrase.

^kOriginal has: *u*

uYanga umyambiya, umaphuma sikothe,

kade bakotha ngentam'abafisha

bakothe ngomhlubulo.

Enhhe uYang' umyamemyabiya ngaphuma

sikotheke uzala Zwide koYanga. [JS 8/2/92 - umyambiyo unknown word. re - could this

be a Ndwandwe remnant? African languages?? translation not completed]

^aOriginal has *zala* (variant *tala*): beget, give birth, increase (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.94). In *siSwati* this word is generally used for both the male and female contribution to procreation; both are said to *tala* or *zala* a child.

^bEnhhe: interjective of agreement.

cemaRisha: possibly ricksha pullers.

(BM) Ye^{d} . The emaRisha of Johannesburg were the Ndwandwe, the Buthelezi and the Zulu. Three! No other sibongo.

* *

They are the ones who told me. I sucked it from them.\

** [p7]

Zwide, of Yanga was born of LaMkhwanazi**. He was taken and placed at his mother's home. He was [p8] installed as the heir, ** <the one> who was to take over the kingship.

**

His mother's place was *ka*Mkhwanazi^{xxxii}, it is not *ka*Zulu ** it is *kwa* Nongoma xxii. If you see those cars <with the registration> NND xxii, it says 'Nongoma, Ndwandwe District'. Go and ask for their books, they are there. If you disagree with me, go to Mgungundhlovu xxii. You will find what I am saying. I am not telling lies. ** Let us speak the truth and stop <telling> lies.

** It is not kaZulu.

** [p9]

Even if a person can be annoyed; even if a person can like <what I say>, even if I can die, or whatever may happen, but myself, I am an Ndwandwe person, and I will never change. Even if a person can hate me, saying I have spoken badly about them, I do not care about them.

** [p10] [p11]

(DD)The kingship of the Ndwandwe people is standing! [p12] That of the Zulu people is alone? (BM)It is not kingship, it was not kingship, that of the Zulu people. To tell you accurately, even if they were present. ** We are talking, we are putting right the affair, the <code>izwe*</code> of Africa. ** They never had kingship. They were just people, chiefs - as you have chiefs here, at <code>kaNgwane</code>. It was like that!

(DD)The king was the Nguni?

(BM)Yes, indeed! Those of the *mdabu*^d. We are the kings of the gourd^e. We pour out the gourd^e **, we, of the people of Mkhatshwa. I belong there myself, I was not <merely> put <into office>.

(DD)** /[p16] Explain to me very well, here about this kingship. This kingship which we say, they say in Zulu, is of Zwide.

^dYe: interjection of agreement.

ekwa: locative prefix indicating 'at the place'.

^aizwe (noun (S) sive tive (Z) isizwe izizwe): translated variously as 'tribe', 'clan', 'nation', 'people'; 'state', 'district'.

^bOriginal has: *shifi*.

^cOriginal has: shifi.

dmdabu: one who dabuka's.

dabuka (verb (S) variant dzabuka): literally, to get torn or rent. Used to connote a form of origin with the notion of breaking away from something else; break out into being.

^eOriginal has: *uselwa*: edible gourd associated with the annual first-fruits ceremony; also used to connote royalty. ^fOriginal has: *chita*, scatter, disperse, waste, throw away, spill, spread; destroy, abolish, expel, defeat, ravage (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.*, p.113).

^gOriginal has: chitha uselwa is a central feature of the annual first-fruits ceremony; the essence of kingship.

Was it existing from time immemorial?

(BM)It was existing since ... it is of *Nkulunkulu*^h, that of ours. This one for us, Dlamini^h, is not of the sort found through begging from some-one. It is not a little kingship that we took by spears or what. It is natural and of *Nkulunkulu*. The evidence of that, Dlamini, is the pouring of the gourd^h. You see then that it is a kingship of *Nkulunkulu*^k.\

/[p9] When they took <Zwide of Yanga> they placed him at his mother's place **.

(DD) kaMkhwanazi?

(BM) kaMkhwanazi. We are with them¹ today. If you go to <my> place you will find the Mkhwanazi people, and you will see that things correspond. Things correspond, Dlamini, we do not just insert things, they correspond. **

[p10] Zwide grew up. When he was a big boy, though not yet a man, Soshangane was born.

Soshangane's mother> was LaZikode xxxi, ** the child of an appointed official*.

(DD)This Zikodze, <was she one of> those who are said to be the Mangweni people? (BM)Yes, the people of Mangweni.

Now when she^b was pregnant, ** king Yanga
— 'black Yanga
get out you,
so we can bask in you'—

[p11] whilst walking with his officials of the Sithole with anxiety.

"Hawu", <he said>.

"What is happening? I am frightened <of> this woman?" He called his officials and said, "Women, officials, I suspect that the kingship will be taken by one of the left-hand house."

(DD) What was his basis for saying 'one of the left-hand house'?

(BM)** It means 'the heir of the left-hand house'. They turn their backs to each other, when talking **. They face opposite directions when talking **. Soshangane is the son of the left-hand house, the heir of the left-hand house "

Now <Langa> said, "I suspect that the kingship will be taken by the left-hand house!" \

^h*Nkulunkulu*: often translated as God, the term refers to the earliest originator. For a discussion of the term see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp.73-75.

ⁱBongani Mkhatshwa is addressing Dumisa Dlamini by his *sibongo*.

^jOriginal has: kuchitha uselwa.

^kOriginal has: Nkulunkulu.

¹them: meaning, the Mkhwanazi people

^aOriginal has: *induna*, officer of state or army, appointed by the chief over others; captain, overseer; head-man, councillor (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.*, p.175).

bshe: meaning, Soshangane's mother

^cOriginal has: *izinduna*, plural of *induna*.

^d*Hawu*: interjection of amazement.

^eIt is not clear whether Yanga is reported as addressing both women and officials, or whether he is prefacing his reported sentence to the officials with an exclamation 'women!'. [listen to tape for play of voices]

^fOriginal has: *ikhohlwa* ((S) *likhohlwa emakhohlwa*; variant *ikhohlo*, and even *ikholo*), left-hand side; left-hand house; second wife; son of the left-hand house. According to Krige the *ikhohlwa* can never produce an heir (*Social Systems*, p.41). The *ikhohlwa* section of an establishment often moved out of the original establishment and lived somewhat independently elsewhere (See Bryant, *Zulu People*, p.418).

* *

** /[p13] Then Soshangane was born. <He grew up>. As a boy, when he went among the cattle, the cattle gave way for him.

The king ** called the officials and said,

"What did I say to you?"

* *

"Truly this thing! Verily, verily, I sympathize with my child, Zwide of Yanga."

The cattle were doing something ominous. They were indicating the heirship. They opened up a space for him^s [$\underline{p14}$] **.

And he walked amongst them. **

He^a said "No, no!"

He then went to fetch his younger brother. [p15] This younger brother was called 'Mnguni'

** He^b then appointed all three as heirs^c and said, "You see, you, Mnguni, you will mediate between Soshangane and Zwide of Yanga. But I suspect that the kingship will be taken by the one of the left-hand house".

They are at Magudu^{xxx}, they <the people of Mnguni>, yet today. Their leader is at Magudu. Till today, as we are talking! They are those of Zikhotheni^{xxxi}. ** They are of Mnguni, Yanga's brother.

[p16] When this youngster^d grew up, ** these heirs were then installed. Their father then died. When they praise Soshangane [p17] saying:

'Soshangane by *kushakazisa*'d men's homesteads,

The hero that left using the rear entrance of the homestead without having told his father Langa¹¹.

His father then built a homestead for him and named it kwaMandlakazi xxxii.

(DD)Who built his <nomestead>?

(BM)The one who built it was his father, Langa, while still alive and named it kwaMandlakazi. I belong to kwaMandlakazi myself; we belong to kwaMandlakazi.

ghim: meaning, Soshangane.

iqhawe eliphuma

ngenhla kwemuzi

noyise uLanga lingakambikeli.

^aHe: meaning, Yanga.

^bHe: meaning, Yanga.

^cOriginal has: *amakhosana* literally, heirs (plural diminutive of *inkhosi*, ie. little kings); small or petty chief, chief's eldest son, heir to the chieftainship; eldest son of the house; term of respect applied to son of a superior (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.* p404).

^dOriginal has: *imambane*, a colloquial term for person;

imambana can also mean a mischievous youngster or a smart looking fellow (Doke & Vilakazi, Dict., p480).

^ekushakazisa: possibly a derivative of shakaza, to flower (as do maize plants). Shakazisa may mean to force something to flower.

^fOriginal has: USoshangane ngekushakazis'imizi yamadoda

** [p18] Zwide's place* is called Mthonjaneni XXXVIII. You hear it when they say Dingane's praises:

The cow which cried at Mthonjaneni

All the nations have heard its mowing

It has been heard by Dunguza^{xxxix} of oYengweni^{xl}

And heard by Maggengezi^{xli} of *ka*Khaya^{xlii1}a.

They say so because they themselves belong to Mthonjaneni. Myself I am [p19] of Mandlakazi.

Mandlakazi means 'great power'. <It was> where the calabash stayed. The calabash used to stay at Soshangane's place. **

They are of Mkhatshwa. They are the ones who were in charge of the calabash, till today, as you can see them, they are in charge of this calabash for us at home. We are in charge of it for Zwide of Yanga. The calabash did not stay with an ordinary person. It stayed with us, the owners of the house. When the king was to bathe and he was to pour the gourd, Soshangane and Mkhatshwa got out to wash the king, Zwide of Yanga.

** [p20]

[p21] It is said:

The hero who left using the rear entrance of the homestead,

without telling his father'd.

They say this because he used to attack during the lifetime of his father, without telling his father.

** These Siganda and others say so; it is they who convey rumours, and say to Zwide, "So-and-so said this". ** When the Majozi people were killed, they said "Those of the Majozi [p22] have insulted your brother. Have you heard?"

Soshangane said "*Hawu*, they have insulted him?"

"Yes, they have insulted him"

He^f said "Awu^f, my god, hey men^h. What is happening? What befalls me?"

Heⁱ said, "Oh, something has befallen us. Your brother has been insulted"

^gOriginal has: wako kabo.

^aOriginal has: Inkomekhale eMthonjaneni,

izizwe zonke ziyizwilukulila, izwiwe uDunguza waso Yengweni, yazwiwa nguMagqengezi wakaKhaya.

^bOriginal has: *ligule* (variant *gula*; (S) *igula tigula* or *ligula emagula*; (Z) *igula izigula* or *iligula amagula*), Calabash container for holding sour milk, but in this instance seems to be referring to sacred gourd of the first fruit ceremony (see also Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p.219).

^cOriginal has: chitha uselwa.

^dOriginal has: *iqhawe eliphuma*

ngenhla kwemuzi

neyise lingakambikeli nje.

^eOriginal has: *bo*Siganda, *bo*- is a pronoun concord of quantity, giving a sense of more than one of the described thing.

^fHe: it is not clear in the original to whom this pronoun refers.

^gAwu: a non-influencing interjective.

^hOriginal has: *wemadoda*, an expression of amazement; can be translated as the equivalent of the colloquial 'hey men'.

ⁱHe: it is not clear in the original to whom this pronoun refers.

They found him at home and asked Zwide **, "Zwide, they have insulted him, the people of Mathansi*!"

He^a said, "What are they saying brother?"

He^b said, "They say that you cannot rule it!"

"They really say so?"

Zwide got very angry. He trusted the young one.

* *

In fact, the truth is that he^d was fought for by the young one **. Even the regiment used to respond well to the young one. [p23] Then they fought. They attacked the king of kaMajozi^{ski}, and killed him. When they were to thebula^c after Yanga died, Zwide was installed. They then went for the Mthethwa. I do not know if it is these <people> or not, but I think that it is these — these Velaphi and others^{fakii}.

* *

[p24] Then they should *lumba* d him. Do you know this bird that sings like this 'tsho! tsho! tshor..., tsho, tsho tsherr...!

They call it *jekwa*^h.

an n *j*

[p25] When the bird cried, Dingiswayo said "My relative Zwide is calling me, he is calling me". He got out and went there. When he arrived there, they killed him.

He was killed by Zwide ** . Then Shaka asked,

"Hawu, it is who? It is Zwide of Yanga <who did this>. Go and tell him that I have heard". Shaka said this after Dingiswayo's death.

** [p26]

(DD)[p27] Do you know the story of how Shaka was sheltered by Dingiswayo?

Shaka, having been brought up by Dingiswayo, he takes him as his father.

(BM)** I do not know anything about that, because I do not belong there.

* *

^aHe: it is not clear in the original to whom this pronoun refers.

^bHe: it is not clear in the original to whom this pronoun refers.

^cthe young one: probably Soshangane.

dhe: probably Zwide.

^ethebula ((S) kutsebula; (Z) ukuthebula): bewitch; fascinate; eaves-drop; preserve, make a replica; duplicate, reproduce; take a photograph or sound recording (Rycroft, *Dict.*, 1982 p.102) to use magic, to hypnotize. ^fOriginal has: boVelaphi, bo- is a pronoun concord of quantity, giving a sense of more then one of the described thing.

glumba (verb kulumba): to do wonders, to perform conjuring tricks, make inventions; to practice witchcraft. hjekwa: widow bird, [get latin name be carefull - their are two black birds with long tail feathers]. The long tail feathers of the male bird is used in the royal head dress that is worn during the first fruit ceremony.

Original has: *khuliswa*, as cause to grow, magnify; exaggerate; rear, bring up, nurture (Doke and Vilakazi, *Dict.*, p.411).

I do not want to enter into something I do not know. I want to enter into that which I know, about us.

* *

Now then, having been like that, he said,

"Wo. I have heard"

In fact, when they [p28] account properly, they say Zwide of Langa called his brother. This history says they used to face in opposite directions ** when seated. Soshangane and Zwide would sit with their backs to each other.

<Zwide> said, "Web, Soshangane!"

<Soshangane> said, "You of greatness"

He said " Have you heard?"

(DD)One is facing this direction, the other, that direction.

(BM)Yes, one stands inside a cattle byre, the other stands outside [ask african language person]. They have come to sit with their backs on each other, the history says so. We do not know about other <people> who may not say this. But, I myself, am telling you.

**

[p29] ** He said "Did you hear that child of Senzangakhona shiii? Does he still want to eat sorghumd?"

He^e said "I hear him, you of greatness^f."

[p30] They then faced each other. Shaka, too, <felt strong to face Zwide> and they faced each other.** When they wanted to fight, then he sent his runners.

There was certain *umthebulo*^h, including the discovery of which songs we sang when going to war; as well as *kuthebula* which songs [p31] we sang when returning from war. ** He had spies and informers. There was no one that Shaka feared as much as he feared us. Even today, he is still afraid of us. ** They do not finish eating^h.

(DD)Because of those of Mandlakazi?

(BM)Because of us, the Ndwandwe people. Even today, they eat, and <the food> settles on their livers. I can say <this> even in their presence. *Hhawu*! I have been saying this in their presence in Johannesburg, what can I fear?

^aOriginal has: landa, narrate, give an account, relate; follow up, trace, pursue, trace descent.

bwe: a hailing interjective.

^cOriginal has: wena wakomkhulu (variant wena wakamkhulu, nine bakamkhulu), literally you of greatness, a polite form of address.

^dOriginal has: kudla amabele, literally to eat sorghum. Figuratively expression meaning to live, to be a threat.

^eHe: It is not clear from the original to whom this pronoun refers to, probably Soshangane.

^fOriginal has: wena komkhulu.

ghe: Shaka.

hthebula ((Z) umthebulo imithebulo; (S) umtsebulo imitsebulo): noun derived from verb ukuthebula.

Original has: abawadli aphelele literally, abawadli - have not eaten, aphelele - come to an end for; be entire, complete, whole, intact, ie. feel to insecure to finish a meal. This phrase carries the figurative connotation of insecurity (see also footnote d, p.630).

[p32] Zwide of Langa is asking, "Have you heard this youth" of Senzangakhona?"

He said, "I have heard him, you of greatness".

* *

[p33] Zwide begot Somabhuku^{sis}. He begot Sikhunyana¹. <These> are his two sons who are famous.

There are two of Sikhunyana's children in Utrecht[®], Natal, today. There are the children of Mgojana of Somaphunga.

They returned back home to kwaZulu.

* *

I know them. I used to stay with them.

** [p34]

[p35] Shaka tsebula d us ** but he could not make it.

(DD)Shaka tsebula'd you, he tsebula'd you when you got out <with> your regimental song.

(BM) Enhhe.

(DD)When you came back from war, you come with regimental song^d.

(BM) Enhhe.

(DD)He tsebula'd you, he tsebula'd your songs.

"Just their hair. It will be alright!"

Awu, indeed, he never had a hope! **

(DD) "Only if I could have got a hair"

(BM)Yes, but still he does not have a hope. He says, "Awu, still I cannot make it; what is it we can do?" On the day they were to engage in a fight, the <army> was under ** Soshangane's command, not that of some-one acting for him.

(DD)** [p37] What does Shaka do? He nqutsae's you, sending runners?

(BM)Yes, he sent runners.

* * [<u>p38</u>]

** [p39] This history says that Zwide dressed up fully and ** entered the cattle byre. And the praise singer sang out, praising Zwide of Yanga. <Zwide> then despatched the army **.

**

^aOriginal has: *libungwana* (noun *libungu*) young man, youth. *Libungwana* is a comparative term, denoting a younger person than a *libhungu*, but, in some contexts, also conveys the sense of belittling the person.

btsebula (verb (S) kutsebula; (Z) ukuthebula): see footnote ∈, p.629.

^cOriginal has: umgubho (noun umgubho imigubho): type of slow ceremonial dance-song (Rycroft, Dict., p.33).

^dOriginal has: umgubho.

^enqutsa ((S) kuncutsa): pluck; steal personal items for witchcraft; ascertain an opponent's plans (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.68).

```
** [p40] When the praise singer sang out, the army was being prepared. It was being sprayed with
        the ritual medicines. ** The army was being prepared by the Nkabandla — these
        Lwandle people are old in this thing that they do. ** These are the Mkhatshwa people.
[p41] They are the real owners of the calabash. They were administering it for us. **
The <army> is sprayed with medicine<sup>a</sup>. **
** [p42] The history says that after the army was sprayed, Zwide of Langa felt that it was now okay.
He went to sit on the grass ring<sup>b</sup>. He is now mourning for it<sup>c</sup>.
[p43] He sits on a grass ring. He went to sleep on his black cow hide. He left with his younger
        brother. He left with Soshangane.
'Soshangane with the kuqhakazis"d homesteads of men,
The hero who left using the rear exit of the homestead,
                without having reported to his father Langa.<sup>et</sup>
        He left with him. **
The army was despatched from kaNduna<sup>1</sup>.
[p44] They then burnt the food.
(DD)They never met?
(BM)No! They sprinkled <medicine>, they sprinkled behind and burnt food™. They took cattle
        and killed them. ** [p45] They did this for days, burning our food.
(DD)So they never delivered blows on each other, face to face?
(BM)Myself, I would salute them if we had really met, and they had defeated us, if we had come to
        grips with each other, man to man.
But ** it is the spear of cowards **.
[p46] If only they had not burnt the food ** we would accept it. ** That is why we long to fight it
        out again.
<sup>a</sup>Original has: izintelezi ((Z) intelezi izintelezi; (S) intseleti tintseleti), herb used in ritual strengthening.
<sup>b</sup>Original has: inkatha ((Z) inkatha izinkatha (S) inkhatsa tinkhatsa), head ring or pad to support a load (Rycroft,
Dict., 1982, p.47); coiled grass ring, often of ritual significance.
cit: meaning, the army.
dkughakazis: possibly a derivative of shakaza, to flower (as do maize plants). Shakazisa may mean to force
something to flower.
<sup>e</sup>Original has: USoshangane ngekuqha kazis'imizi yamadoda
                Ighawe'liphume
                ngenhla kwemuzi
                novise uLanga lingakambikeli.
```

fthey: meaning, the armies.

waphuma naye.

(DD)You say so?

(BM)Yes, <I wish to see> them killing each other, <I wish to see> them killing each other.

* *

[p47] ** They burnt the food and it was found that we no longer had any food. **

It is something which does not work, because when we met them, we had no food, but the history says that we fought with them for these days.

(DD)[p48] Still locked in a fight?

(BM)Yes, while we had no food.

(DD)Day and night?

(BM)Exactly, exactly!

* *

The history says corpses lay on both sides. They were falling upon blood, both sides. **

[p49] They say that the history says that Shaka wished to meet Soshangane, but that his desire was half-hearted. He said "Because I know that I will remain" there if I fight with 'the black bull bull "." We are of 'the black bull' ourselves.

(DD)When striking ** Shaka did not just send, he used to get there in person.

(BM)But he never reached Soshangane, although Shaka was present in the regiment. He was afraid of him. He never went.

** [p50]

He was afraid of them; he having arrived to where Soshangane was, wished only in his heart, but never wanted to see him. Because he knew that if he were to see him, he would have remained there. He knew that.

(DD)The physique of Soshangane.

(BM) *Hha*! This man had moved from the earth^a, yet he did not have a well-built body. But they say that he used to catch a black bull alone. That why they say,

'black bull!b

We are of 'the black bull' ourselves, at \emph{kwa} Mandlakazi. **

[p51] He would lift up <a black bull> alone. ** Those of 'the black dog' are for Zwide of Yanga's place. They are of a 'black dog'.

Now, all that having happened [p52] — this war — it became obvious that <the Zulu army> was defeating us. Why? Because we had no food by then. We were just humans. No food!

^aremain there: ie. die or be killed.

b'black bull': meaning, Soshangane.

^che: meaning, Shaka.

^dhim: meaning, Soshangane.

^eOriginal has: kukhula, literally means growth. It could also mean physique - height, fatness, thinness, etc.

^athis probably means that Soshangane was very tall.

b'black bull': this phrase was said in a singing voice.

(DD)Shaka has come back by now?

(BM)Yes, he is present, he has arrived

* *

He had been there from the start. We were stampeding with him. He had been there from the start, he was amongst the regiment.

We once stabbed him. He died having a scar from us. He never had a stab wound from other people, but he died having had ours him. You should ask them.

(DD)Shaka had a scar of Zwide?

(BM)Yes, he has. You ask them sometime whether or not Shaka had a scar made by us, he has ours. He died having it. **

[p53] Now then, it began. After it pushed us, the army took us. Then the regiment left. They say it was only a few. It was not only a few \(\)people \(\). So shange took the whole regiment which was there. He also took Zwide of Langa's child, ** said to be Somaphunga, and fled southward with him. The stick of Zwide of Langa was also taken and it was given to So shangane.

This Zwide of Yanga said, "They say the Zulu people have returned". In fact they were singing the regimental songs which they sang to us.

(DD)[p54] Those \songs\> which they heard from you.

(BM)Yes, now, they say they would attack him unexpectedly — they were determined to kill him. Zwide became suspicious **, "No! No! These voices are not mine" He got out.

(DD)** As they were locked in the fight, Zwide had remained at home?

(BM)Zwide was at home.

(DD)He had been secluded^a?

(BM)He had been secluded. <The army> had got out with his younger brother.

(DD)They have got locked in the fight, when Soshangane felt that it was quite hard to win, he decided not to return home.

(BM)He decided not to return home.

(DD)He then tore his regiment apart?

(BM)[p55] Enhhe, but he took the children of Zwide of Langa.

* *

He then took them, he took this Somaphunga and went with him. Having taken him, the king of the Mageza him people also left.

It never bothered them, these Zwide and others^b, that the kingship had been taken by his brother.

** [p56] Even today, it does not bother them. ** They know that the kingship was then

^cOriginal has: *imphi*.

^dOriginal has: *libutho*.

eit: the war, original has: imphi.

ftook us: beat us

gthey: probably the Zulu army.

^hOriginal has: *hubo*.

^aOriginal has: *fukama* (verb *kufukama*), brood, sit on eggs; be confined or secluded; be foreboding, sultry (as weather) (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.26).

taken by Soshangane, because it [check siswati]. He was the 'almost-installed'. It does not bother them in their heart, even when they are sleeping, where ever they are sleeping. Zwide sleeps' in peace. There is nothing which troubled him. The only thing which he did was to take an oath. He said "Verily, verily, I say that the people of Ndwandwe will never get finished. They will be like these stones!" **

(DD)** [p57] Soshangane moved away.

(BM) Enhhe.

(DD)He ran away.

(BM) Enhhe.

(DD)I then heard you say a regiment of Shaka then came.

(BM) Enhhe.

(DD)<The regiment> came, singing victory songs, with the intention to besiege those... ***.

Indeed Zwide of Yanga got out then; they never caught Zwide to kill him ** he ran away. ** [p58] Soshangane then took Zwide's children and went with them. **

** Soshangane left and went up north, ** to your place, in Thongaland is. Because you are a Thonga, Dlamini.

* *

** [p59] We were never Thongas ourselves. The Thonga is a kingship which was erected by Nkulunkulu* <and it is> on its own. We do not meet with them anywhere. Something like, that they are part of people who split from us, we do not have that. We do not have that in our history.

(DD)[p60] You do not meet with the Thonga?

(BM)No, even those of Mageba...^b.

(DD)But, when you ran away, you ran away to Thongaland?

(BM)We ran away to Thongaland.

(DD)Who was governing <there in> Thongaland?

(BM)When we arrived there in Thongaland, we found it to be under these <people> of
 Ngwanaza^{ix}, not those of Ngwane, because [p61] those of Ngwane were on the upper area.
 Those of Ngwane are you, this Somhlolo, in fact. We arrived and found those of
 Ngwanaza. We arrived at the place down there called large bay chi ** There is a dam there.

**

^bOriginal has: *bo*Zwide, *bo*- is a pronoun concord of quantity, giving a sense of more than one of the described thing. In this case the meaning is the people of Zwide.

^cOriginal has: walala, which has the additional sense of rests, as in death.

^dInformant did not finish the sentence.

^aOriginal has: *Nkulunkulu*.

^bInformant did not finish his sentence.

^cOriginal has: kusesiBayeni esikhulu.

We then arrived there at your place. When we arrived we learnt a lot of tricks from you there; to begin learning things that we did not know. **

- When we arrived there, Shaka kept quiet. He called his regiment and said "Y!. Let [p62] there be happiness because we have defeated the greatest enemy. He took us as a great enemy which had never appeared to him before in his life.
- ** You hear a person saying, he later went to fetch us; he fetched us back. Were we his relatives? We do not meet with the speople of Mageba, us. ** [p63] Because even the sibongo Zulu, he just invented sit.
- It was invented by him. They do not have a *sibongo* before <Shaka> hii ; we do not find their *sibongo*. Even their history before <him> we do not get <it>.
- Yes, they are just making it up, because once a person is in power, he makes up things. I, too, can make up things for myself.
- <Shaka> then asked "What are you saying? Are you saying you are enjoying life? How can you enjoy life? ** Whenever I am asleep, I see Soshangane's children coming back to take the Zulu <country>. Follow Soshangane. ** [p64] You must come with him here. We <must> really kill Soshangane. He will come and take the Zulu country*!
- He^a says, "What are you saying? You *busa*^b. Your *busa*'ing is nothing? Your enjoying life is nothing. Follow Soshangane because he will take the country of the Zulu^c". [p65] He sent all the regiments which were present, every one!
- (DD)Even the *bantfabenkosi*, indeed?
- (BM)** The history says, we had arrived. Although Sikhonyane was present, we were afraid of you, the Thonga people.
- (DD)On arrival you skirted the Thonga people.
- (BM)Oh, yes. We skirted the Thonga people. ** We learnt a lot from you <about> animals, ** <and> even <about> the *umdlebe* tree. We learnt it from you <people>. [p66] *Wo*, the

^dYi!: exclamation of joy.

ehe: meaning, Shaka.

^fOriginal has: *qamba*, invent, make up, compose; initiate; fabricate.

gOriginal has: lakwaZulu.

^aHe: meanig, Shaka.

busa ((S) verb ukubusa): to rule, to govern. Also to enjoy life; to exhibit one's superiority or power (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.*, p.93).

^cOriginal has: *lakwa*Zulu.

dumdlebe known in English as Dead-man's tree, Synadenium cupulare. This small poisonous shrub of 2-4m height is foud in bushveld, thicket, sand forest and coastal bush; it is part of the broader Euphorbiaceae family (not to be confused with the smaller Euphorbia genus). The white latex is very poisonous, and raises blister as well as causing headaces and nausea (Pooley, Trees, p.238). Moll notes that there are beliefs that this tree lures people towards it in order to kill it (Palgrave Trees, p.454). A powerful umbulelo is made from this tree; umbulelo is a poisonous or injurious concoction placed in the way of a person who, when s/he steps over it a fatal disease or sudden death results. It is also believed that the smell of the flowers of the umdlebe causes death. {RE}

Tonga people [kwamaThonga] then told us. They said "It is easy, ** take the tree of the umdlebe, like this; it lumba's." Then the Thonga <Well>, I will not tell you that.

(DD)Let us pass.

(BM)It belongs to the great house.

(DD)Let us pass.

(BM)It is not mine. Now, they then gave <it> to us, and we took it. We were given <it> by you, though. It *lumba*'d, saying "*Wo* <the Zulu attack> is nothing", and poured *isichitho* behind. When the regiments departed, [p67] pursuing us, those who remained behind rose against him and his regiment was finished off. We finished it by means of the *umdlebe* tree. That is why ** Dingane is praised thus:

The cow said it was still *nkona*^f

Whereas they were to die of *umdlebe* at *ka*Soshangane's kiv **

* *

[p68] We never asked for asylum from anyone.

(DD)He never attacked there too?

(BM)We never attacked^b. We were just passing. We, on arrival, built a homestead there, down there.

(BM)** Those of Ndwandwe there who seems as if..., these ones of Bhukwane. I do not know who begot Bhukwane, but those remained of ours.

It is said that it is *ka*Nqabe^{disv}, the name of the homestead. On arrival, he^e built this [p69] homestead. It was his temporary abode^f. We then passed on.

Anyway, we really got much trickery, trickery^s from your place!

We descend now, we descend now. When we descend, [p70] ** <we were with> Mawewe; born of Soshangane.

Mawewe was born there in the place of the Zulu^h.

^echitho ((Z) isichitho izichito; (S) sicitfo ticitfo): a cantrip thought to cause people to abandon what they are doing and to become unpatriotic, thus leading to the destruction of a home, office, country or whatever.

fm/nkona: [could this be nkone, and the transcriber heard wrongly? There is no nkona word in siSwati or Zulu]

gOriginal has: inkomo yathisankona,

kanti seziyowuf'umdlebe kaSoshangane.

^aOriginal has: *hlasela*, to go out to war, to invade, attack.

^bOriginal has: *hlasela*.

^cat this point there is a pause in the spoken sentence.

^dka - locative prefix indicating 'at the place'

ehe: Soshangane.

^fOriginal has: *lidlangala* ((S) *lidlangala emadlangala*; (Z) *ilidlangala amadlangala*): a temporary residential structure usually inhabited while a more permanent structure is being constructed. Temporary shelter erected by travellers, garden shanty (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.*, p.154).

^gOriginal has: *bucili*. ^hOriginal has: *kwa*Zulu. *

** They came with him here.

* *

Enhhe. He descended, descended. When we arrive there — do you see the policeman, called Madolo lavi.

* *

Madvoloⁱ, the policeman which is here in your country?

[p71] The senior police?

* *

Yes, senior man. Madolo is of the kingshipⁱ, by the way.

Enhhe. When we arrived there at the Madolo people to us. Those who are many that side, they paid tribute to us. We never <attacked>¹ anyone.

They themselves saw that is was legitimate for us to govern them. **

(DD)[p72] Were they also kings?

(BM)Yes. ** They just kept quiet and said "No, we will be governed by you? **".

We then went on, still attacking. We were by now catching locusts. **

You see, locusts you just sweep into a sack. We were doing that ourselves; sweeping them into a sack, having built a homestead there at Magudu; at the second Magudu. **

[p73]<To get to Magudu>, you travel as though going to Ntshayintshayi's place.

It is Magudu, the second there [p73] yonder, we had moved by then, moved there.

That was when, cousin, you arrived. You nephews. You came to talk about money to Thandiye has, Thandiye who was born of Zwide.

[p74]** Then men sent by this one, Thandiye arrived. "Awu, what do you want now? You now want the calabash, [p75] you boys of our place!"

You are asking for the calabash. You buy it with cattle. We give you this calabash. We are in fact giving it to the nephew^c - this one Mswati, <who> says 'uncle^{dt} to Mawewe. It is not his cousin^c. People mix it up.

ⁱMadvolo: this is dialectical variant of Madolo.

^jOriginal has: *ubukhosi*.

^kOriginal has: *ethula*.

¹Original has: *hlasela*.

^aOriginal has: *sikhonyane* (see also endnotes lxiii, l).

^bThe informant is probably pronouncing the Swazi *sibongo* Ntjalintjali in the Ndwandwe manner which replaces the 'l' with 'y'.

```
Mawewe is his uncle.
```

* *

Because Thandile was begotten [p76] by Zwide. This Mawewe was begotten by Soshangane, ** and Soshangane was the brother of Zwide of Yanga.

This Thandile is Mawewe's sister. [huw jones: surely this is the [point to point out that Mkhatshwa is quite mistaken in suggesting that Tsandzile was Mawewe's sister, even in a clasificatory sense]

This Mswati says 'uncle' to Mawewe.

Soshangane said, "Hawu, Thandiye decided to get married to this Thonga?"

[p77] " And she bore children <for them>".

"Hawu, by the way, what are we going to do because Dludlume is father has grown up?"

"Let Dludlume go out to wash $^{\mbox{\tiny laxi}}$ Mswati, the king of the Swazi." $^{*\,*}$

(DD)Who is this Dludlume?

(BM)These Siganda^a and others.

* *

They are the ones of Dludlume.

* *

In fact, those are the owners of the calabash. [p78] ** They administer the calabash for us; those used to wash us. It is the house of the calabash, that one **.

(DD)Let me once again get this story well

Soshangane had>, a relationship with the Swazi this side?

(BM)Yes.

(DD)[p79] "I cannot forsake the Swazi^c because they too, armed me"

(BM)Yes, indeed.

(DD)"I again, arm them"

(BM)Yes, indeed.

(DD)With the calabash.

(BM)** We are still arming each other.

* *

Enhhe. "Thandile has given birth to a Thonga?"

^cOriginal has: umshana.

^dOriginal has: *malume*.

^eOriginal has: umzala.

^aOriginal has: boSiganda.

^bOriginal has: *phatela*.

^cOriginal has: eMaswati.

"What is his name?"

They said "It is Mswati"

"Awu, it is Mswati, the king of the Thonga."

"Awu, he has grown up".

Then Dludlume of Mkhatshwa's was sent out. **

It is said:

'Mkhatshwa, Ndwandwe, Nxumalo

You of Gudunkomo bxxii

You who [p80] guda^d d the cow without a calf,

whereas others *guda* a cow which has a calf^a.

They say:

'Mkhatshwa who has been kicked bixxiii'd by the tall ones

and the short ones,

Who was never kicked,

He was kicked by his own actions'.

I do not know myself that his *sibongo* is different.

* *

Let us leave that. It is the people's insanity. They want to be installed, yet they do not know who they are. That is it. Then the calabash went up there. You bought it with cattle. It shall wash Mswazi, the Ngwane king.

(DD)He then stayed there?

(BM) Enhle! As you see them there, it is the place which was given to them, here basis.

(DD)They are still doing that job?

(BM)[p81] Wo, yes. There is no other job <for them>.

*

There it is, Dlamini. The thing which you gave us, which testifies that the king is about to die, got out.

* *

It got out from my grandfather, Soshangane. *Awu*, the youngster then went back. It does not happen that as [he] gets out, tomorrow he dies. No,...

... that is not the truth. ** The youngster went back, leaving all the weapons, leaving them to his heir, Mawewe. Then the youngster went back. The history says he then went back. He then

wena waseGudunkomo, wenogudi nkom'enganathole,

kant'abanye bagundinkomo enethole.

ongazange akhatshwe, wakhatshwa ngezenzo zakhe!

^dguda (verb kuguda): to milk a cow in the European fashion, to milk dry; to scrape out the interior; pump for information (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p.89).

^aOriginal has: Mkhatshwa, Ndwandwe, Nxumalo,

bkhatshwa'd (passive form of verb kukhaba): kick, kick out. This is a play on the sibongo, Mkhatshwa.

^cOriginal has: Mkatsha okatshwe ngezinde nezinfishane

[p82] went to his homestead, which is called Jozini have. That is why we can say we can swear by Soshangane at Jozini.

* *

It was the homestead> about which we have been talking, at kaNqaba.

Enhhe. He died there. His grave is there.

(DD)In Thongaland?

(BM) *Enhhe*! <The king> was buried by the Myeni people lexvi. This Mawewe remained behind. There is another son of his, it is Mzila lexvii; Mzila of Soshangane. They cut something> for each other. Mzila is the one of the left-hand house of Mawewe.

[p83] There they are, they are fighting now.

*

Mzila and Mawewe — his brother. They are disputing, disputing the kingship.

They dashed for each other now, disputing between themselves. *Awu!* He has his own regiment, this> umntfanenkhosi **.

(DD) Wo! Each one had his own regiment?

(BM)Yes.

* *

Enhhe. They fought against each other. Gidi! gidi! gidi!

** [p84] We are the *libayethe* d. *Likhuzwa* here at our place, *ka*Gasa hwii, even today. Indeed, I am speaking about something that is there.

We do not, ourselves, talk about trees, cutting trees and covering and then saying there is nothing inside, whereas there is something. We are talking about something that is present. Yes, you can cover, Dlamini **, but even if you can cover, it is like that.

* *

[p85] They fought, and fought, and Mawewe was ejected. He now returned. He ran to his nephew, Mswati.

^aOriginal has: *kelana*. [reflexive verbal form of (isi)kele scissors, shears]

^bOriginal has: *likhohlwa*.

^c*gidi*: sound of battle.

dlibayethe: Bayethe! is a royal salute. The libayathe seems to suggest either the one who gives, or the one entitled to receive, the royal salute.

^ckhuza (verb passive (Z) ukukhuza kukhuzwa; (S) kukhuta kukutwa): admonish, reprove; warn; give orders, command (Rycroft, *Dict.*, 1982, p.51). To express wonder, or astonishment, disapproval, to chide, to express sympathy; to command or give orders; to cry out (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.*, p.419).

⁽Z) *likhuza amakhuza*; (S) *likhuta emakhuta* - the ones who *khuza*.

⁽Z) isikhuza izikhuza - memorial of a chief or wealthy man.

^fOriginal has: *chitwa* (variant *chitfwa*), be discarded, ejected, wasted, defeated; disposal, wastage, deportation, eviction, expulsion, expenditure (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p11).

^gOriginal has: *umshana*.

"*Hawu*, what is wrong, my uncle '?" <said Mswati>.

"Awu, my brother is giving me trouble; we are contending the kingship. No, my child, what I see myself is that I must go back home, where I originated at Magudu ...

... because there is nothing that I can do!"

"Hawu", <said Mswati> "I do not understand what you are saying, my uncle."

(DD)"You are not going"

(BM)"You are not going, why?"

[p86] "We are disputing with my brother!"

"Hawu, how can he dispute with you, who is the king?"

"Awu, he has already gotten rid of me. You need not be worried anymore, my nephew; he has already gotten rid of me. Let me now go back", <said Mawewe>.

King Mswati then> said, "No! No! No! No! You will not see that!"

Mswati send out an army — his uncle caused it to be sent out. "Go back!" They went back. On arrival, they beat Mzila lexis. *Hawu*! They never stabbed him. I used to be told by the present Ngwenyama lexis...

** [p87]

... this present king, the king of Africa. Hawu! They then went for him.

He was not stabbed. They said they would not stab him because he was the king's brother.

(DD)Yes, he was being taught, because he was misbehaving.

(BM)He died on the border between Mozambique and Rhodesia, which is today called Zimbabwe.

(DD)Up there yonder^b

(BM)** [p88] He begot Ngungunyane laxa, Ngungunyane women and men.

The *marula* tree which grew at noon at our place,

kaMandlakazi,

and in the afternoon the leaves fell off^d.

He was begot by Mzila.

^hOriginal has: *malume*.

^dOriginal has: Umganu wahlum'emini kithi,

kwaMandlakazi.

kwathi entambamo wahhohloka.

These seem to be lines from the praises of Ngungunyane; and this is confirmed by the informant's next sentence, as Ngungunyane was the son of Mzila.

^aOriginal has: *dabuka*, literally means to get torn or rent. Used to connote a form of origin with the notion of breaking away from something else; break out into being.

^bOriginal has: *etulu*.

cmarula: known in English as the Marula tree (*Sclerocarya birrea*). Medium to large decidious tree found in bushveld, woodland and low altitude forest margins. The Marula tree provides an abundant crop of juicy tart fruit, eaten by everybody (humans and animals). The fresh fruit is can aslo be brewed into an intoxicating drink and the stones of the fruit are ofetn cracked open and the nutricious nuts are extracted. These trees are seldom cut down because of the valuable food and shade they provid (Pooley, *Trees*, p.240). {RE}

(DD)Still the name Mandlakazi returns!

(BM)It does not stay, it will not stay!

(DD)We find it in the land of the Shangane lexxii.

(BM) Enhhe!

* *

What are Shanganes? ** Shanganes are us.

* *

** When you talk about a Shangane, you are talking about us; we, the Mkhatshwa. Shangane - it is us, even if it is dark.

[p89] **

You are a Thonga, you. We are Shanganes. It does not give trouble, and it is not a secret, cousin. We are that thing.

* *

You belong to <the place of> the shining of the sun, the east. That is why you are said to be 'Thonga'. That is why you say 'Mlangeni because you are of the east. It means 'light'. That is being a Thonga. If you see it as being ugly, it means that. It is not an insult. If I say you are a Thonga, I am not insulting you. If you say I am a Shangane, you are not insulting me. Now then.

[p90]**

Enhhe. Now, ** we then defeated the army and they told Mawewe together with Mswati. Mawewe then asked, "Hawu, cousin, how can I stay here, my sister's son, because you are king here, and I am a king, too?"

Mswati said, "No, truly, my uncle, you will have your back to me; we will turn our backs to each other.

[p91] "I will rule and go to the east"

"I will rule and go to the west."

"I will give you a place."

That is why our place begins at Mnhlonhlweni and stretches to Mozambique, to the sea, straight there! We were given it by the Ngwane. This area belongs to the Ngwane. Ye, Dlamini, that is why we eat the area only above, we do not dig it. We do not have permission to dig a mine, we must go to you for a permission, saying "Mlangeni, can we dig a mine here?"

(DD)You eat the fruits?

(BM)Yes, it belongs to those of Mswati^c. We do not have a country here, ourselves, we were given.

** [p92] But we can do other things. There is nothing you can do to us. You cannot make
a law for us. You gave it to us. We only respect you. ** Even if cattle were to be
confiscated, we do not cattle from you. It is not done.

(DD)You have a cow slaughtered for you <by us>.

^aOriginal has: *mnyama*. ^bOriginal has: *silidla*.

^cOriginal has: *lakabo*Mswati.

(BM) *Hhe-ha*^a! If we take a cow from your place, and go with it to our place, all our people could die. Even you, if you take a cow from there, at *ka*Gasa, and bring it here to Lobamba, all of the people here at Lobamba would die. Do you know that?

(DD)I did not know!

(BM)If you do not know it, Dlamini, I am telling you today; stay informed! Put it in your mind, even in your children's! [p93] It is never done. Nothing is taken from kaGasa to kaNgwane. Something from kaNgwane does not go to kaGasa by force.

* *

You <would> have sinned to *Nkulunkulu*^b and the ancestors.** [p94] Even if you went to the Ngwenyama and asked him, saying "There is this boy who talks like this", he will tell you, "Yes, he is speaking the truth!" This <never changes> it is always respected.

(DD)It is being human sto respect like that.

(BM)Yes!

(DD)It is being Swazi^s, it is being kingship^h.

*

(BM)You see, if a person has touched you, Dlamini \(\)people \(\), \(** \) it is better, Dlamini, if they are a hundred, and I am one; it is better for me to eat poison and die, because I do not see what I would be living for. \(** \) I will tell you Mawewe's oath. \(\)[p95] He \(** \) said \("Ye, my uncle \). \(** \) I will die where you die.

Where the Langeni's will die, that is where we will all die." That is what father said to me when he was about to die. He said, "Come here, you, so that I may tell you!" My father's eldest brother! I was not begotten by him myself: he was born of Hhanyane have, himself. This Mawewe only begot one child, Hhanyane, who was begotten in Mozambique. When he arrived at kaNgwane, ** he was given a wife. He was given Matsafeni schild. Her name was said to have [p96] been Thengase schild. She bore my grandfather. They called him Ngwadi have wo! Go to the prime-minister's father, he will tell you at length.

(DD)To uMntfanenkhosi Mancibane laxxix?

(BM) Wo, yes! He knows him very well indeed. He will tell you: "Hhawu, Hhawu. ** You talk about whom? My mother's people? These people are mine. ** They are the people of Gasa, these".

* *

Original has: *kusintfu*, of the quality of humaness [re & see [p94] translation: is there a specific african connotation to ubuntfu - or can whites also be ubuntfu? CH: does the si connote language]

^a*Hhe-ha*: exclamation of confirmation.

^bOriginal has: *Nkulunkulu*.
^cOriginal has: *emadlozini*.
^dOriginal has: *lomfana*.
^eOriginal has: *hlonishwa*.

^gOriginal has: kusiSwati, of the quality of being a Swazi.

^hOriginal has: *kubukhosi*, of the quality of kingship.

ⁱOriginal has a hesitancy here, and both *malume* and *mshana*.

Original has: *babe*, literally father, but also used for father's brother, father-in-law as well as general respectful form of address for any older man (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.2).

^kOriginal has: *babemlomkhulu*.

Now then, he begot this Ngwadi; he begot this Hhanyane. This father^a, Myekwa^{xc}, as well as this Manzelwandle^{xci} are of Hhanyane. I am of Ngwadi. Ngwadi begot Ngawu. Ngawu begot me.

- ** [p97]
- ** <Mswati> was like the present king, who will respect us. ** [p98] Until today, there is no homesteads of the Dlamini people at our place, kaGasa. It was ours, really. They never do it; they respect, until this day. <The Dlamini> do not put a homestead there. It is not done!
- (DD)[p99] We have reached the point where I get rumours. ** I grew up with, <information>
 from my father about armies which went out, and went to kuboMhuluhuluxeii, whereas today, I hear that the tive which are there are not Swazi's. They never paid tribute to the Swazi's. Yet there are the Ngunixiii there, there are the Mkhatshwa people there.

 **

(BM)Who are these that say <that the Mkhatshwa and Nguni people are there>? Tell me!

[p100] In which place are they found? You mean these who are there, towards *ka*Mhuluhulu? (DD)I am still talking about *ka*Mhuluhulu.

(BM) *Habe*! Do not Dlamini! Those are the ones of Ngungunyane. 'Ngungunyane women and men.' In fact, those who are here are his children. They followed us. Which land were you supposed to give them? For what, because you had already given land to their king?. Where is it, <that which you were supposed to give them? Those people belong to our place, here! Here! Here! Under us! They are under us, here! Black or red, they [p101] too know that. Even if you can go and fetch them, I <would> tell them. Wo! They say this because the land was taken by white people. We would show that those people are under us. They do not have their <own> land. The land is of the Ngwane. Where do they take the land?

(DD)Let us come to Nkambeni^{xiv}. ** I am still not clear in my mind. ** When we started this talk, I found that I get choked up when I hear of Nkambeni, Bulandzeni^{xv} and I heard <about>
Lwandle. About Lwandle, you have explained. I then heard about Zikhotheni. **

**

The king grew up there. He was carried on some-one's back and crossed many rivers, until he grew up at his grand-mother's place xxi.

(BM)[p102] Do you want <the story of > Zikhotheni?

```
<sup>a</sup>Original has: babe.
```

bOriginal has: wakaDlamini.

'Original has: tive ((S)sive, tive; (Z)isizwe, izizwe), variously translated as 'tribes', 'nation', 'clan' and 'state'.

dOriginal has: etfula.
Coriginal has: lizwe.
Original has: lizwe.
Original has: lakithi.
Original has: nyama.
Original has: bovu.

^aOriginal has: *izwe*.

^bOriginal has: *lizwe*. ^cOriginal has: *izwe*.

^dOriginal has: *izwe*.

(DD)I want you to get things to hang together for me.

(BM)I will explain about that of Zikhotheni, because I have its history.

* *

Enhhe! That of Zikhotheni, they are of [be|Mnguni. I thought I was explaining it for you.

- Mnguni begot LoNkokhelo sevii; LoNkokhelo begot Ngolotsheni seviii; Ngolotsheni begot the mother of the present king seix, the king of Africa; this one; there is no-other one; he is the last king of Africa to rule. Yes, she bore this one; he was begotten by us; pure! No what-what! Whatever a person may say, he comes from us.
- Oh, yes. Now this [p103] <story> of LoNkokhelo. ** LoNkokhelo is wakaboLanga sibling/offspring. It was she who bore Ngolotsheni. And Ngolotsheni then begot the mother of the Ngwenyama. I used to be told <this> by an old lady the present king's aunt'. I have a tape of this, which I could play for you, if you so wished.
- (DD)** [p104] Here, at the place of the Nguni people, it is our mothers and others*, we suck from them.
- We do not, in fact, get severed. ** Could that be caused by those customs^h, those blood veins which started there, long ago?
- (BM) Awu, indeed. It seems as if once a person has touched you Dlamini, the <u>≤trouble> gets</u> worse. I myself do not understand how it happens. The trouble becomes so bad that you ** cannot even [p105] eat food; such that for days you may not eat, until people wonder what is wrong. I can say, ye Dlamini, that you and us are one thing. The meeting-point, when the customs are merged with ours. ** Your customs, there are some which we sliced out from yours, about which I cannot tell you, because you will enquire further.

But then, it later got lost, Dlamini, because the stick of Zwide of Yanga got lost, just yesterday, from us.

It got lost just here. We have already been here **. It got lost through carelessness about

Ndwandwe things. [p106] Sometimes they are not people who are careful. The thing got lost. It was lost by a girl, Hhanyane's sister. Where did you see something like this, that a thing can be taken by <the king's sister>? What does such a thing mean? ** This stick was supposed to be taken by Manzelwandle. This Manzelwandle begot Sogasa'. **

bo- is a pronoun concord of quantity, giving a sense of more than one of the described thing make literally mother, but also used for her co-wife, sister or sister-in-law as well as general respectful form of address for any married woman (Rycroft, Dict., p.60).

^eThis word was said in English.

^fOriginal has: *malumekazi*.

^gOriginal has: bomake,

^hOriginal has: *imihambo*.

^aOriginal has plural form of you.

^bthey: in this context seem to refer to Ndwandwe.

<Sogasa>, those who are on that side, ** in the Transvaal.

It is our place there. It is not in the [p107] Transvaal. ** We got separated by the wire'. It divided us in the middle. ** We are not of the Transvaal. It is just that we have been governed ** by a white person. There is nothing we could do. But our great governor is that side **.

Now the ruling person is Manzebakufa is son. This Manzebakufa was begot by Sogasa;

Sogasa was begot by Manzelwandle. I cannot drink it; me, an ordinary person. ** This Manzelwandle was begot by,

'uvava^d of the bull of the water of Nkezi^{cii};

Fire of Hhanyane, [p108]

which for long,

we have been persistently blowing on [upon] the flame;

it was blown on by the Mandwe^e;

it was being blown on by the Nxumalo.

You when skirting,

must skirt and ascend¹f.

(DD)** I used to stay with Mbokodebovu born of Magayiwe who begot Stefane The old man on the top of the Lubombo. He died, without having gone t hospital; with his spears next to him. He had a broken leg. ** [p109] He said he was not going to hospital. /[p108] He threatened to stab anyone who tried to make him go\. [p109] He did not want to be touched by a white person. I realised that, Wo! these people are stubborn. I want to know, child of Mnguni, where does this stubbornness come from?

(BM) Yeyi, ** Dlamini! This is imfumbe^b.

I cannot explain this word. I usually hear you people saying *imfumbe* and wonder what the Ngwane mean, when saying *imfumbe*.

(DD)Did not you put its seed to the *Ndlovukati*, so that when the *bantfanenkhosi* were harsh on her, she said, "I will carry him on my back and go with him to school."?

(BM)No. <The stubbornness> was never too much. *Ye*! Dlamini, let us explain thoroughly so that it may be clear. <We> never had too [p110] much stubbornness, among us,

Umlilo kaHhanyane ekade siwubhebhezela,

wawubhe bhezelwa ngaMandwe, wawubhebhezelwa ngaManxumalo. Ubogeg'ukhuphuke mntakandaba,

nbubukhosi sebonakele, sebumpethu-mpethu.

_

^cOriginal has: *lucingo*, wire, used in this context as border fence.

^duvava: a beast with upright horns; also a split or crack.

^eMandwe: possibly a play on *amaNdwandwe*, the Ndwandwe people.

^fOriginal has: uvave lwenkunzi yamanzi asenkezi.

^aYeyi: interjection of agreement.

bimfumbe: anything held enclosed in the hand, the hand held gripping; anything hidden, secret, riddle (Doke & Vilakazi, *Dict.* p.217). Children's guessing game; mystery, secret, riddle (Rycroft, *Dict.*, p.27).

^cDumisa Dlamini seems to refer to stubbornness.

^dNdlovukati: literally she-elephant; the queen-mother.

^ehim: meaning, Sobhuza II.

the Ndwandwe. It was too much among the Mdluli people". They were the ones in charge of the mother of the present Ngwenyama".

(DD)Let us close our program, child of Mnguni.

[p111] <Would you> say their praises, just a little bit.

(DD)Even Dingane crossed the Phongolo river and entered the country of the Swazis.

(BM)No, I do not talk about another person; when I say 'people of Mageba', I mean those^s. They crossed the Phongolo.

(DD)And entered the country of the Swazis?

(BM)They ran away for their safety **. Would you tell me now, that as Soshangane's grave is there at Jozini, in your country; are you now telling me that the land belongs to Ndwandwa? I am asking; we are just asking each other. Let these people be brought, so that we can talk; there aru things that I do not understand here. These people do not know history*! They keep on guessing. This is what I close with: learn this history, and do not go around disputing, 'I am the king!', 'I am the king!' Because, indeed, you will go around saying you are the king because you do not know who you are. If I ask you 'Who are you born of?' You will not explain! Let us leave it there, Mlangeni, who does not eat mutton*

(DD)I am thankful, child of Mnguni. I am thankful for you being able to come here to explain to us. *Nine bekunene*, we have not been making a law^b, we have not been arguing with any person, we have been putting <forward> what we hear, as well as, what we know. If there is some-one who has better knowledge^c than this, we would be grateful if this person can bring us history^d.

^fSeems to be referring to the people mentioned during course of interview.

gthose: probably refers to the Zulu people.

^aOriginal has: *umlando*. ^bOriginal has: *umsetfo*. ^cOriginal has: *lonelwati*. ^dOriginal has: *umlandvwo*.

i.In the late 1960's, at the time of Swaziland's independence, a series of public interviews on the history of Swaziland was broadcast over the air.

ii.Bongani Mkhatshwa was born in 1937. His grandmother, LaMagongo, told him stories of the past and his interest in history was further kindled by his standard 2 teacher, Elijah Mango, who spoke about the origin of peoples. From 1957 to 1967 Mkhatshwa lived in Jeppe Mens Hostel, Johannesburg, South Africa. His interest in the past was further awakened when the Nxumalo were called 'Shangane' in the hostel showers (the Mkhatshwa, Nxumalo and Ndwandwe are related surnames). At Jeppe he met an old man, Ntabayezulu, born of Mgojane, born of Somaphunga, as well as others who told him about the history of the Ndwandwe. In 1968 he returned to Mbabane, Swaziland, and now-a-days works as the manager of the Dan Hands furniture store. After his return to Swaziland, the late king, Sobhuza, had many talks with Bongani about Ndwandwe history. Bongani Mkhatshwa read the basic school history texts, as well as a book, *History of the Abambo, generally known as the Fingo* (Ayliff, J. & Whiteside, J., 1912), but he has not read the classic texts on the history of the region such as A.T. Bryant's *Olden Times* 1929, the published Stuart Archives, 1976-1986, etc.

iii.Dumisa Dlamini: a well-known Swazi radio personality and amateur historian.

- 4iv.Ngwane was an early Swazi king. Today the original siSwati phrase, kaNgwane, means: i) the whole of Swaziland;
- ii) the inner 'heart' of Swaziland, around the principle residence of the reigning monarch;
- iii) a Swazi 'homeland' (a so-called native reserve) within the Republic of South Africa, adjacent to Swaziland.

v.Nkambeni: the name of a place, and the name of an area in the Ndwandwe chiefdom in central-northern Swaziland. Nkambeni lies about 15km southwest of Tshaneni and 25km south west of the Mananga border post. There is also a range of hills in this area known as Nkambeni. One of Bonner's narrators, Mahoba Gumede, refers to a second Nkambeni on the Nkambo river near Nelspruit [jones: 3km south of Hazy View] (SWOHP, Bonner series, 11-06-1970).

vi.Zwide: famous ruler of the Ndwandwe polity in the late eighteenth adn early nineteenth century. See also note xvii.

vii.Zikhotheni: area in the center of southern Swaziland, south-east of Mhlosheni, which is occupied by the Nxumalo chiefdom. LoMawa, the mother of Sobhuza II, came from this area. A section of people of Ndwandwe descend, the Nxumalo, presently have a chiefdom in the area.

viii.Ngwavuma: the magisterial district of Ngwavuma lies in the far north-east of kwaZulu, South Africa. It stretches accross an area from the Lubombo mountains down to the Atlantic sea.

ix.kaZulu (variant kwaZulu): literally place of the Zulu. Used in general sense by Swazis to refer to the area to the south of Swaziland, and sometimes, to the area to the south-east.

x.Boers: literally farmers, but often used to refer to the (previously) white Afrikaner ruling minority in South Africa

xi.kaNgwane: See endnote **Error! Bookmark not defined.** In this case the third usage of kaNgwane applies.[this is the are from which Mkhatshwa's ancestors come (although it seems off the main road to Maputo from central Swaziland - re: where does he get this??? what is his reference]

xii.Enos Mabuza is the leader of the *ka*Ngwane 'homeland' in South Africa.

xiii.Mkhatshwa: sibongo and secondary praise name for the Ndwandwe (see also footnote b, p.640).

xiv.Gasa: according to the historian Bryant, Gasa was the originator of the left-hand section (see footnote f, p.626) of the Ndwandwe to which Soshangane was connected. Bryant claims that Gasa was buried on the Lubombo mountains 'within a cleft between two mighty rocks' (Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp.447-448) (see also endnote lxxviii).

xv.A praise line from the Ndwandwe praises (*J.S.A.* vol I, p.64); or else referring to the blackness image typical of Ndwandwe praises (C.A. Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power'); Gasa is the name of a great ancestor of Soshangane (Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 452); name also applied to Soshangane himself (Bryant, *Olden Times*, p.161, genealogy).

xvi.Mawewe: son of Soshange who succeeded to the chiefship of that branch of the Ndwandwe after the banishment of his brother, Mzila to the then Zuid Africaansche Republic. Mzila returned on the death of his father in 1856 to claim the chiefship and invoked Portuguese assistance against his chief rival Mawewe (supported by the Swazi king Mswati), and succeeded in routing him (*Olden Times*, pp.456-457). Josefa Dlamini also refers to the war between Mawewe (supported by Mswati) and Mzila, and Mawewe's apparent defeat by Mzila (SWOHP, 8-5-1970), (see also Jones *Biographical Register*, p.444).

xvii.Soshangane: head of a section of the Ndwandwe people which inhabited the Tshaneni mountain at the southern end of the Lubombo. After the defeat of the Ndwandwe by Shaka in 1819, they migrated up the Lubombo, and from there still further north, where they became known as the Gasa-Nguni. According to Stuart's informant, Mbovu son of Mtshumayeli, Soshangane was the son of Zikode, who was born of Malusi. Mbovu also gives Zwide, son of Langa, as a grandson of Malusi (*J.S.A.*, vol III, p.45). Another of Stuart's informants, Bikwayo born of Noziwawa, however, lists Soshangane as a son of Zikode born of Ndwandwe born of Nyamande (*J.S.A.*, vol I, p.64), while yet another of Stuart's informants, Luzipo son of Nomageje, gives Soshangane as the son of Zikode born of Langa and Zwide as another son of Langa (*J.S.A.*., vol I, p.354). For Soshangane's genealogy see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p.161. Also see Jones, *Biographical Register*, p.445) (see also endnotes xxxi). [jones is this not the place to make it very clear that Mkhatshwa's claim that Zwide and Soshangane were brothers is unique?]

xviii.Ndwandwa: there is more than one person known by this name.

(Jones, Biog., p.169).

- i) Phuhlaphi Nsibandze appears to indicate that a person named Ndwandwe was an early ancestor, connected to the royal Ngwane (SWOHP, Royal Interview, 11-11-1968).
- ii) Mafutha Mazibuko also mentions a person by the name of Ndwandwe who was begotten by Yanga (SWOHP, Bonner series, 11-06-1970).
 iii) the son of Somhlolo and File, an *inhlanti* of Tsandile. He was a powerful figure in the Swazi polity and was appointed regent during the minority of Ludvonga. At the death of Ludvonga he was the primary suspect, and under the direction of Tsandzile he was executed and his residences destroyed

xix.Sikhova (could possibly be be variant of Zikove): according to Mafutha Mazibuko, Zikove was a son of Yanga, and a brother of Mkhatjwa (variant spelling of Mkhatshwa) and Ndwandwe (SWOHP, Bonner series, 11-11-1960). This is also the name given to the first-born son of Sobhuza II by his wife LaMabhunu, daughter of Ceme Shongwe (Kuper, *Biography*, p.1). But on pp. 120, 186 he is decsribed as a son of Sobhuza II by his wife Lomcala Mgunundvu, daughter of the Mgunundvu chief of Mkhuzweni.

xx.Mkhonto: we have been unable to find any further information on this man.

xxi.Yanga: Yanga is a variant form of the *siSwati* name, Langa. Yanga is generally considered to be an early figure in the royal Ngwane genealogy, although his name does not appear on the royal list compiled by Matsebula. Matsebula gives Langa as the name of an early 'Bembo-Nguni' leader, ie. a remote ancestor who is buried at Magudu (*History*, (new edition), p.8). The name Langa also appears in the Swazi royal genealogy (Bryant, *Olden Times*, chart opposite p.314; *J.S.A.*, vol 1, appendices 1 and 2) and features widely in the royal genealogy of other *tibongo*'s (see, for example, Bryant *Olden Times*, p.40). According to Mafutha Mazibuko, Langa is the father of Mkhatshwa, Ndwandwe and Zikhove (SWOHP, Bonner series, 11-06-1970), but more often he is given as the father of Zwide and Soshangane (SWOHP, Bonner series, James Nxumalo, 14-03-1970; present interview). Phuhlaphi Nsibandze states that he is the father of Ngwane, father of Ndvungunye (SWOHP, Royal series, 11-11-1968).

xxii.Somaphunga: a son of Zwide's, who gave his allegiance to Shaka after Zwide's death.

xxiii.Mgojana: Somaphunga's heir, born of an Nzuza wife, Mncikazi (Bryant, *Olden Times*, p.213).

xxiv.Jibhi: probably Jeppe, suburb in eastern Johannesburg, South Africa. Could also be referring specifically to the Jeppe Mens' Hostel in that area.

xxv.Boksburg: town to the immediate east of Johannesburg, South Africa.

xxvi.LaMkhwanazi: literally daughter of Mkhwanazi. Mkhwanazi is a common *sibongo* in Swaziland. Bryant lists Mkwanazi as a subordinate *sibongo* of the larger *kwa*Mpukunyoni people, possibly linked to the Mthethwa (*Olden Times*, pp. 689, 690).

xxvii.kwaMkhwanazi: literally place of the Mkhwanazi. Bryant's map of pre-Shakan Zululand locates the Mkhwanazi between the Mfolozi and the Nyalazi rivers, close to the coast (*Olden Times*, map opposit back cover).

xxviii.kwaNongoma: village and magisterial district in central kwaZulu, South Africa. According to H.C. Lugg, the Nongoma magistracy was originally known as the Division of Ndwandwe, after the Ndwandwe inhabitants of the area. The name was later changed to Nongoma, after the name of Zwide's principal residence. Lugg claims that the original Nongoma homestead was near the present township (Historical Natal and Zululand, pp.154-155).

xxix.NND: code used in beginning of vehicle number plates to indicate area of registration; in this case it would refer to the Ndwandwe district in Natal province, South Africa.

xxx.Mgungundhlovu: The name of the principal establishment of the nineteenth-century Zulu king Dingane, located near present-day Babanango in central *kwa*Zulu. Mgungundhlovu was also an early name for the Natal town of Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

xxxi.LaZikode: literally the daughter of Zikode. Bryant and M.M. Fuze give Zikode as Soshangane's father (*Olden Times*, pp.160,161; *The Black People*, p.50, also see index entry, p.204 which gives Soshangane as the son of Manukuza) (see also endnote xvii).

xxxii.Mangweni: Fuze gives the Mangwe as a small *sibongo* related to the Khumalo and Mabaso (*The Black People*, p.18). Bryant lists the Ngweni as a sub-section of the Ntshali people, themselves related to the Khumalo and says that the Ngweni lived in the Hlobane district of Natal (*Olden Times*, pp.181, 692, 694). Jones (pers. comm.) points out that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the 'Ngwe' people lived east of the Itentyeka Range in the upper headwaters of the Nkongolwane River (which rises on the eastern side of Hlobane Mountain). [jones: Bryant info on Ngwe is quite misleading. It seems more likely that Dlamini nad Mkatshwa are referring to 'emaNcwangeni' (Bryant, Olden Tmes, p.276). There seems to be no connection with Bryant's (p181) 'emaNcweni' 1

xxxiii.Sithole: a common Zulu *sibongo*. Bryant gives the Sithole some form of connection (either as neighbours or relations) with the Tembu people. He adds that they are of "Ntungwa-Nguni' origin and "migrated to the Mzinyati rivers from some locality nearer the white Mfolozi." (*Olden Times*, p.251).

xxxiv. This is a reference to the widely held notion that two kings cannot look at each other [re: need more, reference - ask PB to expand]

xxxv.Magudu (variant Magudvu): hilly area about 25km outside of present-day Swaziland border, due south of present-day town of Pongola. Magudu was the capital of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Ndwandwe kingdom. There are also two other places called Magudu; a site in the north east of Swaziland as well as Magudu II, a settlement about 100km north of Maputo.

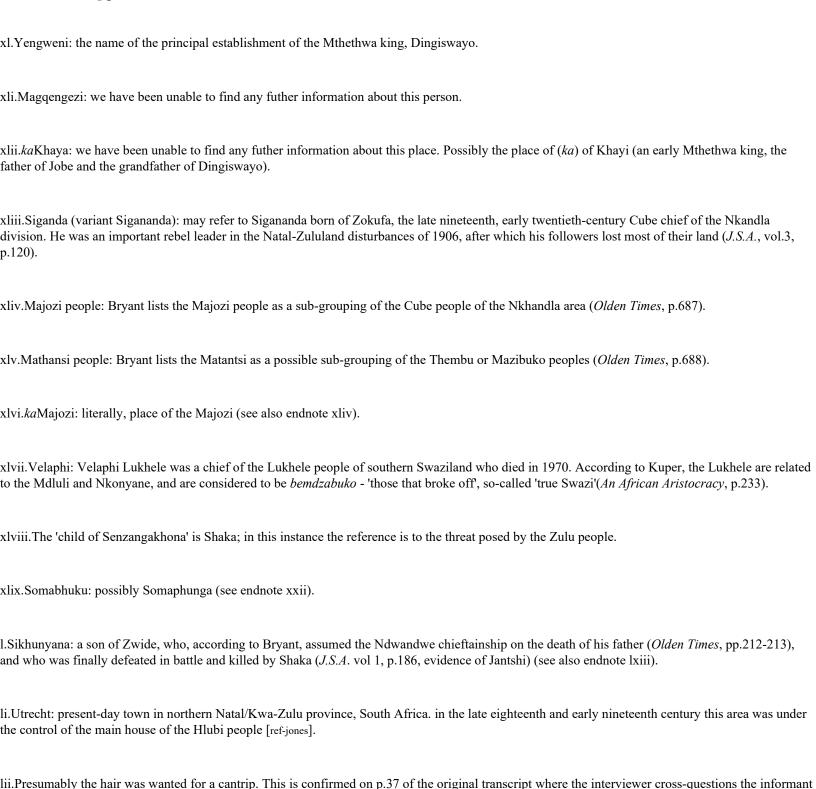
xxxvi.Zikotheni: area about 3km east of present-day Mhlosheni in central southern Swaziland. A section of the Ndwandwe people, the Nxumalo, presently have a chiefdom in this area. Sobhuza II's mother came from this area.

xxxvii.kwaMandlakazi: literally 'The place of the mighty seed or power'. The Mandlakazi were a collateral sibongo, closely related to the Zulu royal family (Hamilton, Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power, pp.219-224). According to Bryant, kwaMandlakazi was the name of the residence erected by Sojiyisa (the father of Mapitha, and grandfather of Zibhebu) (Bryant, Olden Times, p.45). Mandlakazi later became the name applied to the supporters of Mapitha's son Zibhebu during the Zulu Civil War. Also the name of the residence of Soshangane's grandson, Ngungunyane, in south-central Mozambique in the 1890's (Bryant, Olden Times, p.457).

xxxviii.Mthonjaneni: literally the little spring/fountain. The best known site of this name is famous as the spring from where Dingane obtained his drinking water. It is situated just of the main road to Mahlabathini in central *kwa*Zulu (Lugg, *Historical Natal and Zululand*, p.118). It is not clear whether this is the place referred to in the text.

xxxix.Dunguza: we have been unable to find further information about this man.

on this matter.



liii.Nkabandla: we have been unable to find further information about this person or people.

liv.Lwandle: literally the sea people. The ones charged with fetching the sea water crucial to the first-fruits ceremony rituals in Swaziland.

lv.kaNduna: we have been unable to find further information about this place.

lvi.During 1818 and 1819 there were three attacks on the Zulu by the Ndwandwe; the first attack in 1818 was repelled and a second attack, later sometime in 1818/1819 was parried. It was only during a third attack in 1819 that the Ndwandwe and the Zulu armies met head on, and the Ndwandwe were defeated. The Zulu counter attack drove Zwide accross the Phongolo (J.B. Wright & C.A. Hamilton, Traditions and transformations; the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, p.67). Presumably this refers to the tactical withdrawal of the Zulu southward after their pursuit of the Ndwandwe accross the Phongolo, burning grain as they went. For other accounts of this campaign, see Bryant *Olden Times*, chapter 22; *J.S.A.*, vol 1, p.17, evidence of Baleni; *J.S.A.*, vol 3, evidence of Mmemi. Note that, in contradiction to other informants, Makhatshwa claims that the Ndwandwe and the Zulu did not engage in a direct battle.

lvii.ours: meaning our stab wounds, possibly a claim of assasination attempts on Shaka.

lviii.Mageza: we have no further information about his man.

lix. Thonga (variant: Tonga Tsonga): generic name of inhabitants of the area between present-day Maputo and Khosi Bay who speak the Tsonga language.

lx.Ngwanaza (variants Ngwanasa, Ngwanasi): the late nineteenth century chief of the Mabhudu section of the Tfonga people. He was the son of Noziyingili and Dzambile (a daughter of Somhlolo) (SWOHP, Royal interview, Phuhlaphi Nsibandze, 11-11-1968).

lxi.Possibly Lake Sibayi, Khosi Bay in the Tsonga country, or even Delagoa Bay.

lxii.For other claims that Shaka invented or adopted the *sibongo* 'Zulu' see *J.S.A.*, vol 1, pp.104,174,202; *J.S.A.*, vol 2, pp.12, 254; *J.S.A.*, vol 3, p.146; A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp.13, 221-222, 369-370; M.M. Fuze *The Black People*, p.43.

lxiii.Sikhonyane: literally locust. It could possibly be Sikhunyana, son of Zwide (see endnote l).

lxiv.Samuelson renders these lines of Dingane's praises as:

'Vezi the black one, the leaper Batch of cattle which had strayed Which would have died of the *umdhlebe* in Soshangane land!' (*Long, Long Ago*, p.271), (*umdlebe*: poisonous Euphorbia, *Synadendium arborescens*).

lxv.kaNqabe: Nqaba: literally a fortress, stronghold; difficulty. Possibly a reference to place of Nxaba/Nqaba. Nxaba/Nqaba, son of Mbekane of the Msane people left the Zulu kingdom during the reign of Shaka and travelled north up the East coast. He was later associated with Soshangane. [re: check additions based on Jones comments]

lxvi.Madolo: we have no further information about this man.

lxvii.Madolo people (variant Madvolo): the Madolo people live on the Mozambique side of the central Lubombo mountains, immediately west of Maputo. They came to be ruled by the Portuguese in the late nineteenth century when the Swaziland/Mozambique boundaries were established.

lxviii.Ntshayintshayi (variant Ntshalintsali, Ntjalintjali): a present-day Swazi *sibongo*. The Ntjalintjali chiefdom lies about 25km south-west of Sidvokodvo, in and around the Mahlangatsha hills in south-western Swaziland. Kuper lists them as *bemdzabuko* - 'those that broke off', so-called 'true Swazi' (*An African Aristocracy*, p.233), whilst Myburgh refers to them as Mnguni (*Tribes of the Barberton District*, p.82.).

connection:

ntshalinshali - bhawini - mahlangatsha hills - south western Swaziland sidvokodvo is in central Swaziland

lxix. Thandiye (variants LaZidze, Thandile, Tsandzile, Tsandile, Tsandziwe, Nomphethu): daughter of Ndwandwe ruler, Zwide who married Somhlolo in the early nineteenth century and bore his heir, Mswati. After the death of Somholo c.1838 she acted as regent during the minority of Mswati until c.1844. After the accession of Mswati to the throne, she continued to play an important role in the ruling of the Swazi polity. After the death of Mswati LaZidze, together with *umntfwanenkhosi* Ndwandwa was again regent during the minority of Mswati's heir. Under her guidance the Ndwandwa rebellion was put down, and Mbandzeni installed (Jones, *Biog.*, pp.446; 169).

lxx.Dludlume: According to P.A.W. Cook, Dhludhlume was the person sent by Zwide in response to a request from Somhlolo for an expert in first fruits ceremony rites (*Bantu Studies*, vol IV (1930), pp.205-210[ch: specific p ref]). Jones gives Dludlumane Ndwandwe as a ritual specialist, brought by Tsandzile to doctor Mswati, about 1840. He was the *belwandle* ritual specialist at the *incwala* (*Biographical Register*, p.442).

lxxi. This is an integral aspect of the first fruits ceremony. (see Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p.214). Marwick notes on the derivation of the word *inhlambelo* (the special ritual enclosure) from *kuhlamba* to wash or swim (*The Swazi of the Incwala*, p.184).

lxxii.Gudunkomo: possibly a reference to Magudu (Magudvu), the late eighteenth-, nineteenth-century Ndwandwe capital.

gudu: of making a track; of groping one's way; of polishing, plastering;

amagudu: hemp pipes;

nkomo: a head of cattle; defenceless.

lxxiii.Mkhatshwa: it should be noted that Malcolm translates the praises of the Khumalo chief, Mzilikazi, as

The expelled one of Zimangele

UMkhatshwa wawo Zimangele,

(Cope, Izibongo, pp.132,133).

[huw jones" the relevance opf this endnote escapes me]

lxxiv. The descendants of the Ndwandwe peoples of Swaziland still play a central role in the first-fruit ceremony rituals. (See Marwick, *The Swazi*, p.182; Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p.198; SWOHP, Bonner series 08-05-1970, Josefa Ndungamuzi Dlamini, [p58]). [huw jones: the relationship between the Ndwandwe who perform rituals at the *incwala* and the relatives of Mkhatshwa is really quite distinct]

lxxv.Jozini: the present-day town of Jozini is situated about 35 km south of the LaVumisa/Gollel border post between Swaziland and South Africa. Lugg (*Historic Natal and Zululand*, p.162) Bryant (*Olden Times*, p.37) and Bulpin (*Natal and the Zulu country*, p.37) record that Soshangane was buried near the present-day town of Mkhuze in a secret cave in the Tshaneni Mountain.

lxxvi.Myeni people: a *sibongo* which began, according to Bryant, in northern Natal, and moved northwards into the Lubombo mountains, where they split into two groups, one of whom lived under the patronage of Mpande in the area along the Mkhuze river around Tshaneni, north-eastern *kwa*Zulu, and the other remained in the Ngwavuma area of the Lubombo mountains (Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp.338-339). For a full account of the Myeni see *In the Tracks of the Swazi Past*, pp.28-29).

lxxvii.Mzila: another son of Soshangane's who was banished to the then Zuid Africaansche Republic (Transvaal), by his father, and who returned on the death of his father in 1856 to claim the chiefship. Mzila invoked Portuguese assistance against his chief rival Mawewe (supported by the Swazi king Mswati) and succeeded in routing him. Mzila ruled over and extended Soshangane's Gasa kingdom until his death c.1890 (Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp.330, 456-457).

lxxviii.kaGasa: literally the place of Gasa; Gasa is the name given to Soshangane's kingdom in what is now south-central Mozambique (see also endnote xiv).

lxxix.Bryant says Mawewe and Mswati were defeated by Mzila (*Olden Times*, pp.456-457). Josefa Dlamini also refers to this war between Mawewe (supported by Mswati) and Mzila, and Mawewe's apparent defeat by Mzila (SWOHP, 8-5-1970), (see also Jones *Biographical Register*, p.444).

lxxx.Ngwenyama: literally lion, a title reserved for the king. In this case the reference is to Sobhuza II.

lxxxi.Ngungunyane: Mzila's son who ruled the Gasa kingdom from 1884-1895, also known as Mdungazwe. He was attacked by the Portuguese in 1895 and was banished to West Africa.

lxxxii.Shangane (*li*Shangane): from Soshangane. A generic term for descendants of his people; *ulushangane* (pl *izintshangane*) is a wanderer (see endnote xvii).

lxxxiii.Mlangeni: literally one of the place of the sun. The king of Swaziland is known as 'the sun', and '(Ma)Langeni' is considered to be a title with strong associations of royalty. It is used to suggest common origins with the Swazi royal house. In modern Swaziland the appelation is often applied more widely then royalty, as a respectful term of address.

lxxxiv.Mnhlonhlweni: we have been unable to locate a place by this name, but as Mkhatshwa is referring to the are given to Mawewe by Mswati, it is likely to be in the area of the northern Swaziland and Eastern Transvaal border. There is, also, a place called Nhlonhleni about 40km east of the Swazi border on the coastal flatlands of South Africa.

lxxxv.Hhanyane (variant Hanyana): Mawewe's son and heir who lived in Swaziland. According to Jones he was born in the Gaza country in about 1854. His mother was Ngqambathi, the daughter of Mgcobeya Nhlebeya. Mawewe died in about 1872 and his brother's son, Ndlemane Ndwandwe, acted as regent for Hhanyane. In the 1880's Hhanyane and his people resisted attempts by the Lydenburg authorities to tax them. Hhanyane then fled into the Portuguese territory. He was later arrested by the Portuguese and died of smallpox about 1893 on Mozambique island (*Biographical Register*, p.443).

lxxxvi.Matsafeni: probably Matsafeni Mdluli, brother of Labotsibeni and an important figure in the Swazi royal circles during the regency of Labotsibeni. Matsebula refers to a Matsafeni, son of Mswati by Yoyo Sihlongyane (co-wife of Yangase Shongwe); this Matsafeni married Lukhambule Zwane and she bore him Mhola, Ntfonjana and six other children (*History* (new edition) pp.45,46).

lxxxvii. Thengase: we have no further information on this person.

lxxxviii.Ngwadi: we have no further information on this person.

lxxxix.Mancibane: at the time of the interview the prime minister was *mntfanenkhosi* Mabandhla. His father was *mntfanenkhosi* Mancibane, the son of *mntfanenkhosi* Magudvulela, son of Mahambandle, daughter of Soshangane. [huw jones: the following info is confusing and not relevant] Mancibane was also the name of an earlier *mntfanenkhosi* ('prince') and brother of Mbandzeni. Mancibane was one of the leaders of, Mswati's widow, Sisile Khumalo's army when she, in a succession wrangle, fled from Mbandzeni in 1881. Though he fought for the *iNdlovukatsi*, Mancibane was later pardoned by the king after Sisile Khumalo's death (Bonner, *Kings*, p.163). Matsebula notes that Mancibane was taken prisoner by the British during the Anglo-Boer War because it was believed that he was helping the Boers (*History* (new edition), p.173).

xc.Myekwa: an Ndwandwe chief in the far north of Swaziland in the Nkhomati area. Myekwa was the son of Hanyane by Cineleni Dlamini (laNgcungume). In 1924 Mkhonjwase, Hanyane's sister who had acted as regent during the family's troubles [re: she who lost the stick of Zwide???], appointed Myekwa as chief of that part of the Mkhatshwa area that fell within Swaziland, and he was later recognised as a Swaziland chief (Jones pers comm). Jones further suggests that the area that Mswati gave to the Mkhatshwa people possibly stretched from tha Nkambeni Hills north-eastwards to include the Lubombo Range north of the Mahlalela people of Lomahasha; the Swaziland — Z.A.R. boundary was demarcated through this area's southern section. The *sive* of Myekwa was Mhlangatane, which is presently a very small area north of the Nkhomati river. According to Mafutha Mazibuko, Myekwa helped to lead the people of Hhanyane Mkhatshwa from southern Mozambique to Swaziland after the latter's death (SWOHP, Bonner series, 11-06-1970; see also endnote lxxxv). Myekwa was the main source of information on Ndwandwe history for two informants interviewed by Bonner — Mafutha Mazibuko and Mmeme Ndwandwe.

xci.Manzelwandle: Hanyane's heir by his wife Nzulazi Mkhwanazi was Muntu who was also known as Manzolwandle. Manzolwandle was born about 1875 and died in the Hhohho district in February 1924 (Jones pers comm). [huw jones: rest of endnote confusing. re agree]According to Maboya Fakudze, Manzelwandle was part of Tsandile escort. He was sent by her to fetch sea water to treat her son Mswati (SWOHP, Bonner series, Maboya Fakudze, 23-5-1970, [p1]). According to Josefa Dlamini, Manz'elwandle Ndwandwa was also part of the group of Ndwandwe ritual specialists that Tsandile brought with her. He begot Mgabhi who begot Madvumane, who begot Hluhlubi (SWOHP, Bonner series, 08-05-1970).

xcii.Mhuluhulu (possible variant Hulu): this is the name of Mariep's Kop on the edge of the Drakensberg in the Eastern Transvaal. In this area some of the Mkhatshwa of Thulilamahashi *ka*Ngungunyana *ka*Mzila came to live (Jones pers. comm.). [re rest of EN confusing]the name of a battle fought soon after the death of Mswati in 1868, between the Swazi and the *be*Sutfu forces. The Swazi forces suffered a defeat in this battle (SWOHP, Ndambi Mkhonta, 15-5-1970).

xciii.Original has *beNguni*, the *Nguni* people. *Nguni* is a generic term applied to the speakers of related Bantu dialects living in south-east Africa. The term has resonances of origin in the Ndwandwe address-name of Mnguni (See footnote C, p.621). For a fuller discussion of the term Nguni, see Wright, J.B., 'Politics, Ideology and the Invention of the Nguni' in T. Lodge (ed) *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*, vol 4, pp.96-118.

xciv.Nkambeni: the name of a place, and the name of an area in the Ndwandwe chiefdom in central-northern Swaziland. Nkambeni lies about 15km south-west of Tshaneni and 25km south west of Mananga. There is also a range of hills in this area known as Nkambeni. One of Bonner's informants, Mahoba Gumede, refers to a second Nkambeni on the Nkambo river near Nelspruit (SWOHP, Bonner series, 11-06-1970).

xcv.Bulandzeni: literally place of the in-laws. An area in central-northern Swaziland, 12 kilometers west of Balegane and just north of Balegane-Piggs Peak road, in the Hhohho district. This area was occupied by the Ndwandwe people during the reign of Somhlolo. Their descendents speak a variant dialect of siSwati, also known as siNguni.

xcvi.For the first year of his life Sobhuza II was nursed at his maternal grandmother's home at Zikotheni. When he was able to walk, Labotsibeni (his paternal grandmother and regent) decided to move him closer to the capital. This was at the time of the Anglo-Boer war and the journey was dangerous and mostly travelled at night. The crocodile infested Mkhondvo- and Ngwempisi rivers were in flood and great bravery was displayed by his minders in getting the royal heir safely accross these dangerous rivers.

xcvii.LoNkokhelo: we do not have any further information about this person.

xcviii.Ngolotsheni (variant Ngolotjeni): Ndwandwe chief who sought refuge in the Shiselweni area from Somhlolo after the defeat of the Ndwandwe by the Zulu army. (Bonner, *Kings*, p.29). Ngolotjeni is said to have lived near modern-day Mhlosheni under Mgcoyisa Khumalo, and when the Zulu attacked Shiselweni he remained behind to face the attackers. The Ndwandwe descendants of Ngolotjeni still occupy the area around Mbilaneni near Mhlosheni today.

xcix. The mother of Sobhuza II was Lomawa, daughter of Ngolotsheni Nxumalo. [huw jones: ... difficult to reconcile Bonner's statement he (Ngolotsheni) was son of Zwide.

c.Sogasa: we have no further information on this person.	
--	--

ci.Manzebakufa, Manzibakufa; son of Muntu and his wife Gaveya Mgabhi and was born about 1914 (Jones pers comm). [In this section Mkhatshwa complains about Mkhonjwase (Hanyane's sister) who should have handed over to Muntu/Manzolwandle earlier than she did. he notes that the main residence of the Mkhatshwa is on the Transvaal side of the northern border of Swaziland and is now occupied by the son of Mazibakufa.]

cii.Nkezi: we have no further information about this place.

ciii.Mbokodebovu born of Magayiwe: we have no further information on this person.

civ. Stefane: we have no further information on this person.

cv.Mdluli: a present-day Swazi *sibongo*. The reference to the stubborness of the Mdluli is possibly a reference to Matsafeni Mdluli who refused to compromise with king Mbandzeni and left the country (Jones pers comm).

[huw jones: the refernec to the other Mdluli of Mtshengu is irrelevant (and the geographical ref to their location quite wrong - their homesteads are north-west of Mahamba and nowhere near Mhlosheni] According to Kuper the Mdluli people are related to the Nkonyane and the Lukhele peoples, and are also known as *bemdzabuko* - 'those that broke off', so-called 'true Swazi' (*An African Aristocracy*, p.233). Their chiefdom lies north-west of Mhlosheni, near Mahamba in south-western Swaziland.

cvi. This reference is probably to labo Tsibeni Mdluli who was in charge of Lomawa's training as *ndlovukati* (Jones pers comm).

cvii.Phongolo river: this river rises in the Drakensberg mountains south and west of the present-day South African town of Piet Retief, and runs eastwards almost parallel to the southern border of Swaziland. It flows through the Lubombo mountains to join the *lu*Sutfu river in forming the Maputo river that enters the Indian Ocean in the Bay of Maputo.

cviii.Mageba: an early Zulu king; Magangeni Dlamini states that Mageba was a chief of the Mtsetfwa (variant of Mthethwa). Bryant also gives Mageba as an early Zulu king (*Olden Times*, pp.36-38).

cix. The Mlangeni or Dlamini people do not eat the meat of black sheep.