

## JANTSHI KA NONGILA

<The great bulk of Jantshi's evidence as given below is taken from Stuart's own transcription of rough notes which he recorded in notebooks 13-17, File 60. In three places we have inserted passages from the rough notes which he omitted from his transcription. Typescript copies of the transcription are to be found in Files 14 and 41 - eds.>

9.2.1903. 2 Norfolk Villas, Durban.

File 70, pp. 54-5.

Also present: Ndukwana. Mbovu? Another?

- 54 After having to send Ndukwana to Stanger and Mapumulo for him, Jantshi ka Nongila arrived today about 2.40 p.m. He arrived with his son. Mbovu, a man (*kolwa*) from Amanzimtoti, also came to see me.

Jantshi speaks: I was born at Nyezane in Zululand and am of the same age as the Kandempemvu regiment.<sup>1</sup> My father's name was Nongila; he was a spy under Senzangakona, Tshaka, Dingana and Mpande. He belonged to the Ntontela regiment.<sup>2</sup> He crossed over into Natal in Mpande's reign, being then tired of the duties of a spy. I of course knew him well, for he only died when Cetshwayo was living at Eshowe after the return from England. Part of the *isibongo* that I will presently recite I learnt from him, as well as other historical facts.

Dingiswayo's father was Jobe, and Jobe's father was Kali. I cannot go beyond this. Among Dingiswayo's sons were Mngoye, Somveli (heir), Mgcobo, Cakijana. [Ndukwana added the latter two. Ndukwana also said Sokwetskata was a son of Myandeya ka Mbiya ka Tshangana.<sup>3</sup>]

- According to what has been told me, Bekapezulu was the first.<sup>4</sup> This man had a son Mntungwa, whilst Mntungwa's son was Nnja. Now it so happened that the Lembe (people) fought with Nnja and gave him the opprobrious name Lufenulwenja.<sup>5</sup> Nnja had a son, Malandela, whilst Malandela had two sons called Zulu and Qwabe. The two last formed the heads of separate branches. Zulu had three sons, Mageba, Punga, and
- 55 Ndaba, who stood in the Zulu dynasty in the same way that Tshaka, Dingana, and Mpande did; i.e. they were three brothers.

I deny that Ntombela was a king of the Zulu tribe. Nor was Nkosenkulu ever a *king* in the Zulu tribe. I never heard of his reigning. [Cf. Miss Colenso's list of kings.]<sup>6</sup>

Disliking the name Lufenulwenja, Tshaka caused it to die out. This name, originally a man's name, had in course of time become an *isibongo* of the whole tribe. Tshaka substituted for it the *isibongo* 'Ndabezita', which he took over from people he had conquered in war, viz. the Mbata tribe. The same *isibongo* belonged likewise to the

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Kumalo people.

I do not know where the graves of Bekapezulu, Mntungwa, or Nnja are. As for the Lembe tribe referred to, it is not yet extinct. There are members of it living about among other tribes of Zululand to this day, but they have no recognized chief or head.

My father's *isibongo* was Mabaso. This tribe still exists; it has chiefs and many members.

In the far off past there were many *chiefs*.

The idea got about among the Zulu tribe that Nongila, my father, was a *Zulu by descent* from the fact that when Tshaka required spies he said he wanted them from his old tribal people living at Mtonjaneni. Nongila did not come forward to offer his services. Tshaka repeated his wish and still Nongila, who had lived many years in the tribe, would not come. Tshaka then asked him why he refrained from coming forward, when Nongila replied, 'Because I saw so many others of the Zulu tribe about.' 'Oh! but you too belong to the tribe. You must become one of my spies.' And so it came about that Nongila was looked on as a hereditary member of the tribe, whereas in fact he belonged to that of Mabaso.

The Mabaso and Zulu tribes *originated* at Nhlazatshe (but nearer Ntabankulu and close to the White Umfolozi), where stone walls were erected for cattle kraals. My father told me this. The Zulu tribe moved gradually on to the White Umfolozi valley, such movement being due to nothing but an innate tendency in people to move on and on.

10.2.1903 - <evidence given 9.2.1903>

File 70, p. 56.

Also present: Ndukwana

56 Yesterday's talk with Jantshi continued.

I have said I really belong to the Mabaso people though I have lived all my life among the Zulu tribe. The following are names of Mabaso chiefs who occur to me: Nhlabati, father of Mabedhla, father of Luwamba. There are of course others, but I forget them. Then there are Ntabankulu and Mncakwana who are also chiefs and living near Weenen (Nobamba, Natal). These are, I believe, sons of the above-named Luwamba.

Baleni, Ndukwana says, is a son of Luwamba. He lived in Nqutu district near the Batshwa river.

We speak of the Qwabe people as *those from down-country*.<sup>7</sup> We *originated up-country from them*. In conversing with them we say we *came down with a grain basket*.<sup>8</sup> Their dialect too slightly differs from ours.

Malandela, the ancient Zulu king, was, I am sure, buried in Zululand, though I am quite unable to indicate where his grave is. Qwabe separated from Zulu and came south. I do not know how they came to separate and, hearing of no quarrel, do not suppose that any kind of disagreement between them was the cause.

I know of no Zulu kings' graves at Nhlazatshe, nor near the White Umfolozi and Ntabankulu, where I say the Zulu tribe originally

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lived. The Zulu tribe came into existence in what is now Zululand. We have always lived in that country and do not come from another land. The land now known as belonging to the Mapiseni people at Nhlazatshe is what was built on by the Zulu people in the old days.

Mabedhla, the Mabaso chief, decided the Mabaso tribe should divide into two sections - Mabaso and Mapisi. I do not recollect who became chief of the Mapisi. Luwamba afterwards objected to the division which had taken place because he married a girl of the tribe, speaking of her as out of the tribe. Under Zulu custom no-one could marry within the tribe. We consequently find instances of kings and other heads, just because they want to marry a particular girl, splitting the tribe up by speaking of her section of it as 'apart' from his own. Ndukwana concurs.

12.2.1903 - evidence given 10.2.1903

File 70, pp. 58-60.

Also present: Ndukwana

58 Jantshi speaks: The vulgar saying,  
*Wa bek' isigonogono sennja,*  
*Si hlonywe nge nduku ya maNtungwa,*<sup>9</sup>  
has in it four ancient names, viz. Beka (for Bekapezulu), Sigonogono, Nja, Mntungwa, and these were names of persons (ancestors) of the Zulu tribe.

59 The Zulu tribe. We are 'Sutu' because we *originated up-country*. The Qwabe people came south to near where the Mtetwa people lived. In speaking to the Mtetwa we referred to ourselves as 'Sutu', simply because we came from near the Sutu people, not because we are really members of that race.

'Ofe mkozi'<sup>10</sup> is an expression used at the beginning of a conversation by the ancient Zulu people. The old dialect at first spoken by the Zulu tribe is still to be heard near Nhlazatshe among the Mapiseni, an offshoot of the Mabaso tribe to which I belong. The Mabaso and Zulu tribes *originated in one place*. The Kumalo and Butelezi peoples also *originated* in the same place.

At Ntabankulu and Nhlazatshe (in that neighbourhood), the Zulu, Mabaso, Kumalo and Butelezi people [Cube - see Sigananda's evidence] used to build the kraals of their respective kraals <sic> close to one another, more or less in a line, and in that way occupy a single long ridge. I, says Jantshi, visited the district and there saw many old kraal sites in a line. These were pointed out to me by a very old woman as being those of the tribe. This mode of living was employed to enable the members of the tribe to be quickly called together in case of sudden attack by a foe at night or in the day-time.

Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo *quarrelled with* Zibizendhlela, his brother. Zibizendhlela ran away, no-one knew where to, and for years after people used to be frightened on hearing the rumour 'Here's Zibizendhlela', which would cause people to go off and sleep in the veld.

Dingiswayo caused great unrest in the country. People were scattered in every direction. Finding he was so powerful, Zwide gave

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him a girl in marriage. She was directed by him to get some of his semen into an *umfece* [used as snuffboxes - butterflies enter it - Colenso calls it a 'large cocoon' - see Dictionary] and bring it back with her. The girl did so. Zwide accordingly *used it to get power over* Dingiswayo, and one day the latter went out from his kraal and, without waiting for his *impi*, proceeded straight on to Zwide's, where he was arrested and put to death. Zwide wanted to leave Dingiswayo alone, but Zwide's mother, Ntombaze, said he ought to be killed, 'for if you allow him to live he will kill you.' Dingiswayo was thereupon put to death.

<12.2.1903> - evidence given 11.2.1903

File 70, pp. 60-1.

Also present: Ndukwana

On 11.2.1903, yesterday, Jantshi, in Ndukwana's presence, spoke as follows of the history of Tshaka - birth, wanderings, accession and conquests:

My father told me he was *in the Zulu country* when Tshaka was born, and was a man at the time of his birth.

Before being allowed to marry, Senzangakona went out *herding* cattle with others; these were not boys but men. [Socwatsha says Dingana was the first to start *the practice of making marriage dependent upon the king's permission*<sup>11</sup> - April 1916.] The cattle were *herded* near Mbengi's kraal, the chief or king of the Langeni people. There the young men built *temporary shelters*, and there *gathered* many stones, playing with them at *games of war*. The girls of the Langeni came to hear that these men were *herding* and that *a son of the chief was among them*. The girls then made a *practice of going there, hiding themselves so that they were not seen by the Zulu youths*. After a time the place where they used to hide became *trodden out and also began to smell of food*. The Zulu youths eventually discovered that people frequented this spot near where they with Senzangakona herded their cattle, and that they brought food with them there. They said to themselves, 'Let these people that sit about here be watched to see where they come from.' They accordingly laid in wait and saw that girls came to the spot. On seeing them, Senzangakona's party went to them. When they saw the men approaching, the girls wanted to run off, but the young men *intercepted* them and asked, 'Why do you come and sit here?' They answered, 'We just come to sit and watch.' 'What is it that you come to see?' 'Oh nothing; we have just come to see the child of the chief who is said to be here.' 'Can you point him out? Do you know which he is?' The girls replied, 'We can point him out.' 'Then come and do so, as you say you know him,' the young men exclaimed. They then conducted the girls to the *shelters where they were staying*. Those in these temporary huts then came out, including Senzangakona, Zivalele, Sitayi and others,<sup>12</sup> and stood waiting. The youths said, 'Point him out. Which is he?' Thereupon a girl named Nandi pointed him out and said, 'That is Senzangakona.' 'But what do you see in him that you should point him out in this way?' 'I do so because I like him,' said the girl. They all then entered the *huts*. Nandi entered Senzangakona's, whilst the other girls entered other huts with the

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remaining young men.

13.2.1903 - <evidence given 11.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 61-5.

Also present: Ndukwana

After this the girls, day by day, used to come to this spot to amuse themselves and pass away their time. In the course of a few weeks Mbengi,<sup>13</sup> finding that Nandi had become pregnant (she had at first stated she was suffering from an illness known as *itshaka* or *itshati*), sent a report to that effect to Mudhli.<sup>14</sup> Mudhli asked why such report had been made to him. The messengers replied, 'He acquaints you of this because the girl stated she liked the *son of the chief*.' Mudhli retorted, 'Is that the case?' 'Yes', they answered. Mudhli then said, 'All right, then please look after that, in case it turns out to be a child. We of the Zulu tribe would be glad if it should happen to be a boy.' The *men from the Langeni* then went off and there, for the time being, the matter rested.

Later on, messengers again came to Mudhli to say the girl had been delivered of a child and it was a boy. Mudhli was pleased at this and said, 'On no account let his mother suckle him.' I think this must have been done because royalty were not allowed, by custom, to be suckled by their mothers.

Mudhli secretly informed Senzangakona's mother<sup>15</sup> of what had taken place. She then used to send a piece of string to where the child was in order to see how big its waist was. All this time the members of the kraal at which Senzangakona's mother lived knew nothing of what had happened. When the child had grown a little, Senzangakona's mother dispatched a man to fetch and bring it to her, which was done. But this act took place at night, and the circumstances appearing to the night guards of the *isigodhlo* of a strange character, they paid special attention. My father said to me, 'I cannot think how the persons referred to came to see that there was a child in the hut.' The persons who saw this belonged to the Zulu tribe. It was the custom to have night guards so as to detect those committing adultery etc. However the incident came to be noticed, the *guardians* of Senzangakona all came to hear of it, and an *impi* was sent to Senzangakona's mother's kraal the next day to kill off the child, seeing that, at that time, Senzangakona had not been  
62 allowed to marry. Senzangakona's mother had caused *mats* to be set up at the back of the hut behind which the child was set and where she used to play with it. It was not allowed to sit out in the open in the hut.

Before this *impi* had been sent forth, a report reached Senzangakona's mother to the effect that somehow people had come to hear of the existence of the child there and whose it was. She was advised to have it taken away and sent back to its mother among the Langeni. Senzangakona's mother acted at once on the advice given her.

Two men, on the following day, preceded the *impi* referred to and, making their way to Senzangakona's mother, asked what she had hidden away behind the mats in her hut. The *impi* at this time was close up to the kraal. The two men looked about but found nothing. Whilst they were so engaged the *impi*, in large numbers, arrived and, after searching about the kraal for the child and not finding it, they

proceeded at once to destroy the kraal and the members thereof. People were put to death but Senzangakona's mother somehow escaped being killed. My father gave the very names of those who went with this *impi*, for he knew them, but I have forgotten them. Now the name of this kraal was Mfemfe (*Hamu's home kraal*), but the name was changed by Senzangakona to that of Mangeni, because lies had been told there.

63 The child was Tshaka. Now as regards the name Tshaka, I took care to question my father specially about it. He said he got the name from the ailment from which his mother Nandi was at first said to be suffering, before it became evident she was pregnant, viz. *itshaka*. My father said *itshati* by some was called *itshaka* by others in those early days. My father Nongila said that if a person had what is now known as *ikambi*, she was spoken of as having *itshaka*.<sup>16</sup> The same expression was used in regard to a girl who had by accident, become *enceinte* before marriage. The *illegitimate child* she had *produced* was also spoken of as *itshaka*. My father drew my attention to the fact that we come from the north and that our dialect is different from what it used to be. He also said that some spoke of *itshaka* as *itshati*. He himself used the word *itshaka* and it was from the circumstances under which Tshaka was conceived that he was so named. The child Tshaka was taken back to the Langeni. There he grew up. When the Mfemfe (Mangeni) kraal was attacked as described, Nandi went off and married Gendeyana<sup>17</sup> by whom she had a son named Ngwadi.

Senzangakona was shortly after allowed to marry. He then had the following sons: Dingana, Mpande, Ngqojana, Mfihlo, Mqubana, Mhlangano, Sigujana, Nzibe, Sankoye, and others. Tshaka at a later time said to the last-named, 'You are too ugly to be called my brother, so go away.' He, Tshaka, thereupon made him a present of cattle and Sankoye went to live a long distance off. After some years, however, Sankoye visited Tshaka, wanting to see his elder brother as he had so long been parted from him. All Tshaka said was, 'Did I not tell you not to come here?' And he thereupon gave orders for him to be put to death.

When Tshaka had grown up and become an *insizwa* among the Langeni, Senzangakona came to hear of him and that he had become an *insizwa*. My father says Senzangakona then wanted to send to the Langeni people for Tshaka, but Mudhli, hearing of this intention, secretly dispatched a man - his *inceku* - so that Tshaka, by seeing the man, might afterwards know him. This *inceku* carried the following message to Tshaka: 'Mudhli says you are about to be summoned to the country of the Zulu, but do not, when you arrive there, sit down. Remain standing. You will,' the *inceku* continued, 'see me there on your arrival. I shall wink at you if there is any danger and, should you see me do this, you must make off immediately.'

The invitation from Senzangakona arrived in due course among the Langeni. Tshaka accordingly came to the Zulu country, accompanied by about 20 *izinsizwa* of his own age. All had armed themselves with large war shields. They found the Zulu seated outside in a semi-circle. I believe this took place at the Mfemfe kraal where Senzangakona's mother lived. As soon as Tshaka and his companions arrived, they took up a position some yards off and there continued standing. Tshaka stood forth from his followers, a little in front of them. He then glanced about among the Zulu people and discovered

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64 Mudhli's *inceku* winking at him, the *inceku* being seated behind Mudhli. The *izinsizwa* with Tshaka had stood their shields *with the projecting sticks* on their feet in an upright position. On seeing the *inceku* wink, the party turned right about with their shields and made off towards their homes. When Tshaka arrived *back among the Langeni*, he did not stop there any longer but went on at once to Dingiswayo's district among the Mtetwa.

I should have remarked that whilst living among the Langeni, Tshaka had a quarrel with a cousin of his (my father mentioned the name - I forget it) about some stones. The cousin took away a stone belonging to Tshaka. On Tshaka's demanding the return of it, his cousin got angry and refused to give it up. Tshaka thereupon proceeded to the cattle belonging to the kraal at which this cousin lived and deliberately stabbed one of them to death. His cousin asked why, because of a quarrel about a stone, he should go and stab a beast. Tshaka after this *left* and went to the Qwabe. He was obliged to go because there was a good deal of ill-feeling about his killing the beast in this way. Tshaka went now and lived with a man who had *built for Gendeyana*, his mother Nandi's husband. I forget the name of this man. Tshaka spent some time here. Here again, however, he had another quarrel. He quarrelled with a boy belonging to the man he had gone to live with. This boy retaliated by *insulting* him in the following terms '*What sort of little Ntungwa is this, the one with the little half-cocked penis?*' Tshaka became angry, especially because these opprobrious expressions were similar to those the Lembe people had formerly used in respect of his ancestors. He then left and went back to live among the Langeni. When the quarrel above referred to between Tshaka and his cousin took place, the journey by Tshaka and his party to the Zulu on Senzangakona's invitation had not taken place.

From the Langeni Tshaka now went to the Mtetwa tribe where he grew into manhood. He lived in Ngomane's kraal, son of Mqomboli.<sup>18</sup> Ngomane was already an old man when Tshaka went to the Zulu as king. I do not know if Mqomboli was living when Tshaka fled to Dingiswayo's. Tshaka here became a *warrior* and he went out with the *impi* to fight in many directions.

Tshaka went to Dingiswayo *when he was approaching the age of an insizwa*, and stayed there until he was a full-grown man. He made himself a reputation there.

11.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 14, p. 1.

Also present: Ndukwana

1 Senzangakona *buta'd* the Ntontela regiment, but when Tshaka came to the throne he *buta'd* a regiment he called the Dhlangubo, and this he threw into the Ntontela. Continuing the same name, the regiment came to be looked on as first enlisted by himself.

<13.2.1903 - evidence given 11.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 65-7.

Also present: Ndukwana

65 My father belonged to and lived with the Zulu people, and so did not know what took place at Mtetwa. Ngomane would have known that.

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Magidi,<sup>19</sup> a chief in the Lower Tugela Division, is a son of Ngomane ka Mqomboli. He would probably know something about that part of Tshaka's career which was passed or spent among the Mtetwa. [Knows very little indeed - J.S.]

Tshaka was known by Dingiswayo as '*He whose fame spreads even while he is sitting; the ilembe which surpasses other amalembe*'. I do not know what *ilembe* means. Ndukwana suggests it might have something to do with an *igeja* (hoe) in allusion to his stabbing so freely in battle.<sup>20</sup>

After some years Senzangakona decided to go down to Dingiswayo's to *look for a new wife*. When Dingiswayo saw him he specially invited him to come at a later time and join in festivities he was going to bring about in the shape of a public dance. Senzangakona proceeded home and informed his brothers Zivalele and Sitayi, and also the important men Mudhli and Menziwa (father of Mvundhlana)<sup>21</sup> and other people, of the invitation.

Senzangakona thereupon went back to Dingiswayo's with the heads of his tribe and many ordinary members, including my father Nongila. Nothing took place on the day of his arrival. It was arranged that the dance should take place the day following. The next day Senzangakona and his party *danced* first. After he had concluded, Dingiswayo's people *danced*. Whilst Dingiswayo's party were dancing, Tshaka was shut up in the *calf pen* out of sight of the Zulu people. This had been arranged by Dingiswayo. When dancing had been going on some time, Dingiswayo came forward and said, '*Where is the hoe that surpasses other hoes?*' He thereupon directed someone to go and open the *pen* for him and, as the messenger proceeded to carry out the instruction, Dingiswayo sang out his praises. Tshaka then *came out of the pen carrying his war shield of one colour*. It had pieces of skins of various wild animals placed in those holes in the shield caused by assegai thrusts. In Tshaka's shield the following skins were used for this purpose: *meercat* (like a *mongoose*, but smaller), *mongoose*, and *genet*.

66 Tshaka came out and then began at once to *giya*. As he did so, Dingiswayo *shouted his praises*. Whilst *giyain*, he ran round and round in circles and eventually ended off in front of Senzangakona where he stood still. He then said to his father, '*Father, give me an assegai, and I shall fight great battles for you!*' His father directed assegais to be fetched from the huts. A pile was accordingly brought. Senzangakona said, '*Take one yourself.*' Tshaka replied, '*No, let it come from your hand; I cannot take it myself.*' Senzangakona thereupon felt a number, one by one, and deciding on one, gave it to Tshaka. Tshaka, after getting the assegai, resumed his *giyain*, and when he had finished he walked off in a certain direction in which it appeared Dingana, Sigujana, Mhlangano, Ngqojana, Mpande, and Maqubana were seated. He then went up to Sigujana and, tapping him on the head with his assegai, said, '*Greetings, my brother.*' Sigujana *responded*. They conversed a little, after which Tshaka went off and joined the dancing party, taking part in the dance.

The entertainment came to an end. All *dispersed* and went to their huts. Senzangakona did the same, going to the huts set apart for himself. All partook of meat and beer, and retired to rest. At night,



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when all were asleep, Tshaka went out and got on top of Senzangakona's hut and there washed himself with *medicines* given him by Dingiswayo. The water dripped through the hut onto Senzangakona. He woke and at once roused those in the hut and told them to go out and see what that was on the hut which appeared to be washing itself there. As they opened the door they heard a person jump off the hut and run away. It being a moonlight night, they saw the person running away. They saw it was Tshaka. Senzangakona was then *overcome by fear*. He *became sick in the night*. The next day he was ill. He sent men to report to Dingiswayo that he was ill and was going off home. Dingiswayo then came with Tshaka and others to Senzangakona's hut to bid him goodbye as he was going away. Senzangakona told Dingiswayo that what had caused him to be ill was a man washing on top of the hut and the water dripping on to him. The two then *talked of affairs*. Dingiswayo then said to Mudhli and Zivalele in Senzangakona's presence, '*Take good care of this person for me,*' pointing at Tshaka. They replied, '*Au, nkosi, must we look after* 67 *him too, while we are still caring for this one?*', indicating Senzangakona. They then *made their farewells* and went off with Senzangakona to their homes.

They got home and, after (they had spent) some days there, an *impi* went out to fight against that of Donda, *chief of the Kumalo*. At the fight which took place Sigujana was struck with an assegai on the head at the very spot where Tshaka, on greeting him at the dance, had tapped him with his assegai. Sigujana succumbed to his injury.

14.2.1903 - <evidence given 11.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 67-70.

Also present: Ndukwana

The Zulu *impi* then retreated to their homes, where they remained. This was in summer. When winter came round, Senzangakona died. Tshaka then *went up* from the Mtetwa tribe to that of the Zulus. On the occasion of his going up, Dingiswayo directed Tshaka to kill Mudhli and Zivalele 'because they do not like you'. Dingiswayo also gave him Ngomane ka Mqomboli,<sup>22</sup> saying, '*This is your father,*' and also allowed him to take a considerable following of people. Tshaka then came to the Zulu country with Ngomane. He slept one night, and the next day an *impi* was sent off to kill Mudhli. After putting him to death it returned to Tshaka at the late Senzangakona's kraal. On the day following it was sent to put Zivalele to death. After these two incidents; all Tshaka's brothers gave him their allegiance through fear of him, and the whole tribe *konza'd* and accepted their new king.

Tshaka's next act was to send a messenger to Pakatwayo, the king of the Qwabe people, to *ask for grain* because, having only just arrived, neither Tshaka nor his people had had time to do any cultivation. On receiving this application, Pakatwayo at once insulted Tshaka in the following terms: '*The little Nguni who wears as a penis cover the fruit-shell used for snuffboxes. Where did he get an impi from? Is the impi from up-country like the rain? It is nothing but a little string of beads that doesn't even reach to the ears*' (meaning that his followers were so few). '*The Nguni who, when mixing food, held it in his left hand and the spoon in his right,*

and had to hit the dog with his head.<sup>23</sup> He would not give the grain.

68 The insulting reply caused Tshaka to be very angry. He went outside and cried until tears fell and the *isigodhlo* also cried. The persons who brought the impudent message arrived at sunset. Tshaka at once called his *impi* together and said to them, 'I have been insulted by the *Qwabe*. Take up your arms and assemble here in the night.' His warriors arrived as directed, and the next day his army took up its weapons early, was drawn up, given its orders, and despatched. It then went off and straightway attacked Pakatwayo. Tshaka himself went with it. He looked on at the fight that took place. He noticed where Pakatwayo had taken up his position. Pakatwayo's *impi* was quickly overcome, when Tshaka directed his men to go and make Pakatwayo prisoner, pointing, as he spoke, to where he was. Pakatwayo was readily caught and Tshaka went after his *impi* to where he was. They found Pakatwayo seated on the ground with his head buried in his folded arms. Tshaka arrived to see his prisoner surrounded by his (Tshaka's) warriors. When Tshaka came close up, Pakatwayo looked up and, as he saw Tshaka, was seized with fear. Tshaka then said, 'Take him away to his home.' Pakatwayo was then carried off to his kraal by the *impi*, which chanted war songs as it went. He was set down at his home. Tshaka returned to his tribe, and on the day following the battle it was found that Pakatwayo was dead, having apparently been killed by fear alone.

Tshaka now rested a little and presently attacked Mzilikazi ka Matshobana who lived near the Mkuze, south side [where, as Ndukwana adds, it joins the Nkongolwana stream]. Tshaka had had no quarrel with Mzilikazi. He was merely an ambitious man who wanted to become wealthy in cattle and have numerous followers. He met Mzilikazi's forces, fought and defeated them, Mzilikazi and the majority of his people fleeing north.

After again resting a short time, Tshaka sent his *impi* to Dube of the Qadini at the place of *Mqawe's* people. Here too there had been no quarrel. He defeated Dube. This tribe did not flee but paid taxes and Tshaka seized a number of their cattle. Tshaka came home and rested.

He now engaged Pungatshe of the Butelezi and defeated him. He fought Donda (part of this man's praise is '*we siziba*'<sup>24</sup>) of the Kumlalo. Tshaka defeated him and ate up his cattle. The victors returned and rested.

69 It was about this time that Dingiswayo attacked Zwide. The two forces fought till sunset without the one defeating the other. When Zwide found he could not get the better of Dingiswayo, he gave a daughter to him in marriage and, when she went, Zwide told her when having intercourse with him to put into a snuffbox [see (above)] some of his semen. After accomplishing this the girl returned to her father. She gave him the snuffbox. Zwide then 'doctored' Dingiswayo and said, 'O, now I have overcome him.' Dingiswayo then went off without telling his *impi* and said, 'I am going to fight with Zwide.' He left home and proceeded at a rapid pace on foot straight to Zwide, leaving the *impi* to summon themselves together, not knowing exactly where their king was going to. Dingiswayo had in the meantime run on. The *impi* too followed at a run. It arrived in Zwide's country to find their king had been apprehended. Dingiswayo's *impi* fought, but on ascertaining their king had been arrested, they desisted. Zwide was of a mind to let Dingiswayo go, but Ntombaze<sup>25</sup> said, 'Kill him, or he will kill you.' Zwide allowed Dingiswayo to live for three days and

on the fourth day put him to death.

When he heard of what had taken place, Tshaka got angry and said, '*To arms! Zwide has killed my father.*' Tshaka went on to say, 'As Zwide is powerful, you must attack him by night, and when you make the attack you must use among you the password "*Kisi*", and whoever does not reply similarly must be stabbed, for it will be dark.' The *impi* accordingly made the attack at night. They *surrounded* Zwide's Nsingweni kraal. Zwide's men woke and a battle ensued, use being made of the password '*Kisi*'. By day-break Tshaka's *impi* had disappeared away into a neighbouring forest. Those at Zwide's kraal then *raised the alarm* and the men of the tribe gathered in large numbers. Tshaka's *impi* in the meantime remained in the forest looking at what was going on. When night came on, Tshaka's *impi* again attacked the place, making use as before of their password. They once more *stabbed* Zwide's people a good deal. They again retreated to the forest and back to Tshaka to report Zwide was too powerful for them to get the better of. My father was in these night attacks. He was wounded at the middle knuckle joint of the little finger of the left or shield-holding hand. His finger afterwards became stiff and he was unable to straighten it out.

Tshaka now thought of a plan. He called up doctors to come and *discuss the power which they could work with their medicines*. The doctors came and *discussed* it. Mbekelo, one of their number, and Mqalana ka Nongweni *made many suggestions*. Tshaka spoke of these two as of the Mtila; as a matter of fact they were of the Nzuza. [Another doctor of Tshaka's was Nombanda ka Mjikijelwa.] They suggested to him as follows: 'We will go away from you, Sir, and say you have chased us away. We will then make our way to Zwide with our medicines.' Tshaka asked, 'But what will you say? How will you act?' They replied, 'We will say you were killing us.' Tshaka said, 'But what will you do then?' They said, 'We will *trick* him (i.e. do to him as Zwide himself had done to Dingiswayo, that is, bewitch him, causing him to run into danger) and pour medicine in the water which he is in the habit of drinking. We will, moreover, *pour* our medicine *in his calabashes*, and our idea is to throw drugs about the path as we return, as well as keep on burning the grass about it so as to cause him to come and continue coming by that way to your place. We will *draw the impi down the Geongco*' - a long, steep ridge - 'then *cross the Mhlatuze* and come here so that you yourself may verify our words. And when the enemy (*impi*) gets here it will be seen that all the members thereof have *shaved their heads*, and no sooner will it see your army than it will throw away its shields and begin to *jerk about on the ground*.' Tshaka said, '*Are you really speaking the truth? Is that what the enemy will do?*' They replied, '*It is true.*' Tshaka then ordered them thus, 'Go off there then, and let me see if you are doctors indeed.' The other doctors were told to go off to their homes. These two men thereupon went and stayed at Zwide's as arranged. Zwide asked where they had come from. They replied, 'From Tshaka. He has chased us away by wanting to kill us.'

<14.2.1903> - evidence given 12.2.1903

File 70, pp. 70-1.

Also present: Ndukwana

Jantshi continues on 12.2.1903: The two doctors were received by

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71 Zwide and they afterwards began to *administer* him *medicine* in the manner above roughly outlined.

16.2.1903 - <evidence given 12.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 71-3.

Also present: Ndukwana

At night time they would get up and pour medicine in the spring from which he drank. They dropped the drugs about his *isigodhlo* and the *kraal yard* where Zwide walked. They lived with him three months, dropping medicine the whole time. In the fourth month they *made off* at night and came straight back to Tshaka. On the way back too they continued to pour down medicines and burnt the grass alongside of the path they travelled by. They also came down the Gcongco, crossed the Mhlatuze and came to Tshaka's kraal. They reported to their king all they had done. They told him to be on the alert and watch for the *impi*, for it would surely arrive. 'It will come at once, *with all the soldiers having shaved their heads*', etc. (repeating the prophecy above set forth). Tshaka listened. The doctors got back home when the *moon was new* and said that when the moon became full the *impi* referred to would make its appearance.

True enough, Zwide's *impi* came in sight at the full moon, and by the long, steep ridge of Gcongco as predicted by the doctors. Tshaka gave orders that the whole of his *impi* was to arm the same night. Tshaka's people saw Zwide's *impi* readily enough coming down the Gcongco, for the ridge was only some five or so miles off, and elevated. Tshaka sent out many messengers to call his forces together and they assembled at once as directed. They were called together in these terms, '*Zwide's impi is upon us!*' Tshaka positioned his *impi* inside the cattle enclosure at his Bulawayo kraal where he was then living. As Zwide's *impi* approached, it divided itself into two large bodies with the evident intention of surrounding the kraal. Tshaka directed his men to allow Zwide's to come up close for, he exclaimed, '*Today I am Zwide's chosen one!*' When Zwide's (men) had come close, Tshaka unleashed his forces. True enough, all Zwide's *impi* had shaved their heads as prophesied by the doctors. No sooner did Zwide's *impi* see that of Tshaka than every man threw away his shield and all began to *writhe about on the ground*. A fight ensued. Zwide's (men) retreated and returned several times until all Zwide's sons, those (whose names) Tshaka is praised by, had been slain.

72 As the enemy fled, Tshaka directed his warriors to follow and continue stabbing them until they had *driven them home*. This was done and Tshaka's *impi* passed on and headed for the place of Zwide's people. My father was in all this fighting but received no wound on that occasion. When Tshaka's forces came in sight of the kraal, the women all came out to meet them, believing them to be their own people. The women discovered only when the *impi* was at close quarters that it was not theirs. They would have seen this by the colours of the *shields*. They then turned and ran. Zwide saw what happened and ran off to a hill. Tshaka's *impi* thereupon *stabbed* all women and children they came across and seized large numbers of cattle in all parts of Zwide's kingdom. The victors then returned to

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Tshaka with their booty. Zwide was not killed for he ran away in a northerly direction with numbers of his followers. After the fight, the bodies of Nombengula, Mpepa, Dayingubo, Nomahlanjana and others of Zwide's sons were found among the slain.

My father was in all the battles with Zwide's tribe.

Tshaka's *impi* after this rested. In the meantime Zwide remained up-country, but his son Sikunyana, being averse to proceeding northwards, returned within a few months to his old lands with a number of followers. This came to Tshaka's knowledge. He heard that Sikunyana intended attacking him. Tshaka at once raised his *impi* and proceeded to attack Sikunyana, the two bodies meeting at Zindolowana (*overlooking the Pongolo*, visible from Dumbe hill which stands on the north side of the Bivana and south of the Pongolo). A fight took place. Sikunyana was defeated, caught, and put to death. Tshaka then returned home, only, however, to prepare other schemes.<sup>26</sup>

After Sikunyana's death, Ndukwana says, Somapunga ka Zwide (Somapunga is Mankulumana's<sup>27</sup> father) came to Tshaka and tendered his allegiance. Nqabeni ka Zwide, Mlomo ka Zwide, and others also came and tendered their allegiance. These two, however, were still young, for they *enrolled in the Zinyosi regiment*. Nqabeni was killed at Maqongqo when Mpande fought with Dingana. His son Hlokolo was (of the) Imboza regiment and was killed at Nodwengu by the British troops in 1879. He was *induna of the Ndhloyengwe regiment*.

Among Zwide's regiments, Jantshi continues, were the following: Mgazi, Isikwitshi, Iziboya, Amapela. [Mnemi concurs in these as names of regiments - 25.10.1904.] The Amapela regiment was, I think, of the most elderly men as well as the strongest.

73 In a short time Tshaka decided to attack Mapoloba ka Mbele, *chief of the Nyuswa*. He defeated him and seized his cattle.

My father was a spy and so had to go before any expedition left to see the country about to be attacked. He himself therefore had to accompany the forces to act as guide. He once got as far as the 'Cape' (*Kibi*), saw the white people, and reported what he had seen to Tshaka.

Ndukwana remarks that Tshaka also fought Kondhlo ka Magalela (*'the one who attacks with determination, like a lion - a praise, chief of the Ntshali*). Kondhlo was killed but the rest of the tribe fled with Kondhlo's son Nkubu, and the latter afterwards attacked Tshaka and was defeated in the same way that Sikunyana ka Zwide was.<sup>28</sup>

The Cele were also *attacked* by Tshaka. They were then under their king Mande ka Dibandhlela. [See 'History of Tribes' in Annals of Natal - Bird.]

Tshaka *attacked* Zihlandhlo ka Gwabe, where he got the praise, *'He ate two sweet-reeds, one being Zihlandhlo, the other Gwabe, but spat out only one leaf,'* i.e. because he did not kill but merely caught them.<sup>29</sup>

Apart from the above battles and conquests, Tshaka attacked many other so-called kings that I cannot now call to mind.

I recollect that another was Duzi (I think this was the father of Mashimana, who died recently, leaving Mtambo as successor), *chief of the Makanya*. Tshaka did not kill Duzi; he made him an *induna*.

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[Mtambo is the son of Makuta ka Duze (not Duzi) ka Mnengwa ka Makanya.]

Tshaka also attacked and defeated Mvenya, father of Dumisa, who is the father of the late Saoti.<sup>30</sup> Mvenya was not killed. As a matter of fact, Tshaka did not put to death the kings or kinglets he defeated if, when he proceeded against them, they ran away and did not show fight. He made them *izinduna*.

Kutshwayo, *chief of the Dube*, is another of those conquered by Tshaka. This man, like many others, was *attacked* merely to *make him pay tribute*, i.e. reduce him to become a subject and then instate him as an *induna*.

17.2.1903 - <evidence given 12.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 73-6.

Also present: Ndukwana

74 Sotshangana ka Zikode was also *attacked* by Tshaka. He was living in Zululand, I believe south of the Mkuze.<sup>31</sup> The only king who was *not* attacked by Tshaka was Mtshwetshe of Basutoland. He, hearing Tshaka was so powerful, *payed tribute* with *elephant tusks* and acknowledged allegiance.

Tshaka, towards the end of his career, sent an *impi* to attack the amaMpondo under Faku. Faku *left his home* and *fled* with his tribe and cattle. When the *impi* returned from the amaMpondo, Tshaka directed it to proceed on to Sotshangana's at once, a man who had fled north of Delagoa Bay. They had to go on without coming home and had to be joined by people of all ages - *a force raked together indiscriminately from the whole male population*. Even old men went out to fight. The cause of this strange conduct on Tshaka's part was, as my father tells me, because Faku had taken *the assegai that was red from stabbing people, had slaughtered a beast with it, and had tossed it into a storage pot*. Tshaka *sent them off* because he was *still angry*.<sup>32</sup>

It was just after Tshaka had sent his forces on after Sotshangana that he was put to death. For, after going some way, all Tshaka's brothers returned home. Tshaka asked, '*So you are returning on your own?*' .... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.> It was then that they plotted and killed him, the *impi* at the time being away at Sotshangana's. It returned to find Tshaka dead and it returned dying too along the way, for it was attacked by *malaria*. The men returned in ones, twos, fives etc. at a time.

Jantshi continues in the evening of 12.2.1903. My father (Nongila) *left* the Sotshangana *campaign*, and returned ill with *malaria* and nearly died.

Tshaka's brothers, as already stated, did not accompany this *impi* and they made no reply to Tshaka's question, '*Are you returning on your own?*' My father told me about the death of Tshaka, though it was what he had heard from others, for he was not present. Dingana, Mhlangano, Mpande, Ngqojana, Mfihlo, Mqubana and other brothers of Tshaka decided to assassinate him. Mbopa too joined the 'brothers'. The plan decided on was that Mbopa should stab him. Tshaka was stabbed by Mbopa. He was seated outside at the time of his assassination. I cannot, however, speak accurately on this matter.

75 [Jantshi is now cross-examined by me on the foregoing statement regarding the history of Tshaka's times.]

In Senzangakona's day there was no *jubaing* of girls as in Tshaka's and other later kings' (times), but kings such as Senzangakona were *jutshwa'd*, i.e. given permission to marry, and were not allowed to marry before such had been given.

I admit there was a man who accompanied the girls and who pointed out to Nandi who Senzangakona was, but I cannot allow there was more than one man. The fact that a man accompanied the girls for the purpose tends to show that the errand was one directed possibly by some person in authority, say Mbengi himself, but there is nothing in tradition to that effect. Nor did my father say the girls went any great distance from their kraals to Senzangakona's party, for in that case they would have had to put up at some kraal in order to keep on going to the spot referred to as being that at which the Zulus came to be aware of the girls' presence. My father made no mention of such a kraal, so I am inclined to think Senzangakona *herded* rather near Mbengi's place and it became an easy matter for the girls to visit day by day and return to their own homes to sleep. Ndhlovu's and Mruyi's<sup>33</sup> father Timuni (i.e. their authority) got his information from the same person I myself did, viz. my father. I am prepared to grant Senzangakona's kraal was more than a day's journey from Mbengi's, but I see nothing odd in Senzangakona's party going to herd as far off from their homes as they appear to have done.

I believe the man who accompanied the girls only went with them once, i.e. to point out who Senzangakona was.

Tshaka was *illegitimate*. I feel quite sure on this point. Nandi never became Senzangakona's wife, nor did he ever *lobola* her. Had she been his wife, how came she to marry Gendeyana and have children by him? I will not allow that Senzangakona chased her away for having a bad temper. Nandi never went at all to Senzangakona to be his wife. According to custom, a woman who is turned away goes and lives at her father's kraal. I think Nandi's father was Mbengi, chief of the Langeni tribe.<sup>34</sup> I have heard that her grandmother came from the Mtetwa tribe.

76 I cannot agree that Tshaka was continually kept concealed from Senzangakona. He was, on the other hand, actually called by Senzangakona and went to see his father as already stated by me.

The girl's (Nandi's) actual words were, 'We want to see the *young one of the chief*.'<sup>35</sup>

Nandi tried to conceal her condition for a time by saying she had *itshaka*. She was also *treated* for a month or more on account of that ailment.

I do not know anything of Senzangakona having been told of Nandi's 'illness' by Mudhli and his being questioned at all about the matter as stated by Ndhlovu. Senzangakona heard of the child for the first time when it was with his mother on the occasion of his sending an *impi* to kill it, seeing it was born before he had been given permission to marry.

I know nothing about Tshaka's mother being directed by Mudhli not to *suckle* it for fear lest her breasts should swell etc. Ndhlovu, I think, is incorrect here.

Tshaka, as a child, was brought three times to his grandmother's

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(Senzangakona's mother); i.e. after having measured his waist she found him able to be brought. It was on the third occasion that it was resolved to put it to death if, after inspection, it should turn out to be Senzangakona's illegitimate child. My father made reference to three visits.

My belief is that it was fairly well known that Nandi had had a child by Senzangakona, and this very shortly after its birth, for the birth was reported to Mudhli. Therefore when it was reported that Senzangakona's mother had the child at her kraal, there was not much doubt but that it was really Senzangakona's, though they might, as a matter of curiosity, desire first to have a personal inspection.

It was Senzangakona's mother, not Mudhli, who caused the child to be *snatched* away from the impending danger.

I do not happen to know if any girl resisted the *impi* sent to kill the child, in the manner referred to by Ndhlovu. Still, there may be something in it. I do not think Senzangakona's mother was to have been killed.

<17.2.1903> - evidence given 13.2.1903

File 70, pp. 76-7.

[Jantshi still under cross-examination.]

77 I do not recollect Senzangakona's mother's name.

The girl (Nandi) was said to be suffering from *itshaka*, not *itsheka* (*cheka*) as Fynn says. [See Annals of Natal.] My father certainly used the word '*itshaka*'.

I do not know what persons were killed at Mfemfe kraal (Mangeni) when the party was sent to kill the child.

Nandi had the son Ngwadi by Gendeyana; also a girl Nomcoba. These were her only children by Gendeyana.

My father frequently spoke of Mbuyazwe (Fynn), and said that Fynn used to be given cattle by Tshaka.

Senzangakona's kraals were Nobamba, Mfemfe (Mangeni), Bulawayo, and another I forget. He had not many kraals though he had many children. In those early days many women were not taken to wife by the kings. Senzangakona had not many followers. In the old days ordinary people did not have many wives. My father said two women were thought ample, for it was said that many *wives would have the effect of a love-charm*, i.e. by having intercourse with so many a man's back would 'break' and he would find an early grave. It was the custom to have small households.

My father was circumcised.

Tshaka was a man of dark colour, not yellowish. He was tall, not very tall. When he came from Dingiswayo's he had not *put on the head-ring*. He *did so among the Zulu*.

18.2.1903 - <evidence given 13.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 77-81.

His buttocks were *broad*, so that one could see that he was a *chief*. He belonged to the Wombe regiment. He was powerfully built and had a bad temper. His strength was remarkable, for he could, when examining a beast, lift up its leg by one arm and stoop to look under it. Only Ngomane ka Mqomboli ever dared to answer him back *among the Zulu*. Even his own relations were afraid of doing so. My



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father did not mention that Ngqengelele used to *answer him back*. I have heard of Ngqengelele. [Nqeto could spit in Tshaka's presence and stood beside him at a festival dance.]<sup>36</sup>

Ndukwana remarks that Ngqengelele was not an *induna* but yet one of the most important men in Zululand.

78 Jantshi says Dingiswayo gave Ngomane to Tshaka in the capacity of 'father' and 'adviser', not *induna*. Ngomane once advised Tshaka, 'Produce children.' Tshaka replied, 'Would they hold to me? They would achieve their own notability and turn against me.' On these grounds he objected to having children.

Ngomane was like a chief. 'In fact', exclaims Ndukwana, 'you, Jantshi, make him out to be *the most powerful of the nation's men*.'

'Ngomane had an *isigodhlo* from Tshaka', Jantshi replies. 'Who else could be like Tshaka in so important a matter as the *isigodhlo*? Ngqengelele did not have an *isigodhlo*. By this fact alone it can be seen Ngomane was a *chief*.'

When Tshaka left the Langeni for Dingiswayo's, he went by himself straight to Mqomboli's. (Mqomboli himself might have been dead at this time, in which case he would have gone to his son Ngomane.) Ngomane reported the occurrence to Dingiswayo, who directed Ngomane to bring Tshaka to him to see. On this being done, Dingiswayo ordered Ngomane to continue to look after Tshaka. Mqomboli may have been an *induna* of Dingiswayo's. Ngomane was certainly given to Tshaka by Dingiswayo as his 'father' when he went back to the Zulu. 'Here is your father', said Dingiswayo to him.

A dispute arises between Ndukwana and Jantshi in regard to the status of Ngqengelele and Ngomane. Ndukwana contends that Ngqengelele, a man of the locality, was Tshaka's 'father'. Tshaka and his brothers grew up in his charge. He had no homestead of his own; he was a menial among the people of the *inkosikazi Mtaniya*<sup>37</sup>, but as I do not know exactly where Tshaka grew up, I am rather puzzled.

Jantshi replies that Tshaka arrived already a man in the Zulu country with Ngomane.

Ndukwana says Mdhlaka was the great *induna* of the country, and certainly Ngomane was not as big as he was. Assuming Ngomane, as Jantshi avers, had an *isigodhlo*, there is nothing remarkable in that. He was made a present of it. I know of Ngomane's having 'come up' with Tshaka from the Mtetwa, but it is new to me to hear he was *the most powerful man of the nation*.

Jantshi replies: I have stated merely what I heard from my father, and although I admit Ngqengelele was one of the heads of the people, still I deny he had anything like the influence of Ngomane to whom Tshaka showed the signal favour of giving him (or allowing him to keep) an *isigodhlo*.

Magidi, a chief now living in Lower Tugela Division, is Ngomane's son. Ngomane's heir died young, or he might have become famous like Mnyamana (the prime minister) who was Ngqengelele's son. I do not know on what land Ngomane set up his homestead in the Zulu country. I never asked this.

79 Ndukwana replies: On the other hand, Ngqengelele's son, Klwana, occupied the large extent of land from near Nkonjeni<sup>38</sup> up to the Pongolo. Klwana did this after the death of Ngqengelele's heir Somfongoza. Klwana fathered Bantubensumo who is still living. Mnya-

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mana also lived on the same tract of country.

Jantshi continues: I know nothing about Tshaka's going to the Cube people, as Mruyi says, and of Tshaka's being touched on the head by the king of that place as he predicted that Tshaka would one day become a king. My belief is that no sooner did Tshaka come back from his visit to Senzangakona, as already related by me, than he went to the Langeni and from there straight on to the Mtetwa.

Tshaka, after becoming king, attacked the Langeni people, accusing them of *pouring curds into his hands and burning them*.

Tshaka's cousin among the Langeni merely snatched away but did not break or destroy Tshaka's stone, as stated by some. I think it must have been because Tshaka fancied himself heir to a king that, on account of a quarrel about a mere stone, he should go and *stab a beast to death*. Tshaka lived with his grandmother when staying among the Langeni at Mbengi's.<sup>39</sup>

I know the name Mbikwana<sup>40</sup> but do not know what part he took in Tshaka's life except that he was a man belonging to Mbengi's kraal. I think that he must have lived at Mbengi's with Tshaka's grandmother. I deny that Mbikwana took Tshaka on to the Mtetwa or that he was concerned in any matter of Senzangakona's *lobola*ing Nandi, for I know nothing whatever of the alleged *lobola* transaction.

When Tshaka got to the Zulu country he sent for his mother Nandi, also Ngwadi and Nomcoba,<sup>41</sup> who then came and lived with him. Tshaka, after a time, built a kraal for his half-brother Ngwadi, its name being Kwa Wambaza [*which was attacked by the Zinyosi* regiment, says Tununu, 14.6.1903.]<sup>42</sup> Nomcoba did not, I think, marry. Kraals merely were erected for her by Tshaka.

Ngwadi was put to death by Dingana, Ndukwana says. Jantshi agrees.

He, Ngwadi, Jantshi says, once fought with *my maternal uncle*. *My uncle attacked* at Ngwadi's kraal. This kraal was closely fenced in with sticks etc. crossed in the ordinary way at the top. Ngwadi escaped. I do not know if he had any issue. Tshaka liked Ngwadi and gave him *authority over a large number of people*. He had a large *impi*.<sup>43</sup> It was afterwards almost forgotten that Ngwadi and Nomcoba were Gendeyana's children; they were spoken of as Senzangakona's for fear of arousing Tshaka's anger.

80 I do not know how Gendeyana came by his death or what happened in regard to him, but I do not think he came to the Zulu country.

Nzibe died of *malaria*, says Ndukwana. Therefore a brother of Tshaka's did go up to Sotshangana's.<sup>44</sup> Jantshi agrees.

Ndukwana believes Nkulukudhleni, son of Ngomane, was the latter's heir. He was killed at Maqongqo<sup>45</sup> and was a member of the iziNyosi regiment.

Jantshi continues 13.2.1903, evening. Tshaka's cousin among the Langeni took a stone from those he was playing with with Tshaka. They were playing at having *impis*, and the cousin took one of Tshaka's 'men'.

Mbengi, father of Nandi, was Makedama's son. [Wrong.]

<At this point in the margin of the original Stuart inserted the genealogy given below - eds.>

## JANTSHI

Mbengi

Mgabi

Nandi

Makedama

Tshaka went alone from the Langeni to go to the Mtetwa. I did not hear that Mbikwana or anyone went with him. He was afraid of being killed by Zulu forces and so lost all fear of proceeding there alone.

Mqalana was Tshaka's *inyanga* from the Swazi country. Tshaka one day called on Mqalana and Ngazi to produce their medicines to see who had the most. Mqalana, on inspecting Ngazi's drugs, was able to give the name of each one. Ngazi, however, could not give the names of Mqalana's in any satisfactory manner. Mqalana then said to Ngazi, 'Do you give the king this medicine, Ngazi?', referring to *iloyi* (a particular drug). Ngazi assented and said, 'Yes, I do.' Mqalana replied, 'The king will kill all the people if you give him this medicine.' Tshaka then directed both doctors to do up their medicines and go home. But Ngazi, instead of going home, entered another hut, whereas Mqalana went home. After Mqalana had gone off, Tshaka again called Ngazi. He said, 'Why does Mqalana speak in this way? Can you kill him? Yes, kill him!' Ngazi replied, 'Let the king find me a sheep if I am to kill him.' Tshaka sent for one, a large ram. The ram arrived. Ngazi took a drug and bit it as he held the sheep. He then *blew the medicines into the sheep's nostrils, while holding it*. He then told Tshaka it should be forwarded to Mqalana at his home as a present. The sheep was sent accordingly, and duly arrived. He was told, 'Here is a sheep, a present for you from the king.' Mqalana directed it should be killed at once and the *spleen* cooked. The ram was immediately killed and the *spleen* cooked. Presently it was cooked. Mqalana called for the *spleen*. He took down a spoon and put it into the food and raised it to his mouth. No sooner did he take the first mouthful than he fell dead on the spot. It came to be known that Ngazi had *doctored the sheep*. Nothing was done in the matter, for this had taken place by the king's direction.

81

<18.2.1903> - evidence given 14.2.1903

File 70, pp. 81-2.

Also present: Ndukwana

It was Tshaka who sent my father to see the white people at the Cape. He was away many months on this journey. He reported he saw the Europeans living on a ridge projecting a long way into the sea. This ridge was a spur of the Ingele, a chain of hills springing from the Kahlamba (Drakensberg).<sup>46</sup>

My father was at Dukuza when Tshaka sent off Sotobe.<sup>47</sup> I do not know if any other Zulu went with Sotobe ka Mpangalala. Sotobe's instructions were that he was to go to England to see the white people, and if Tshaka had lived he would have sent more people for he was very anxious to see how guns were made. There is a general

rumour in Zululand nowadays that Sotobe did not return and that the American negroes are his progeny. As a matter of fact he did return. His son and successor was Nobiya (killed by Zibebu at Ondini<sup>48</sup>). Muntuwapansi, Nobiya's heir, is living on the other side of the Mhlataze among the people of Qetuka and Siteku.

82 My father was very frequently employed as a spy by Tshaka. In all the campaigns enumerated, and others I forget, he used to precede by going to see what the country to be attacked was like. He spied out the country's forces. He was, as a rule, accompanied by others, that is, when the *impi* was actually campaigning. He used to go out alone when on a tour of preliminary inspection. Tshaka used to doctor him on each of his trips, before (his) setting forth. He was not doctored on his return. He told me he would sometimes enter a strange person's hut when beer was being drunk and no-one would greet him. He would then sit down and they would give him food. After (his) leaving and going some half a dozen miles they would suddenly remember they did not ask where he had come from. These omissions on the part of the people to question as to where he came from, as well as what his intentions were, were of frequent occurrence. At other places he might come up and find meat being cooked in a pot out in the open at night-time. He would go up, open the pot, stick his assegai into the meat and go off with it. He did this on various occasions and was never caught. He used to sleep in the bush when on tour. He made it part of his business to listen and note people's conversations. Near the Tugela there is an *umngcongo* tree with a large leopard's hole underneath. He, on some occasions, used to go into this and pass the night there. The territory where this hole is now belongs to Mtonga, seeing Matunjana is dead.<sup>49</sup> Tshaka gave my father directions not to sleep in people's kraals but in the bush. He depended for food on what he stole from place to place. He did not carry food with him, or mats. He carried a shield, two assegais (stabbing spears - about 14 inches long), and a stick. That was all. I have one of the assegais he used to carry. The two assegais were given him by Tshaka. My father never took clothing with him or even a skin blanket. In those days no attention was paid to the fact whether one was clothed or not. He used merely to cover himself with a shield in case of necessity. My father was very tall, well-built, and strong. He wore a headring. He never went on a spying expedition without consulting the king beforehand and being doctored by him. The reason why he never slept at kraals was because people would naturally question him as to where he came from, where he was going, and what he was going to do, and if satisfactory answers were not given he would be killed.

The spy would carry medicine with him too, which would be tucked away on the inside of his shield, about the middle. He did not know the name of this medicine. He would never have been told the name of the king's medicine. Whenever he approached a kraal he would eat some of this medicine and then enter. This would cause those at the kraal not to question him as to where he came from and so on. He went out in all weathers and depended for food entirely on thieving. He did not go as far as to stab cattle, sheep etc.

(Another of Tshaka's spies was, Bovu ka Nomabuqabuqa - both dead. Gebuza is Bovu's son and heir, and has gone to live at Nkandhla. Nomgqula ka Nsizwazana of the Dhladhla was another of Tshaka's spies. He is dead. His sons too have died. He lived near Stanger.

JANTSHI

19.2.1903 - <evidence given 14.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 83-5.

Also present: Ndukwana

83 There were other *spies* as well. The two mentioned I have myself seen several times when they visited my father. Both belonged to the Ntontela regiment.

Among Tshaka's brother's was Nzibe. He too went forward to Sotshangana's but returned with the other brothers after going a little way.

Ndukwana says: No, Nzibe went to Sotshangana's where he died from *malaria*. Dingana killed off all his brothers except Nzibe, which supports the fact that he died *in Sotshangana's country*.

Mbopa *stabbed* Tshaka. Senzangakona's sons directed him to stab.

Ndukwana says Mbopa was in the plot to kill Tshaka. The part he took was to hide Tshaka's assegais, which were in his hut. He did this by direction of Mhlangana and Dingana when Tshaka had gone out to wash. It was Mhlangana who stabbed first; Dingana only took hold of Tshaka, and so on. He refers also to what Mkabayi said about the matter, also Mmama (*the younger of the two*).<sup>50</sup> These two were twins, the former the elder.

Jantshi continues by saying that when the *impi* returned from Sotshangana's, they caused Dingana, Mhlangano, Mbopa, Mqubana, Ngqojana, Mfihlo, Mpande and others to be surrounded and questioned as to who had killed Tshaka. Dingana and Mhlangano accused Mbopa of having stabbed Tshaka. Mbopa was then put to death whilst the others got off.

Had Tshaka's army returned whole from Sotshangana's, Ndukwana says, all the above-mentioned and the others unnamed as well would have been killed.

Jantshi says: I have heard of the stabbing of Tshaka in the arm.<sup>51</sup> I thought it took place at Dukuza.

Ndukwana denies this and says that is why Tshaka called Zululand '*empakeri*'<sup>52</sup> and came to Dukuza to live.

Jantshi continues: I know Tshaka was stabbed in the left arm, the assegai slightly entering his left side. He drew the assegai out himself and ran into a hut. Looking at the assegai he found it had a *shaft blunted* at the top, and so concluded it belonged to the Qwabe people, whereas it was one of his own people's. After this there was an order that the Qwabe people were to be killed. Having already *konza'd*, they, like the Zulus themselves, lived at Tshaka's kraal at Bulawayo. Those members of the Qwabe tribe found at the king's kraal were killed, a search was made for fugitives at their homes, and the saying arose that members of that tribe would be  
84 known by a habit men had of always *placing wood on the hearth* with the right arm. When caught, they were to be stabbed in the left side. Many members of the tribe were accordingly killed. The people scattered in all directions to hide themselves.

As regards Nandi's death, I heard she got ill and died from natural causes. I am surprized to learn from Ndukwana that she was stabbed to death by her son Tshaka. There was very general mourning

## JANTSHI

on her account. Tshaka himself cried. Many people were killed *in the mourning for the inkosikazi*.

I know Tshaka once wanted to see if *izangoma* were able to find out the truth or not. He would call them up in a body to *bula* and see who had sprinkled blood about his *isigodhlo* (an act done by himself), and such 'doctors' as smelt out other persons as being the cause of this, he had put to death. That doctor who rightly guessed by saying, '*It was done by the heavens above*,'<sup>53</sup> was allowed to go free. That man's name was Nkuna. He lived *among the people of Mbete of the Ngcobo*.<sup>54</sup> Mbete is Gqayinyanga's father (latter alive, is a chief in Lower Tugela Division). Nkuna is dead, but has sons living. Gobe is one of them.

Very frequently did Tshaka cause people to be put to death.

I do not know why Tshaka spoke of the two doctors Mbekelo and Mqalana as of the Mtila.

Amongst Tshaka's extraordinary acts was his causing a pregnant woman to be cut open in order to see what position the child took up in its mother's womb. He did this more than once. He would also cut off a man's ears, giving as his reason for doing so that 'they do not hear'. He would say, '*The vultures are hungry; they have come to attend the assembly*,' when he saw vultures hovering about, and then give orders for them to be fed with human corpses. [No, it was Dingana did this.] He would direct that people be killed to satisfy their appetite.

My father formerly had his kraal at Eshowe near where the chiefs Sikonyana and Ntshingwayo live.<sup>55</sup> He also *built* at the Nseleni, across the Mhlatuze, north side.

Tshaka spoke the Mtetwa dialect when he became king. He consequently always *tefula'd*. He is said to have lisped or stuttered, or pretended to do so.

85

I have not given all my father told me. Much is omitted owing to forgetfulness. I have said as much about Tshaka as I at present remember.

Circumcision. My father *was circumcised*; all *were circumcised* in the old days. Tshaka put an end to the custom *in the Zulu country*, though Dingiswayo too might have stopped it on his own accord in his tribe. The custom was a good one and prevented people from ageing rapidly. It made them hardy. *Circumcision* was necessary before a man could take a wife. The practice was not dependent in any way on the king's will. My father *was circumcised among the Mabaso*, near Ntabankulu. He was *given permission to marry* by Tshaka. Before marriage, my father and others were known as *abalisa*.<sup>56</sup> I know nothing of girls *being circumcised*. There is no doubt but that the custom of *circumcision* was a very general one all over Zululand. Those of a certain age *were circumcised* together, and an expert did the necessary operation.

<Evidence given 14.2.1903>

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 7-15.

Also present: Ndukwana

7 Dingana. Dingana was in Tshaka's day given that part of Zululand

## JANTSHI

8 which is north of the Tugela. From this it seemed Tshaka was making him his successor in spite of the fact that Mhlangano was the rightful heir. Sigujana was Senzangakona's heir. Mhlangano would have succeeded Sigujana had there been no Tshaka. Dingana was *made king* by Mkabayi. Nzobo ka Sobadhli was his *induna*, also Ndhlela ka Sompisi. Dingana said, '*I do not want an isigodhlo. That is what is destroying the people.*' Nzobo said, 'You can't be called a king if you have no *isigodhlo*. How, without one, can you be a king?' Dingana replied, 'It is the *isigodhlo* which is the cause of people always being put to death. It is a bad institution.' Nzobo: 'The killing of people is a proper practice, for if no killing is done there will be no fear.' Dingana then concurred and the *isigodhlo* continued to exist. Dingana then *retained an isigodhlo during his reign*.

9 After a time Dingana *removed the restrictions imposed on all his regiments, and said they were to go and have premarital intercourse with the girls*. The great men, his brothers and others of importance, thereupon entered his *isigodhlo* and *sported with the girls there*. Dingana saw this but said nothing. After a time the regiments came back to *konza* at his kraal. When he found they were all there, one morning when the sun was rising a man was heard to shout, '*Let all the people of Mgungundhlovu assemble!*' All came out and *were all present*. Dingana then directed all to *proceed outside the kraal*. They did so and sat down there. The Dhlambedhlu regiment remained. Dingana then left his hut, and *came out through the narrow gateway of the isigodhlo*. As the Dhlambedhlu saw it was he, they *went out*. When Dingana came to where the people were, he stood with a black  
10 blanket on. He said at once '*Seize that fellow Mfihlo!*' They caught him. Dingana said then, '*Catch that fellow Ngqojana! Catch Mqubana!*', and so on in regard to all his brothers, and all were arrested. He then mentioned the names of ordinary men. He caused all these people to be at once killed with straight, thick, short sticks - not so long as *fighting sticks*. Ndhlela *rebuked him* here, saying, '*You have removed the blanket that covers you. How will you cover yourself now?*' Some say Ngqengelele said this but my father says it was Ndhlela. These executions took place between sunrise right up to sunset when the remark just referred to was made. My father said he  
11 was present and very many men were singled out from the *company* he was in, and when the men carrying out Dingana's orders wanted to take my father, Dingana would *stop them and point to those next to him*. Only my father remained in his *company*; all the others were killed. My father had not been to *sport with the girls* because he felt he was being trapped. In a *company* of the Dhlangubo regiment (a regiment which was *incorporated into the Ntontela*), Magcekeni ka Doyi and Nombemba ka Doyi *were left*.

When Ndhlela *called out* as stated, Dingana turned and went inside. Mpande escaped being killed. I do not know where he had hidden himself. Dingana then *stayed in his hut*. The others returned to the kraal.

12 I do not know exactly how Dingana came to quarrel with the Boers. Mpande may not have been present that day.

Mhlangano was put to death by Mkabayi and Ngqengelele for having stabbed Tshaka.

Ngomane died during Dingane's reign. He was not present at Mgungundhlovu.

## JANTSHI

Dingana also killed people at Mbelebeleni.

Ndukwana says that those to be killed, both at Mgungundhlovu and Mbelebele, were *pointed out* by the *girls of the isigodhlo*, and that these great executions were known as '*iDili*'.<sup>57</sup>

Jantshi says: I do not disagree with Ndukwana. I know that after this slaughter the *isigodhlo* itself was also put to death. Dingana himself picked out those of the *isigodhlo* he had put to death.

13 Ndukwana now gives the story, as he has before told me, about the Boers (P. Retief) coming and being killed.

Dingana sent a present of cattle to Mpande. He intended to put him to death. Mpande was informed of this intention by Ndhlela - some say it was Matunjana. My father says Ndhlela told Mpande beforehand, 'You will see the truth of my words if a present of cattle should come to you.' My father says Matunjana told Mpande at the time the cattle in question arrived. Mpande then *crossed over* into Natal. The greater part of the people *crossed* with Mpande. He came to the Hlawe (river), i.e. this side of the Tongati, near Saunders's mill and the railway station. Mpande and his followers made a stand there. I do not know how long he stayed. He *returned to the Zulu*

14 *country in arms*. Mpande then sent my father to go and *spy on* Dingana, my father having *crossed* with Mpande. My father accordingly went to spy. Dingana heard that Mpande was returning with an *impi*. Dingana called together his warriors. My father said he arrived when Dingana's *impi* had *assembled*. He arrived *in the night* at Mgungundhlovu. My father went to Ndhlela's hut that night. Whilst (he was) there, Dingana shouted out, '*Ndhlela, Ndhlela, did Nongila*'<sup>58</sup> *cross over with Mpande?*' Ndhlela said, '*He crossed, nkosi.*' Dingana replied, '*We! Now I am finished. Nongila is here spying on me.*' Ndhlela then said to my father, 'Go off, for you hear what the king says. You will tell Mpande that *ngi ne ngub' enamasondo*;<sup>59</sup> *I do not know who will rule. If Mpande rules, it is well.*' My father left at once and came to Mpande, telling him what Ndhlela had said. No sooner did Nongila return than Mpande ordered that his *impi* should move forward to the attack. The forces went and met Dingana's at Maqongqo. Dingana was defeated. He then left and *made off to the Ubombo*.

I do not know Dingana's history well and connectedly.

Dingana was killed by Swazi *among the Nyawo* after his forces had *deserted*.

Ndukwana says the forces did not desert.

15.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 15-16.

Also present: Ndukwana

16 Dingana was of a yellowish colour and tall. My father repeatedly spoke to me but it was nearly always about Tshaka *their king*. I am not the eldest son of my father. The heir was Ndukebandhla. He got ill of *dysentery* in Durban whilst working in scarcity time. I took him home and buried him at Tengetenge, this side of Verulam, i.e. Mt. Edgecombe, where he died. All my father's personal belongings were buried with him except the assegai which he gave me.



## JANTSHI

<19.2.1903 - evidence given 15.2.1903>

File 70, pp. 85-6.

Also present: Ndukwana

85 At Dukusa, while Tshaka was sitting in company, he pointed to the cattle in the kraal and said, 'No ordinary man will inherit those cattle; none but a great man will get them. The day I die the country will be overrun by locusts; it will be ruled by white men. The stars will be bright in the sky. While I am still taking care of you, you alone will smell one another out. Afterwards, men will be smelt out as *untakati* by their own wives; wives will smell out their husbands.'<sup>60</sup>

Just as he finished speaking thus, he suddenly exclaimed, 'There is Sotobe', seeing a ship sailing on the sea. Those with Tshaka then looked and saw the ship holding its course at sea. Sotobe had, as a matter of fact, just left and was on his way towards the Cape. My father was present when Tshaka spoke as stated, and he added that, as he spoke, Tshaka was seated in the cattle kraal and pushed the *manure dust* about slightly with the fingers of each hand when moving backwards and forwards as if to emphasize his words.

Tshaka also said, in conclusion, 'No man dare *pala inhlonze yazo lez' izinkomo*, a *yi ti xwe, xwe, xwe*.'<sup>61</sup> He thereupon got up and left the cattle kraal by the small opening and entered one of his huts, leaving those present wondering at the words he had spoken.

86 My father said Tshaka was a great king, and very clever, because he defeated all the chiefs in every direction. He was very resourceful in his plans for overcoming his rivals. Dingana and Mpande came on the scene after he had subdued the whole country, and therefore my father did not have very much to say about them. He says he had a hard time in the days of Tshaka by always having to go out to spy.

Tshaka had no children; he did not wish to have any, for they would have been chiefs. In the old days if a king had a child it, when it grew up, might drive its father from home. This once happened, the instance being quoted by my father. Tshaka was afraid of the same thing happening to him. I do not know if Tshaka ever was circumcised. He sported with the girls of his *indhlonkulu*.

<Evidence given 15.2.1903>

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 18-22.

Also present: Ndukwana

18 Dingana too died without issue. Mpande was directed to marry by  
19 Tshaka and therefore had children. Mpande was not killed, I fancy, because of what Ndhlela said to Dingana to the effect, 'Can there be a king that comes from the *emsizini*?' (i.e. a kraal to which the king goes when he has tasted the new crops and has been fortified with medicine).<sup>62</sup> .... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

My father complained of never having a homestead. This was because he was always on the move.

[Authorities on history of Tshaka: Fynn, Isaacs, Shepstone, Shooter, Holden, Mkando,<sup>63</sup> Jantshi.]

## JANTSHI

- 20 I am certain that Bekapezulu, Sigonogono and Nnja are those who caused the Zulu to *emerge as a people*, because my father specially told me so. My father quoted in support the doggerel,  
*Wa bek' isigonogono sennja,*  
*Si hlonywe induk' yamantungwa.* <sup>64</sup>  
 The word 'pezulu' is left out for euphony and to keep the metre. He heard this from old men in Senzangakona's time. Senzangakona was an *insizwa*, not a boy<sup>65</sup> when he *herded*. He quickly became king, i.e. after meeting Nandi. Tshaka was born but was still young when Senzangakona became king.  
 An *umlandwana* is an illegitimate child. Dinuzulu is not an *umlandwana* really. (He is said to be one, because his mother, a daughter of Msweli, was a *menial in the royal household, having been captured at the battle of Ndondakusuka in the civil war between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi*.  
 Nandi's father is Mbengi, not Makedama. Makedama is Mbengi's son and therefore Nandi's brother. Therefore Tshaka must have quarrelled with Makedama about the stone.
- 21 Nomcoba may have been married, but if married she had no children. She, Ndukwana says, was given the Tulwana regiment at Ezigezeni near Emakosini. She was asked to give them food. She had another kraal at Mahlabatini below the Mabedhlana hills.<sup>66</sup> Makuza ka Jojo, a policeman at Eshowe, might give information about this.  
 When Tshaka arrived *in the Zulu country*, Senzangakona was certainly dead. I have not heard that Senzangakona declared Tshaka to be his legitimate son.  
 I do not know if Tshaka became an *induna to Dingiswayo*. Probably not. He was a favourite there because he was a great *warrior*.  
 It was general knowledge that on Tshaka's dying Mhlangana would *rule*. Ndukwana says this. Ndukwana has heard that Mkabayi *ruled* a little after Senzangakona's death, so she may have done so to allow Tshaka to come up.  
 Senzangakona had no one who stood armed by his grave as his successor. Sigujana did not stand thus, for when Tshaka got up, people accepted him without a fight. No one was *ousted* by Tshaka. It is probable then that Tshaka was offered the position of king.  
 Ndukwana does not know (the name, 'Ndabezita', but 'Ndaba'. Jantshi agrees. 'Ndabezita' was taken from the Mbata people and from the Kumalo. It was those tribes' *isibongo*.<sup>67</sup>  
 Ndukwana hears that in Tshaka's day a *ship* was wrecked on the Zulu coast. [This may be the boat *Salisbury* - July 1823. See Theal, p.117, vol. of years 1834-1854.]  
 Jantshi knows nothing at all about Ndaba, nor (does he) know much of Jama.  
 Ndukwana says the Mapita people, Zibebu etc., would know something of Jama. Sikizane would know about him.  
 Jantshi knows nothing about Senzangakona's reign, although his father referred to incidents therein.

16.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 16, pp. 23-4.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 23 Had *lobolo* been given for Nandi, and had the incident (happened)

## JANTSHI

about Mbikwana rescuing Tshaka when the dust was up, she could never have gone and married Gendeyana.<sup>68</sup> She would have been forbidden by ancient custom to do this even if she had been chased away. She would have returned (to) her parents.

24 My father left Zululand because he was old. He *turned back the cattle of Mawa ka Senzangakona* near the Tugela. She was sister of Mpande and Dingane.<sup>69</sup> The cattle did not arrive back in their proper numbers, so those belonging to others were seized, it being supposed they had taken them, and several persons were killed. My father thought they might kill him too, so he fled. *The alarm was raised* when Mawa *crossed over* and people *rushed to head off the cattle*. My father turned back 400 head. He was bound to rescue the king's cattle, for had he failed he would have been accused of assisting Mawa in her flight.

Mtaniya was one of Senzangakona's wives.<sup>70</sup>

I left Zululand when I was about to *reach the age of puberty*. My father first fled alone, leaving all his kraal. He never lived under John Dunn. John Dunn at first lived at Mbilo, near Durban.

Ndukwana thinks Jantshi is *of the age-grade of the Ndhluyengwe regiment*, i.e. was one of the senior section of the Kandempemvu. He would have been of the Nqakamatshe.<sup>71</sup>

We *crossed over* just before the Ndongakusuka battle.<sup>72</sup> Mantshonga (Walmsley) made my father an *induna*. He once quarrelled with Sobantu.<sup>73</sup> They made effigies of the two, and people struck Walmsley's. I saw a *Hottentot*, Bokisi, Walmsley's servant, strike people back for doing this with fists and head.

16.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 1-5.

Also present: Ndukwana

1 Somveli *went up north*, Ndukwana says, being afraid of Tshaka. (His people had become, Tshaka's followers and (were) not independent tribes.<sup>74</sup>

Jantshi says Mngoye is Chief Matshwili's father.<sup>75</sup>

I believe the Lembe lived near Ntabankulu.<sup>76</sup>

Mageba comes before Punga.

Gwalagwala<sup>77</sup> lives up the Mzinyati river. He is there now. Sifile was Fynn. (He was also called, Mbuyazwe and Misifile. My father spoke of Diki, i.e. Dick King. Febana - '*isilungu si ka Febana*' is a saying used by all native people.<sup>78</sup> [N.B. This would very likely be Farewell's native name.] Hohlo *married native women and had bastard children*. [Probably Ogle.]

2 Tshaka used to have European guns tested by setting them cattle to aim at at various distances. He was fond of seeing the power of a gun, and his intention was to send a regiment of men to England who there would scatter in all directions in order to ascertain exactly how guns were made, and then return to construct some in Zululand.

## JANTSHI

I do not believe Ntombela was a chief of the Zulu. I fancy he was merely of their line.<sup>79</sup>

*Building in the old days.* (People would) build on one or two hillsides; they lived together for mutual protection. They were afraid of other peoples. They fought by hurling assegais at one another. They fought (one another) although (living) close together.

Ndukwana says just as Sambana fought with Lubelo, Mtshelokwana too fought with the same tribe.<sup>80</sup>

3 Many men would live in a kraal, which would be large. No-one built a kraal apart from others. It is well known that a fight only lasted a day, and that at the conclusion they would visit one another and make it up again, for they knew one another well.

The same food was eaten in the old days. Cattle always existed, (as did) sheep and goats, but not fowls. These seem to have come with Europeans. My father would never eat a fowl, saying he knew nothing about it. There were no cats in the Zulu country. People called cats 'impaka', and any person in possession of one was killed. 'He keeps a cat at his home. It mews like an impaka which goes about, with an inswelaboya.'<sup>81</sup>

There were cannibals. Famine caused these to exist. They appeared in Tshaka's time. Tshaka once sent out a force against them. They were supposed to live at the Mhlatuze. No-one used to travel alone.

4 Ndukwana says there was a great famine in Tshaka's days which caused people to go and buy among Magonondo's people near the Mkondo river and the Mhlongamvula hill.<sup>82</sup> This famine was a general one, and far greater than the Mbete famine in Mpande's time, which only affected part of the country. People had to protect their gardens against human beings. For starving people would make their way into a garden and eat raw the green mealies growing there.

Jantshi says Gcugcwa was a bandit but instead of eating people he seized cattle. He lived in a forest (precipice) south of the Tugela. Tshaka sent out a force and he was hunted down and caught. He was taken to Tshaka. Ndhlela greeted Gcugcwa. He said, 'I see you. You too they will see tomorrow.' He was thereupon killed. He lived alone in his forest.

5 Tshaka assembled those from the old Zulu heartland to select from them spies. My father was called with others and went up to Tshaka's kraal. Tshaka expressed his wish several times before Nongila would come forward. My father was created induna of all the spies. I do not know others of Tshaka's spies than those given. My father enumerated a large number. Nogeja ka -- <sic> of the Mtetwa was also a spy. He went up with Tshaka. Nogeja's sons are living. Mbambane (heir) is one, and is living near Stanger - close by. He lives under Makewu or Cakijana or Zidumo, probably under Makewu. My father visited Nogeja. He drinks isitshimeyana.<sup>83</sup> Mbambane broke up the household.

Nongomela ka Masongo knows about Dingana and can bongqa him. [Matshwili, Mbambane.]<sup>84</sup>

Tshaka said cowards must be picked out from the regiments at Bulaxayo, near where Mkungo<sup>85</sup> now lives. The bush exists.<sup>86</sup> In those days all stayed at the place of the great one. If Tshaka saw

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wounds behind, (the man) was killed because (Tshaka) said he must have been running away.

[Jantshi leaves - anxious to go on account of a boy of his suffering, I fancy, from consumption - 16.2.1903.]

17.2.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 6-8.

Present: Ndukwana alone

- 6 Ndukwana's opinion on Jantshi's story. I do not know who Mka-nyile, Sitayi, Nkunga ka Sitayi, Mataka ka Mpsa, Zivalele, Mpsa (all of the, Gazini) fathers are.<sup>87</sup> Jantshi makes no reference to Sojisa, Mapita etc., whereas they belong to Jama and ranked with Senzangakona.<sup>88</sup> Jantshi, when I questioned him, said Sojisa belonged to the *indhlonkulu*, for Mapita was spoken of as '*mtanenkosi*'.<sup>89</sup> I cannot understand how Sitayi and Mkanyile come to be associated by Jantshi with Senzangakona so much, and yet no mention be made of Sojisa. I want to hear where the importance Jantshi gives Mkanyile, Zivalele, Sitayi, and Mpsa is derived from.
- Tokotoko and Domba - sons of Sojisa. Mgazini - Masipula's section.<sup>90</sup>
- Jantshi should have said Ntombela, the father of Zulu, was a *chief*.
- 7 Jantshi threw light on *the return of Tshaka to the Zulu country*.
- Jantshi says on the one hand Mkanyile, Zivalele, Sitayi, and Mpsa are all brothers of Senzangakona, and therefore sons of Jama, and yet on the other he speaks of them as belonging to the Gazini tribe and apart from the Zulu tribe - *as a small house to the side*. I cannot see what can have caused the Gazini section to separate away so close to Jama. One could have understood it if taking place, say, two or even one generation afterwards.
- Simoyi ka Nkabana ka Sitayi, now living, would I think throw light on this point.
- I am aware the men Mkanyile etc. are of the Zulu.
- 8 I have never heard of the doggerel before. When Cetshwayo died we heard of the *original* Lubulolwenja *isibongo*, but I never heard of the three men named by Jantshi. Ndhlovu ka Timuni first mentioned them.<sup>91</sup>

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Formed 1868; age-group born 1848.

<sup>2</sup>Formed c. 1816; age-group born c.1785-90.

<sup>3</sup>After his acquisition of supreme power in the Zululand area, Shaka elevated Myandeya (Mlandela) to the Mthethwa chieftaincy over the heads of the heirs of Dingiswayo, the former chief. Myandeya's grandfather Shangana(e) was a brother of Jobe, Dingiswayo's father. Thus, with Myandeya, the succession passed to a junior branch of the Mthethwa royal line. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 85, 202-3.

<sup>4</sup>i.e. the first known ancestor in the Zulu royal line.

<sup>5</sup>Literally, 'dog's penis'.

<sup>6</sup>We have been unable to trace this list.

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- <sup>7</sup>'A ba se zansi' in the original. The Qwabe occupied the country on the north side of the lower Thukela.
- <sup>8</sup>'...we ehla'd ne silulu' in the original. The historical connotations of this phrase are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467. A possible meaning may be that the ancestors of the group came carrying their provisions with them.
- <sup>9</sup>Literally, 'He looked at the dog's earwax which had a stick of the Ntungwa people thrust in it.' The connotations of the references to the names are not known.
- <sup>10</sup>*Umkhozi* is a term of relationship used between a man's parents and those of his wife. We have been unable to establish the meaning of the expression.
- <sup>11</sup>The original has '... Dingana was the first to start *ukujuba*.' The verb *juba* means to give permission or to order, especially in the case of a king's giving permission for a regiment to marry. The origins of this practice are usually attributed to Shaka, not Dingane.
- <sup>12</sup>The informant later identifies Sitayi (Sithayi) and Zivalele as brothers of Senzangakhona. In Olden Times, Bryant also indicates that Senzangakhona and Zivalele were brothers (see p. 39, where Zivalele is referred to as son of Jama, who was Senzangakhona's father), but does not indicate any familial relationship between Sithayi and Senzangakhona.
- <sup>13</sup>Chief of the Langeni and sometimes given as Nandi's father. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 125-6, and Dictionary, p. 756; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 126.
- <sup>14</sup>A cousin to Senzangakhona who acted as co-regent with Mnkabayi during Senzangakhona's minority. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 45-6.
- <sup>15</sup>Mntaniya ka Manyelela of the Sibiya people. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 40.
- <sup>16</sup>Names for a beetle believed by the Zulu to cause intestinal disorders.
- <sup>17</sup>Of the Mbedwini sub-group of the Qwabe (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 63).
- <sup>18</sup>Ngomane of the Mdletsheni clan was an *induna* of Dingiswayo (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 64).
- <sup>19</sup>Another of Stuart's informants.
- <sup>20</sup>*Ilembe* is sometimes translated as 'axe': see Cope, Izibongo, p. 88.
- <sup>21</sup>For Zivalele, Sitayi (Sithayi), and Mudhli (Mudli) see notes 12 and 14 above.
- <sup>22</sup>See note 18 above.
- <sup>23</sup>Bryant (Olden Times, pp. 191, 196) records Phakathwayo's insulting Shaka in similar terms, though his account differs slightly from that of Jantshi.
- <sup>24</sup>Literally, 'of the deep pools'.
- <sup>25</sup>Zwide's mother.
- <sup>26</sup>Sikhunyana's invasion of the Zulu country took place in 1826, i.e. some seven years after Shaka's defeat of Zwide, and not 'a few months' after, as Jantshi says. An account of Shaka's campaign against Sikhunyana has been left by H.F. Fynn, who accompanied the Zulu army. (Stuart and Malcolm, eds., Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 122-8.) See also Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, p. 60ff; Bryant,

- Olden Times, pp. 588-94.
- <sup>27</sup> Mankulumana, a younger son of Somaphunga (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 213), was one of Dinuzulu's chief *izinduna* and a leading figure in Zulu politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- <sup>28</sup> Bryant (Olden Times, p. 179) gives Khondlo as Magalela's father, not his son. The praise here translated refers to Magalela.
- <sup>29</sup> Zihlandlo and Gwabe were chiefs of the Mkhize people (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 403, 405).
- <sup>30</sup> Of the Seleku people; see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 529-31.
- <sup>31</sup> Soshangane was head of a section of Zwide's Ndwandwe people, and commanded the army which was routed by Shaka in Zwide's second attack on the Zulu kingdom, c.1819. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 160-1, 447ff; Morris, Washing of the Spears, p. 63.
- <sup>32</sup> 'The assegai that was red from stabbing people' probably means Shaka himself, but the meaning of the rest of the imagery is not clear. For Shaka's reaction, see Fynn, Diary, pp. 150 - 1.
- <sup>33</sup> Two of Stuart's informants.
- <sup>34</sup> Bryant gives a different relationship for Mbengi and Nandi. See Olden Times, p. 126.
- <sup>35</sup> '*Izinyane le nkosi*' in the original.
- <sup>36</sup> Ngqengelele of the Buthelezi was one of Shaka's chief councillors. Nqetho, chief of the Qwabe, had submitted to Shaka and earned his special favour.
- <sup>37</sup> Mother of Senzangakhona and grandmother of Shaka, according to Bryant (Olden Times, p. 40). Jantshi later refers to her as one of Senzangakhona's wives.
- <sup>38</sup> Presumably the range of hills of that name just north of the White Mfolozi on which present-day Mahlabathini is situated.
- <sup>39</sup> Langeni chief.
- <sup>40</sup> Bryant gives Mbikwane as brother to the Mthethwa chief Jobe and uncle to Dingiswayo. He describes him as Shaka's 'earliest of friends' and as being 'prime minister of the Zulu realm' in 1824. (Olden Times, pp. 85, 569.)
- <sup>41</sup> Ngwadi and Nomcoba were children of Nandi. Jantshi gives their father as Gendeyana; Bryant gives Ngwadi's father as Gendeyana, and Nomcoba's as Senzangakhona. (Olden Times, pp. 49, 53, 63.)
- <sup>42</sup> Tununu was another of Stuart's informants. For an account of the attack, which was one of Dingane's first acts after the assassination of Shaka, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 668-9.
- <sup>43</sup> Bryant (Olden Times, p. 668) also states that Ngwadi was allowed a considerable measure of autonomy by Shaka.
- <sup>44</sup> Nzibe was son of Senzangakhona, full brother to Mpande, and half-brother to Shaka. He died in 1828 on the Bhalule campaign against Soshangane. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 670.
- <sup>45</sup> The scene of Mpande's victory over Dingane in January 1840.
- <sup>46</sup> The Ngele mountains lie at the source of the Mthamvuna east of present-day Kokstad.
- <sup>47</sup> Emissary sent by Shaka in 1828 on a mission to the English king. He got no further than Port Elizabeth, from which he returned after a series of delays and unproductive interviews with minor officials.
- <sup>48</sup> In 1883.
- <sup>49</sup> The Mathunjana referred to may be the person of that name who was a household servant to both Shaka and Dingane, and who, in 1839,

- warned Mpande of Dingane's plot to kill him. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 218 and 324-5. One of Mpande's sons was named Mtonga, but it is doubtful if this is the person referred to.
- <sup>50</sup> Mkabayi and Mama were twin daughters of Jama; elder sisters of Senzangakhona; aunts of Shaka.
- <sup>51</sup> The incident referred to is presumably that recorded by Fynn as occurring on his first visit to Shaka in mid-1824. See Fynn, Diary, p. 83ff.
- <sup>52</sup> *Empakeni* is the locative form of *impaka*, which means, according to Bryant (Dictionary, p. 480), 'cat possessed by an *umtakati* as a "familiar" and sent by him on villainous errands'.
- <sup>53</sup> i.e. by the Zulu king. The original has '*Kwenz' izul' e li pezulu*', with a play on the word *izulu* which literally means 'the heavens'.
- <sup>54</sup> Mbethe was a famous rain doctor in the reign of Mpande. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 43-4.)
- <sup>55</sup> Khoza chiefs. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 274-5.
- <sup>56</sup> Bryant (Dictionary, p. 359) gives *umlisa* (pl. *abalisa*) as 'young unmarried male in the full activity of his youth'.
- <sup>57</sup> Literally, a large gathering, as at a festival.
- <sup>58</sup> i.e. Jantshi's father.
- <sup>59</sup> Literally, 'a skin blanket with hooves', i.e. a beast. The meaning intended is not clear.
- <sup>60</sup> Presumably Shaka is here predicting that his death would be followed by certain unnatural phenomena and a collapse of moral order among the Zulu.
- <sup>61</sup> Literally, 'No man dare scrape the hides of those cattle, going *xwe, xwe, xwe*', i.e. 'scrape, scrape, scrape'. This may mean that Shaka regarded the cattle as being completely safe from harm.
- <sup>62</sup> At a certain point in the annual *umkhosi* ceremonies, the chief, daubed with powdered medicines (*umsizi*), was required to spend the night not in his private quarters but in another hut in the *isigodlo*, known in consequence as the *eyasemsizini* ('the one of the powdered medicines'). He would be attended by a selected wife, or a girl from the *isigodlo*, with whom he might have intercourse. A child born of this connection, as Mpande is sometimes said to have been, was called *awasemsizini*, and held an inferior rank in the family. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 593; and Zulu People, p. 519.
- <sup>63</sup> Another of Stuart's informants.
- <sup>64</sup> See note 9 above.
- <sup>65</sup> In the original the word is *ibungu* (*ibhungu*), which means a youth of 16-20.
- <sup>66</sup> The Makhosini valley, the heartland of the original Zulu chiefdom, lies just south of the White Mfolozi and west of the present-day road between Mahlabathini and Melmoth. The Mabedlana hills are just across the river to the north.
- <sup>67</sup> '*Ndabezita!*' ('*Ndabezitha!*') is a form of adulatory address used among the Zulu when saluting the king or any of his sons. Bryant writes that the word was originally the polite address-form for several clans 'whose great ancestor seems to have been an individual...called Ndaba'. He adds that after the conquest of these smaller groups by Shaka the address-form 'seems to have been assumed by the Zulu clan to whom it is now solely applied'. (Dictionary, p. 410.) See also Olden Times, pp. 221-2.
- <sup>68</sup> The structure of this sentence in the original makes its interpretation difficult. In his evidence of 13.2.1903 (written up on



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- 18.2.1903), Jantshi identifies Mbikwana as a man probably living in the household of Nandi's mother at the homestead of the Langeni chief Mbengi, but denies that Mbikwana had any hand in taking Shaka on to the Mthethwa, or in arranging *lobolo* for Nandi.
- <sup>69</sup>The reference is to the great exodus led by Mawa from the Zulu kingdom into Natal in 1843. Jantshi's identification of Mawa as the daughter of Senzangakhona and sister of Mpande and Dingane is at variance with Bryant's statement that she was Senzangakhona's sister (Olden Times, p. 40). Theal (History of S.A. 1795-1872, vol. 2, p. 384) gives Mawa as 'a widow of Senzangakhona'.
- <sup>70</sup>Bryant (Olden Times, p. 40) gives Mntaniya as Senzangakhona's mother.
- <sup>71</sup>Nqakamatshe seems to have been an alternative name for the Khandempemvu. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646; Samuelson, Long Ago, p. 237.
- <sup>72</sup>1856.
- <sup>73</sup>Bishop J.W. Colenso.
- <sup>74</sup>Somveli was one of Dingiswayo's sons, who sought refuge from Shaka in Tongaland. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 84-5.) In the original, the final sentence of this paragraph reads, 'They because Tshaka's followers and not independent tribes.'
- <sup>75</sup>Mngoye was another of Dingiswayo's sons. Mashwili was a chief in the Lower Tugela Division. See genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 85; Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, p. B12.
- <sup>76</sup>The Lembe were an offshoot of the Sikhakhana people (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 231).
- <sup>77</sup>H.F. Fynn junior, resident magistrate at Pomeroy, 1876-96.
- <sup>78</sup>Literally the saying means, 'the white man's country of Febana'. Febana was the Zulu name for F.G. Farewell.
- <sup>79</sup>See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 37.
- <sup>80</sup>Minor chiefs who engaged in a series of conflicts along the Ubombo in the nineteenth century. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 340-4; and Zulu History, pp. 19-23.
- <sup>81</sup>For *impaka* see note 52 above. *Inswelaboya* was the word used to denote murderers who obtained human flesh for purposes of witchcraft. (Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 773.)
- <sup>82</sup>In present-day Swaziland. The Mkondo is shown on older maps as the Assegai river.
- <sup>83</sup>Intoxicating drink made from sugar cane waste.
- <sup>84</sup>Stuart here appears to be listing the names of potential informants.
- <sup>85</sup>Mkungo (Mkungu), son of Mpande by Monase ka Mntungwa of the Nxumalo (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 680), was another of Stuart's informants and is probably the person here referred to.
- <sup>86</sup>The place of execution at Shaka's Bulawayo *umuzi* is today known as Coward's Bush.
- <sup>87</sup>The names given are those of chiefs associated with the Gazini offshoots of the Zulu royal line. These offshoots began acquiring a distinct identity about the time of Jama and Senzangakhona (i.e. late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries). Uncertainty exists as to the identity of these men and their familial relationships. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39-40, 130; and Dictionary, pp. 757-8, 761.
- <sup>88</sup>Sojisa (Sojiyisa) was son of Jama; brother of Senzangakhona; father of Maphitha; grandfather of Zibhebhu of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu. According to some accounts, Sojiyisa was fathered by an

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adopted son of Jama and was therefore not strictly of the royal lineage. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 44-5.

<sup>89</sup>Literally, 'a child of the chief'.

<sup>90</sup>This paragraph occurs in the original as a marginal note.

<sup>91</sup>Ndhlovu was another of Stuart's informants.