

LUNGUZA KA MPUKANE

11.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 18-33.

- 18 Lunguza arrived yesterday - 10.3.1909.
 My father was Mpukane ka Zikode (alias Mgedeza) ka Ngaba ka Matshoba ka Malima ka Mwelase ka Madondo ka Mtshongotshongo. My chief son is Matshakaza. My chief is Ngqambuzana ka Mganu ka Nodada ka Ngoza ka Mkubukeli ka Gazi ka Ndosini ka Nyandeni ka Mabaso.¹
 I am of the Tembu tribe; *I belong to it by birth*. My grandfather Zikode was of such importance in the tribe that he was allowed to hold the *umkosi* on the day preceding that on which Ngoza held it, i.e. he used to *tshayela* or sweep clean before the *chief* began.
 We are amaNtungwa, *of the people of Sokumalo*,² 'the people who get the better of a person by deceiving him with words', for we were fathered by Mabaso, *we Tembu stock*. We are related to the Mabaso people of Faku (dead) ka Rwanqa and Ngadabana ka Rwanqa.³ Mzakaza (Faku's heir) is now ruling over (these) Mabaso people.⁴ Until lately
- 19 Ngadabana controlled the tribe on behalf of his deceased brother.
 All the Tembus came from our ancestor Mabaso. He was our first progenitor. We used to live at Malakata,⁵ that is where he, Mabaso, was buried. My grandfather Zikode was buried on his own land at Qudeni where Matshana ka Mondise is now living.⁶
 'Mvelase who came in a bundle of grass from Mabaso' - this is one of Nyandeni's praises.
 The amaMbata are *of the same origin as we*. They are *of the principal line*. They *vungama'd*; the amaMbata are *abatabatanyawo* (praises).⁷ They said, 'Why was it said of the child who was a chief that he appeared in a bundle of grass?' The amaMbata expressed surprise at the size of one of the twins of Mabaso, one being a boy, the other a girl. The boy was said to belong to the Tembus and the girl to Mabaso. The position is this. Mabaso's *inkosikazi* bore twins, one a boy, the other a girl, but as the boy was a good deal larger than the girl, the amaMbata people, who are the principal section of
- 20 the Tembus (*amazalankosi*),⁸ *vungama'd* or demurred at the boy being said to be the heir, because they doubted, from his size, that he could have been a twin. They said that he must be a 'nyandeni' child, i.e. he must have been brought by the supposed mother from her own people, and she was trying to pawn him off as if he were the true heir, whereas he must have been an adopted child. Hence the child being called Nyandeni,⁹ head of the Tembu tribe. The amaMbata in consequence of this are spoken of as amaVungama or Amatabatanyawo for rejecting their true heir. [Lugubu agrees - 31.5.1916.]
 The amaMbata are *the senior section*.¹⁰
 The woman who bore the twins had for her husband Ndaba (*isibongo*:

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Ndabezita) of the Tembu tribe.¹¹ The 'Ndabezita' *address-form* does not belong to the amaMbata people but to the Tembus. My chief Ngqambuzana is saluted 'Ndabezita! Mvelase!'¹²

- 21 Ndaba married a girl of the Mabaso tribe; I don't know her name. AmaMbata - we address them as 'Mbata, you of the black buffalo of Nsele',¹³ when we *give praises* to them, as when given food.

The child, son of Ndaba, would naturally have become the heir to Ndaba and chief of the Tembu tribe.

It is a well-known thing that the amaTembu *sprang from Mabaso*, i.e. they arose from this very child, afterwards called Nyandeni.

- 22 The woman in question is said to have been a member of the Mabaso tribe, just as Ndaba was a member of the same tribe. Of her twins, the girl (about whom there was no doubt that she was her child) was said to be a real Mabaso girl, i.e. the offspring of the chief himself, whereas the boy was suspected of having been brought from the woman's parents' kraals in an *inyanda* of grass (i.e. concealed), with the object of making out that he was her twin son. It was owing to his being a good deal bigger than the girl that the woman was suspected of lying in saying he was a twin. Hence the amaMbata refused to recognize him as Ndaba's heir and successor, and thus he became the progenitor of the Tembu tribe.

Malaza and Dhlungwana, sons of Ngoza (our chief), were not killed when Ngoza was killed by the Pondos. These are the heads of the Tembus of the Cape Colony.

Our mothers, when they went to Pondoland, had (some of them) their right hands cut off at the wrist to enable the Pondos to take off the *metal ornaments* they wore on the arm. Thus they were obliged to go on their knees to eat *food* as they could not raise it to their mouths.

I believe the Tembus of the Cape are all related to our Tembus.

Ngoza used, in going into battle, to place his men (regiment) first, then immediately behind them their wives, including his own, so as to ensure the men striving their utmost. He did this in Pondoland, and after the men were defeated the Pondos came on the women, and, instead of killing them, cut off their hands for the reasons given.

- 23 Afternoon: Lunguza continues. I do not know where the Tembu tribe came from before they came to Malakata. Gazi, Nyandeni, Mkubukeli are all buried at Malakata. Nodada died where our tribe is now.¹⁴ He died at Matshunku hill. My father Mpukane died at Mkolomba, i.e. at Weenen (Nobamba).

The reason why the Tembus left Malakata was because of Ngoza's fighting with Tshaka. Our tribe lived about Malakata and Qudeni but no further. I never saw Ngoza.

Ngoza was *attacked* by Tshaka's Bekenya regiment. Owing to his mode of fighting, whereby he put men first, then a group of women in their immediate rear (including his own wives), they succeeded in defeating the Bekenya.

Ngoza's regiment was the Nonyenge. His main kraal was Ukudada (Ekudadeni). This kraal was at Malakata. Tshaka *attacked* us from Dukuza, *kwa (ka) Nombalo*.¹⁵

- 24 Tshaka *attacked* Ngoza twice. The first time was at night at Malakata. Ngoza then fled across into what is now the Umsinga Division, to the vicinity of Pomeroy at a hill called eMmbe. A battle

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took place here and the Zulu army was defeated, Ngoza following his usual mode of fighting, i.e. having women in the immediate rear of the troops. This battle took place in the day-time. There was great slaughter of the Zulus. Tshaka then said, 'As Ngoza has defeated the Bekenya, *let the Dhlangezwa go out.*' But when the Dhlangezwa regiment arrived, Ngoza was no longer at Mmbe, having come to Mpumulwana (south side of Tugela and lower down), and having attacked the Kuze, their chief being Nomagaga ka Dhlomo. The Mpumulwana hill is on the south side of the Tugela prior to its junction with the Buffalo, and is near the drift where the punt is. Nomagaga lived at Mpumulwana. Ngoza fought this tribe and *dispersed* it. Nomagaga was killed. Ngoza then *went up* to about Mhlumba mountain.¹⁶ He fought another Nomagaga ka Mpumela, of -- tribe (I forget name).¹⁷ He killed him and scattered the people.

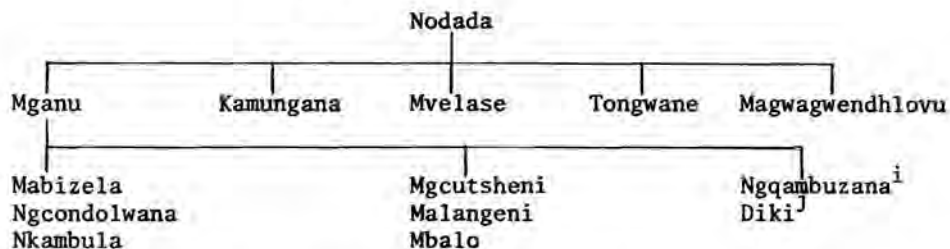
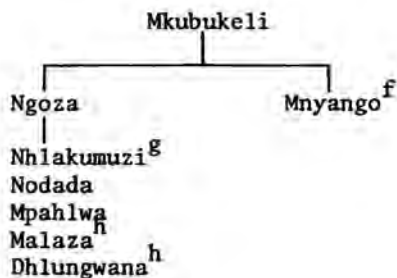
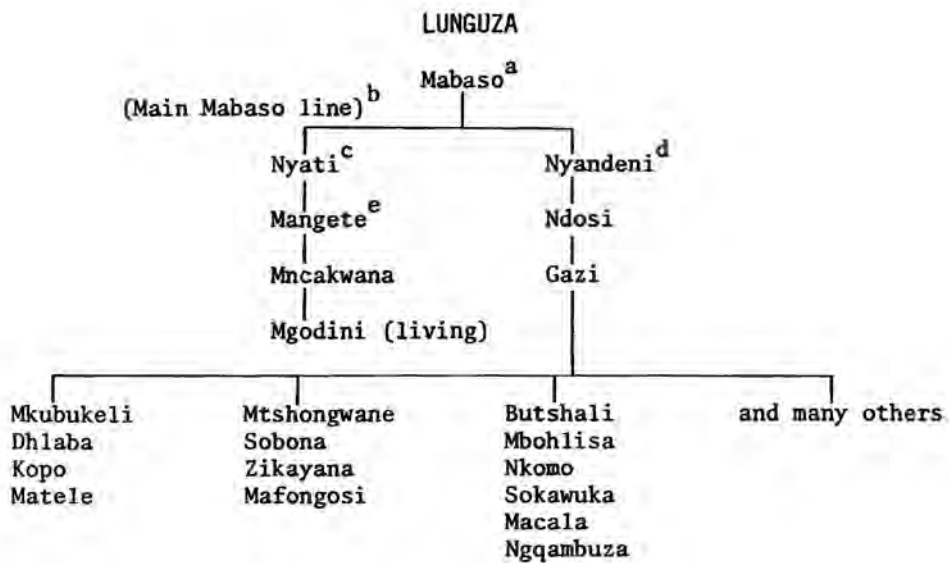
He then came on to the Mpofana (Mooi river). He there found Mahlapahlapa ka Siyoto - I do not know his *clan-name* - said to be a cannibal. This Mahlapahlapa is not the same man as that attacked by Dingana at the Ndaka (near Ladysmith) and driven off to Basutoland.¹⁸ Ngoza killed the former Mahlapahlapa. He *went down* to the forests on the north side of the Umgeni. He there found Dhlepu ka Ngcwanekazi - I do not know his *clan-name*.¹⁹ He fought with and killed this petty chief. Ngoza then passed by Mbubu²⁰ (near Pietermaritzburg), and went to the Mkomazi and found, on this side, Ciki of the Amawutshe.²¹ He fought with and killed him. Ciki lived where Chief Mbazwana of the amaKuze lives now.²² Ngoza then crossed the Umkomazi and went right off to Pondoland. I do not know what river or hill he came to. He was there killed at once by the Pondos. He was attacked the day after his arrival. The battle continued all day. The Pondos withdrew and renewed the attack the following day, when they succeeded in putting him to death.

Ngoza died in the Ukudada regiment. The Nonyenge regiment succeeded in repulsing the Pondos. An alarm was raised that the *chief* was left with the Ukudada and that the Nonyenge should assist. The Nonyenge turned back, went to relieve, but found that the Ukudada had been overpowered and Ngoza had been killed fighting - for he was a great warrior. The Pondos were very numerous.

Ngoza's regiments were:

- uNonyenge (*the ikanda of Mkubukeli*)
- Ukudada (*of the place of Mkubukeli's people*)
- Ilangeni (*of the place of Ngoza's people*)

Each regiment fought separately from the others. My father Mpu-kane was of the Nonyenge regiment. There was no recruiting according to age, but father and son would be in the same regiment.



^a See Lugubu's evidence in nbk., 29-31 May 1916.

^b 'Ndabezita' - *isibongo*.

^c Borne by woman of the Ludwala.

^d Progenitor of the Tembu people. My father told me this.

^e Mangete ka Nyati of the Ludwala: 'Ndabezita' - *isibongo*.

^f Girl, who *ruled* a little. She was older than Ngoza. She reigned when Ngoza was still a minor. She reigned with Sobona ka Gazi.

These two *brought up* Ngoza.

^g Died at Balule^{2,3} after we had *konza'd* Zulus, in Dingana's reign.

^h These remained behind in Pondoland with the Tembu people that did not *konza* the Zulus.

ⁱ Follows Mabizela in age.

^j Own brother of Ngqambuzana.

28 I know of Jobe ka Mapita ka Mnyanda. Jobe was *one of Ngoza's men*. He used to build beautiful dwelling huts for Ngoza, the wattles being placed one against another. Jobe's *clan-name* was Sitole. Jobe remained at Qudeni after Ngoza was defeated and put to flight by Tshaka. A number of Ngoza's tribe remained with Jobe. Jobe then *konzad* Tshaka.

Jobe had a son Mondise, whose chief son is Matshana, now at Qudeni.

Jobe had other sons: Nomaqongqoto, Siula, Tendeni, Ntshoboza, Mpako, Mlomowenyoni, Mbidhla, Lukotsholo, Babayi, Ziyendane, Nda-wombi, Sondhlovu, Sapula, Vela.

I have never heard of Jobe meeting Tshaka when looking on when his force was attacking Ngoza [see Bird's Annals, vol. 1, p. 144], and of the opportunity Jobe had of killing Tshaka.²⁴

29 Mbato ka Ntshiba ka Mnyanda was the principal chief of the Sitole tribe. The son of Mbato was Mbulungeni, whose son was Mbila.

Circumcision. This was done to prevent people getting old too quickly. The practice was discontinued during Ngoza's reign.

The Sitole people are an offshoot of the Tembu tribe. They are also addressed as 'Mtembu'.

Jobe was ordered to live in Natal, in the Umsinga Division at the Ndaka²⁵ etc., whilst the country he had occupied and that Ngoza had occupied about Malakata was given up to be built on by the Fasimba regiment.²⁶ This was done by Dingana because Jobe had much property, i.e. cattle, goats and sheep, so he was told to live on territory which had been denuded of people and stock. This country, Umsinga Division, was full of hyenas, lions etc. at that time. Cannibals were living about the Ndaka river, and above the Ilenge mountain.²⁷ The Fasimba then lived on our old lands. Jobe's people were very numerous and occupied extensive lands in Natal. Jobe died at his great kraal, Kwa Dilizela, at the end of the amaNkamane.²⁸ He was buried *at his place at the Lenge mountain, at Nhlakanhlakeni* (name of kraal), at the base of the Lenge mountain. Mondise died *at his Elundini kraal under Mmbe hill*. He was buried *in the cattle kraal*.

30 Mamalumbazo ka Nkwelo (Malumbazo)²⁹ - this was Jobe's chief wife.

When Mondise was buried, the cattle of the tribe were made to walk over and over the grave mound till it became *hardened* and flat. The cattle were driven over and over for three days. After this it was fenced in.

My father Mpukane was made Jobe's *induna*. He was appointed so as to teach him how to fight, for my father was a recognized hero, and had wounds all over his chest in front. He had a wound just over his left nipple and just below it, another below the right nipple and another on the right side, front. Tshaka looked on my father as a dog that would not allow the *enemy* to get near its master Tshaka. Tshaka accordingly ordered him not to touch meat at all; it was to be put on an *eating mat* and he must go up to it on his knees and bite off pieces as a dog. He was henceforth to play the role of a real dog. This my father did. Beer, moreover, was to be given him to drink as he lay down on his back, in *beer baskets*. Then he would be allowed to eat meat again, *à la chien!* In this way he got to be very stout. He was tall and his arms became very fat and big. Tshaka used to get him to *dance* before the *umdhlwankulu*; and he would be

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praised as he did so.

My father died near Weenen shortly before the battle between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.³⁰

I knew Jobe and Mondise well. Jobe was of short, medium stature, with a very big and wide beard. It got very white as he grew old. He had a *headring*.

Ntshoboza³¹ reigned for a short time after Mondise died until Matshana grew up. Matshana put to death Vela ka Jobe³² for wishing to be chief of the tribe. He (Matshana) also killed Sigadiya³³ ka Tshezi, whereupon J.W. Shepstone went and attacked them. J.W. Shepstone attempted to shoot Matshana, but he escaped, the bullet hitting Deke in the leg. Matshana then went to Zululand. Sondhlovu was killed by J.W. Shepstone's men, and others of Jobe's sons were killed at the same time. Shepstone was stabbed. [He was stabbed by Mdemude ka Masimbana. See 2nd notebook, p. 20.]

32 Sondhlovu was a great *warrior* of Dingana. He once *put cannibals to death* near amaNkamane. It happened this way. The cattle (Jobe's) were out grazing *at about midday* near amaNkamane when a party of about 20 cannibals came upon the six herds and killed five, and began cutting them up. The sixth was Sondhlovu. He dropped into a donga and there waited, lying on his back. A cannibal came after him and, stooping over the donga, was about to stab him when Sondhlovu pushed his assegai quickly upwards and ripped open the man's whole stomach, so much so that the contents fell all over him. He then ran off and raised a hue and cry, a call to arms. Men at once responded. In the meantime the cannibals got off with the meat. They had killed no cattle. The armed men followed and caught the cannibals up the Toleni stream near the Ndaka, whereupon these threw away what they were carrying, and ran. The men chased them but could not catch them. They then turned back, for Dingana would have been put out had they made an attack on the tribe unless specially authorized thereto. On 33 hearing what had happened, Dingana ordered several regiments out to go and attack and kill off the cannibals who had killed Jobe's people. Dingana sent the Dhlambedhlu, Mvoko, Mkulutshane, Izigulutshana and Izinyoni regiments. These regiments hemmed in the cannibal settlement, going in a detour beyond Hlatikulu,³⁴ and then pressed their attack. They killed many. Many escaped to Basutoland, including their chief Mahlapahlapa.

These cannibals had splendid supplies of food, good crops. They had huge goats with large ears and udders as large as those of a cow. They had no cattle.

I was at Mgungundhlovu at the time, being a member of the Kokoti regiment.³⁵

The cannibals were said to be *the people of Lupalule* - that was their *isibongo*. The *cannibals* were also called amaBele.³⁶

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File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 33-9.

My regiment is uKokoti. There were only two recruitings of regiments *among the people of Jobe* (Sitole) where I was living, i.e. the Hlomendhlini in Tshaka's day,³⁷ and the Kokoti, by Dingana.

34 ('The Kokoti which ate a horse.')

It so happened that the Jobe people were in the habit of putting

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on their headrings at an early age, so, when recruited by Tshaka into the Hlomendhlini regiment, many of them already had put on *head-rings*. Tshaka asked who had given them permission to sew on head-rings, and then directed that all were to be cut off and removed, which was done. They again put them on when at Mgungundhlovu under Dingana.

Tshaka's regiments³⁹

The Siklebe carried grey shields, black and white hairs mixed.

The Izikwembu *carried shields of a uniform dun colour.*

The Gibabanye carried shields that were black with white marks at the side.

The Dhlangezwa *carried shields that were black, with many white patches.*

The Fasimba *carried* all-white shields.

The Ndabezibona (uNdabaekadengizibona), *a section of a regiment, carried black shields, white on cattle backs.*

The Iziyendane, *of the place of Makata's people, carried uniformly red shields with no markings.*

The Mgumanqa carried spotted shields, i.e. red ones with white spots.

The Isipezi - I forget the colour; I think white with markings.

(Tshaka gave the name Ndabaekadengizibona because ever since he was born he saw *izindaba*.⁴⁰ 'UNdabakadengizibona of the place of Mudhli, the destroyer of all'⁴¹ - a praise of Tshaka.)

35 The Iziyendane, *Calabashes of curds were hidden away when they appeared, for they would have eaten them. They used to shout, 'Hayeje! Hayeje! Our cattle, Mangwane! Hayeje!'* They would sing this on going to a kraal. They did not scruple about eating curds of the household in all parts of Zululand.⁴²

The Bekenya carried shields of black cattle with markings on the stomach.

The Ngqobolondo carried *izinsasa shields*, i.e. speckled on a black hide.⁴³

The Tshoyisa carried shields made from the hides of red cattle with large white markings on the upper parts of the legs. [See below, p. 36.]

(It was a great offence for a man not belonging to a particular regiment to carry a shield of the colour proper or reserved to that regiment. The reason was, 'How could such a man be distinguished as to what he was if he carried a shield of a colour used by a particular regiment?')

The Abesutu. 'At our place in the Zulu country we are never satisfied, for we have nothing but bones to crunch.' This is what they used to say. This was also one of Tshaka's regiments. It stayed at the Dhlangezwa kraal or barracks.

36 The Fojisa was also a regiment. It carried shields made from the hides of black cattle with white patches on the stomach.

The Tshoyisa was a section of the Fojisa regiment.

The Jibingqwane carried speckled grey shields.

The Mbelebele. uMpondozobekwapi - this latter was a section of the Mbelebele regiment. It carried shields made of red-

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coloured hides with brown patches.
The Poko. The Mpopu section carried *dun-coloured shields*; the Mnyama section carried *black shields, no markings*. The regiment was called uPoko, and the two just given were *sections* of that regiment.
The Nobamba - said also to be one.

Dingana's regiments

Izinyosi - stayed at Siklebeni
uDhlambedhlu - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
Imikulutshane - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
Imvoko - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
Izigulutshane - stayed at Mgungundhlovu
uKokoti
iHlaba

I knew Mgungundhlovu very well indeed. I was called into the *isigodhlo*. A food that the *umndhlunkulu* had was this: *the clotted blood* of a beast - this was cooked, then *broken up* whilst still wet and then made into a rich soup with *fat*.

37 There were no fox terriers at Mgungundhlovu. I knew a dog of the king's (Dingana's) called Bozibozi - a red one, very large. They slept in the *isigodhlo*. I did not know Makwilana (or Makwedhlana). I went to Mgungundhlovu as a *mat-bearer*.

Our name of uKokoti was changed to Ndbakawombe by Mpande. The horse said to have been eaten by us was eaten at Mtombeni *while we were going up at Kwa Makoba*. We had gone out to *collect wattles* from *umnqandane bushes* for building the *isigodhlo* fence.

We had to *break* them with *our hands*, there being no axes, and each man only brought one piece, but nevertheless there was an enormous heap. The Mtombeni is on the north side of the White Mfolozi and a good way from Mgungundhlovu. On that occasion we slept out at Kwa Makoba five nights and returned the sixth day. Only we Kokoti went to get these *wattles*.

Our great *induna* was Qetuka ka Mapita ka Sojiyisa.⁴⁴

38 On the top of Mtombeni we found a beast and a horse. Both were slaughtered. I belonged to the Umgungundhlovu section of the regiment; there were present also the Kangela and Siklebe sections of the same regiment. When the section I was with got up, I saw the beast had been killed, and it was part of that I was about to eat. The Siklebe section ate the horse, hence the saying, '*The old Kokoti that ate a horse*'.⁴⁵ We had slept out five nights without food; we were extremely hungry; hence the horse being eaten. I do not know where the horse came from. It was said, '*So you ate a young beast without horns?*' Mbululwane ka Ngwengu of the Cunu tribe said this. He threatened us. He said the Siklebe section were not to eat it, for it had no horns. I had already taken a *strip of meat* given me by Gabangaye, Silwana's (the chief's) father.⁴⁶ Mbululwane shouted to me, '*We! Lunguza! Lunguza!*', that I was to tell Mbutiso (i.e. Gabangaye) to throw away the meat he had for it was the meat of a *beast that had no horns because it was still young*. We thereupon threw the meat away, and did not actually eat any, for we were afraid of him, he being a big, strong, grown-up

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- 39 man. The members of the Kokoti were not all of the same age; some were a good deal older than others.

<The questions that appear below are listed in the original in the upper margins of pp. 35-9 (File 59, nbk. 30). Questions that have been scored out in the original we have placed in parentheses. Those with a cross against them in the original we have marked with an 'x' - eds.>

- 35 (Is there no tribe-mark or custom peculiar to Tembus?)
Describe *circumcision*.
Describe custom of putting chief into the senior regiment, though young.
(What spring did Dingana get his water from?)
His chair.
What was *isigodhlo* fenced with and who did *fencing*?
x (What *wondrous events* have you heard of - animals speaking - etc.?)
x (What was the great cattle country?)
Great hunters.
(Where did *blue monkey skins* come from; *loury feathers*?)
(Describe *isibiba* - p. 53)
(Do you know of cocks being killed by D. for causing lightning?)
- 36 Name different kinds of dances.
Name different kinds of singing.
What is *lobola*?
x (How many times did you enter *isigodhlo*?)
(Describe each occasion. How long inside?)
How were nights spent?
x (Where did you relieve nature?)
x (Where was water got?)
x (What *isvivane* do you know?)⁴⁷
(*Whistling spirits*.)
x (Was there an outside fence round Mgungundhlovu?)
x (Did you ever go to Kangela, Hlomendhlini, Nobamba?)
x (Did you ever go to Nodwengu?)
(What about the *Mbete famine*?)
(*The famine of Magonondo*?)
(Who worked *iron, armbands, armrings, hoes*? Their prices? Beads?)
x (What foods were taken in times of famine?)
What were the great medicines?
Preventive charms.
What about *drinking from the udders of the cows*? Describe fully.
- 37 x Give an account of Makabela tribe.
x (Had Ngoza an *isigodhlo*?)
x (What fighting did he do before meeting Tshaka?)
Give short account of each member of the royal family of Tembus.
Give genealogical tree of Mambata tribe.
What do you know of the Cunu tribe?
ukuBula.
x (Is it Madondo or Madonda? - pp. 39, 58.)

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- x What women's hands were cut off? - p. 40.
 x (Where did Mzilikazi live in Zululand?)
 x (What *campaigns* did you go on?)
 x (Did you have only *knobkieries* at the Ncome?)
 (Give the praises of Jobe, Zikode, Mpukane, Mkubukeli, Ngoza, Mondise, Dingana, Tshaka, Sojiyisa, Nodada, Gabangaye.)
 38 Describe the custom of *ukuhlonipa*.⁴⁸
 Describe the custom of *xxx' impi*.⁴⁹
 Describe Ndhlela.
 Describe Dambuza.
 x (Did you know Zulu ka Nogandaya, Ngqengelele, Mdhlaka, Hlambamanzi, Mvundhlana, Menziwa, Xoko?)
 Who were the great *praise-singers*?
 How about girls being married out from *isigodhlo*?
 Who wore *imfibinga* beads?
 x What were the things *forbidden* by Dingana?
 (How about Tshaka and the doctors *in the isigodhlo*?)
 What do you know concerning Tshaka's birth, and origin of his name?
 x (Did Dingana *tefula*?)
 x (Did the king wear *armbands, or neckrings or armrings*?)
 39 Did Dingana ever visit *amakanda*?
 When, exactly, was it that Fasimba came to build on your lands?
 x (Was Dingana's life never attempted?)
 x (Did you never see any white people come to Mgungundhlovu?)
 x (What about Matiwana's death?)
 Whose daughter was Mawa? Why did she cross over?
 Who was Gcugcwa?
 Who *cultivated and reaped* the king's gardens? Where were they?
 Who were the principal *izinceku*? Milkers?
 Who *carved milk vessels, and pots for urinating in*?
 (Who held shield over Dingana?)
 (Who shaved him and *dressed his hair*?)
 Who were his doctors?
 Were no animals ever caught and brought to him alive?

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File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 39-52.

- 39 Makanda ka Mbesa ka Masongelana (*alan-name*: Madondo) was taken out by five men to be killed at Nkata. Nkata was *in the cleared space at Mgungundhlovu*, i.e. just below and in front of the kraal. When they got him there he snatched up a boulder and bashed one of the five on the head, dashing his brains out, and then escaped because the others ran away. As he was being conducted to the place of execution he went apparently quite resignedly - '*cold*', i.e. contracted together as if resigned to his fate. He, on escaping, went back to Mgungundhlovu, whereupon Dingana said, 'Who was it who said my *warrior*, Dambuza Mtabate, was to be killed?' He repudiated having given any such order, whereupon he directed that the four others that remained were to be put to death, which was done. Makanda lived for many years after this, and died in Mpande's reign at Matshunku, on the south side of the Tugela, just above where the stream or furrow for irrigation works begins.

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40 My father's hut was *opikweni* at the *Mgungundhlovu kraal*; by '*opikweni*' I mean in the bend of the kraal. His hut was on the right side of the kraal looking from the *isigodhlo*, and far down near the gates.

At Nkata there were numbers of *rocks, grindstones*, purposely put and kept there in order to *beat people to death with*. It was one of these that Makanda, who was a powerful man, got hold of. This incident happened prior to the murder of Piet Retief [6th February, 1838].

I was born when our chief Ngoza went off to the Amampondo country. I used to *bring the calves to the cows at milking time* as Nodada, Nhlakwomuzi and Mpahlwa, sons of Ngoza, *drank from the udders*, after their return from Pondoland, and after our mothers' hands had been cut off as previously stated.

41 Nandi died sometime after I was born, for I recollect the kind of food we ate after her death. [He means allowed to eat.] Those who ate *amabele* were killed; it was said only milk and *curds* could be taken. There were people who used to go about inspecting, and if they saw faeces at any kraal, as they would do after a grass fire by their continuing to smoke, (they would know) that they had had *amabele*. The people of such kraal would be put to death, for Tshaka said, '*So he is living in a state of contentment*' - i.e. he *is satisfied with life*; he is in a condition of prosperity and comfort, living in a state of enjoyment - 'whereas I am lamenting because of my mother's death!'

When Tshaka was put to death I know the words he used: '*Children of my father, are you killing me, I who am of your house and king of the Zulu? Your country, children of my father, will be ruled by white people who will come up from the sea.*' I often feel how true this prophecy was. I was a boy capable of *carrying babies pick-a-baek* at that time [23rd (24th?) September 1828].

Mzilikazi ka Matshobana of the Kumalo. He was told to come and *cook meat* at Bulawayo. He *refused and made off in the night*, taking men with him. He *established himself* to begin with at Mpama. He was simply an ordinary man but had *grown great* in his own tribe.

42 My father went to the Mpama to attack Mzilikazi; this was in Dingana's day. There he killed three men and was *given the praise* '*He tried to finish off the people of Matshobana*'. I well recollect this expedition.⁵⁰

[Note: I reckon Lunguza must have been born about 1822 or 1823, for he remembers the death of Nandi in 1827, and was capable of nursing children when Tshaka died in 1828. If, then, he was born when Ngoza ran off to Pondoland, then such an event occurred about 1822 or 1823.]

Ngoza's flight occurred before that of Matiwane of the amaNgwane tribe. [Sir T. Shepstone's version contradicts this.]

Sikunyana - I know but little about him. The wound under my father's right nipple was said to have been received in the attack on the Ndwandwe tribe.⁵¹

The first time I went to the *Zulu country* as *mat-bearer* for my father was to Mgungundhlovu.

The amaCunu (under Macingwane) joined Ngoza during his flight,

43 but only got as far as Nsikeni hill, on the south side of the Mko-mazi, whereas Ngoza went on to Pondoland. Ngoza and Macingwane were in league with one another and both fleeing from Tshaka. Macingwane followed Ngoza; i.e. Ngoza began to fly first and Macingwane followed after, finding that Ngoza had already *destroyed the minor chiefdoms* on the way.

There were three main rows of huts at Mgungundhlovu, but odd huts were stuck in here and there in addition. They used at Mgungundhlovu to aim a bone at one as one passed by a hut, merely for passing there and doing nothing else. *It was a place of death.* One always lived in a state of dread and trembling at Mgungundhlovu, and was only relieved when one went off home.

44 It was necessary always to *konza*. If (a man) went off and stayed at home it would be well if he left someone to look after his hut, for if he merely shut it up and went away, others at the royal kraal would open it and use it as a closet and throw their ashes and refuse there, on the ground that the owner was away enjoying himself and drinking beer at home. And coming back to such hut he could not occupy it the first day because of refuse; it must first be cleaned out by a *mat-bearer* and then *smearred with cowdung* and allowed to dry. My father always stayed until relieved by Manzezulu ka Jobe, a *warrior 'who led astray the full strength of the Ndwandwe'*, and Manzezulu did not leave till relieved by my father Mpu-kane.

Manzezulu is said to have entered the Ndwandwe *impi* and stabbed about here and there among them.

My father was called '*Didiz' ulwandhle*,⁵² *he who aimed to finish off the people of Matshobana*'. My father's hut was never a place of refuse because of his taking care to be relieved by Manzezulu etc.

Afternoon. Dingana's kraals: Umgungundhlovu, Siklebe, Gibabanye, Mpiyake (near the Pate at Mtonjaneni), Kangela, Emvokweni, Dhlambedhlwini, Emkulutshaneni, Fasimba, Ezikwembeni.

Bongoza was tall and *light in colour*. I, however, never saw him, i.e. the one who *decoyed the Boers*.⁵³

45 The Kokoti regiment (name given by Dingana; otherwise known in Mpande's reign as uNdabakawombe). This regiment *kleza'd* at Siklebeni, at Zinyosini, at Dhlambedhlwini, at Mgungundhlovu and practically all other *amakanda*. Whilst still *klezaing* we were spoken of as *inkwebane*.⁵⁴ The name 'Kokoti' was given only when the *inkwebane* were *butwa'd* - no name prior to being collected. The lads were *buta'd* to *kleza* at the *amakanda*. The term *buta* was used in this connection, but its principal significance arose out of the *inkwebane* being collected from the various *amakanda* and formed into one regiment.

I *kleza'd* at Mgungundhlovu, for I was one of Jobe's people. Only the Hlomendhlwini and Kokoti were *butwa'd* from Jobe's people. Jobe's people were attached to Mgungundhlovu. Affairs from Jobe's tribe were reported to Ndhlela ka Sompisi.⁵⁵

When the cadets were collected together into one regiment, the

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regiment was divided into *sections*. The Kangela section of the Kokoti had a cry like the *red-winged starling*, i.e. 'Tsho! Tsho! Tsho!', whereupon we would say, '*Here come the starlings of Kangela!*'

46 I belonged to the Isiziba section of the Kokoti regiment, '*the deep pool which drags people down and engulfs them*'.⁵⁶ We carried *knobbed sticks* at the back of the head, attached with *thongs*, slightly to the right side of the head and at the back.



These were our only weapon. We carried no assegai. This was on account of a remonstrance made by us about the Zulu army having allowed the Boers to escape, whereas they could, in our opinion, have been caught with the hands and killed with *knobkieries*. Hence, we said, the Zulus don't know how to fight. Dingana thereupon directed us to *make knobkieries* and fight with those. We of course wore also ox tails etc.

The Kokoti *praise* was '*the snake whose bite cannot be cured*'.

The Isiziba *induna* was Mankaiyana ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi; there were many minor *izinduna*, known as *amapini*.⁵⁷

47 I belonged to the *isibay' esikulu*,⁵⁸ and therefore had to be in the rear whenever the Isiziba went off anywhere. The *companies* in the Isiziba were very many. I cannot give any idea, for this section of the Kokoti comprised very many members. The Isiziba did not live at Mgungundhlovu but only came when specially summoned. We were called together for the special purpose of *cutting wattles of the umqandane bush*. After finishing this work we were given cattle to eat and then told to disperse to our homes. That is an illustration of what occurred.

The term *isibay' esikulu* is one applied to that section of a regiment that belonged to the kraal in which the king or chief lived. When the *isibay' esikulu* came last, the king would travel along with it. I have already said that Ngoza was with the Ekutateni regiment; well, that was the *isibay' esikulu*, for Ekutateni was Mkubukeli's⁵⁹ principal kraal, where he held the *umkosi ceremonies*. The *isibay' esikulu* is the bodyguard, household troops.

[See plan of Mgungundhlovu, showing where *isibay' esikulu* was.]

48 The *umdhlunkulu* were stark naked, only a strip of beads round the waist. The *isigodhlo* never *binea'd*.⁶⁰ When they went out to the river to wash they were escorted and guarded by men armed with shields and assegais, and if you came in sight you must fall right down into the grass face downwards in order not in any way whatever to look. The *umdhlunkulu* were very fat, were *nkwetshelazi* and *amadanda*.⁶¹ They were like pigs. They perspired although they did nothing. The mats they sat on got wet and the *izinceku* would have to put them out to dry.

49 When called to the *white isigodhlo* I never dared to look up at any of the *umdhlunkulu*. I never had a feeling of affection for them, for it was death to do so.

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The Zulu country was like a pit, or a snuffbox, for you did not know where to run to; that is, if a man had to be killed it was inevitable that he would be killed, for there was nowhere to run to.

Tshaka caused his own mother to be put to death on account of her having harboured his child. It was one of the *umdhlonkulu* that went and told tales about Nandi having the child. 'Go,' the girl said, 'to your mother. You will find her with something beautiful.' Tshaka went there stealthily, got the evidence he wanted, then came back and sent an *inceku* to go and stab his mother and afterwards to cut the *leather skirt and tie up the wound* so that it could not be seen. The *skirt* was cut in the shape of a band. It was then said, '*The inkosikazi is sick.*' No-one of course could go and see her. The child in question was also killed by the *inceku*.

Nandi had an *inceku*, Mqumbela, who cried for two days on account of Nandi's death. Tshaka, getting to hear of this, said, on the third day, '*Give him rest; he is tired. His mother is dead; he has been crying for a long time. Happy is the man who has a mother.*'

50 They thereupon gave him his quietus.

The child had been borne by one of the *umdhlonkulu*. I do not know what the girl's name was. The child was a boy; even if it had been a girl the same thing would have happened. I heard, after Tshaka's death, and at Mgungundhlovu, that Tshaka had directed the *inceku* to go and kill Nandi, that he did not himself stab her. I know the *wound* was a small one, and may have been caused with an *awl* or small assegai.

There were two big gates at the bottom end of Mgungundhlovu. If anyone fell at the gate it would be all up with him unless he quickly struggled away. He would be trampled to death by the companies of men dashing in and proceeding up on one side or the other of the great enclosure. There were *imivalasangwana* or gatekeepers. They got the *first stomach* of the beasts slaughtered. There were two for each gate.

The herds were called *izikuzi*;⁶² there were many of these. They slept *at the gate*, both sides.

51 Ndhlela's hut was close up to the *isigodhlo*, on the right side of the kraal facing the gates. It was *in the isicamelo part of the kraal*.⁶³ Both *isicamelo* belonged to the *isibay' esikulu*.

The cattle were kept apart in the great *enclosure* - in different parts of it. Each lot had its own *place, marked by an accumulation of dung*, and got accustomed to it. No-one *made his way through the cattle* or disturbed them.

I do not know of the missionary who is said to have lived at Mgungundhlovu, nor do I know of Captain Gardiner.⁶⁴

The *mat-bearers* used to go and *collect firewood* for the huts to which they belonged. It was very difficult to know what hut one belonged to. I accordingly stuck a stick on our hut so that I could see which it was, for if one went to the wrong hut they would smack you on the face or throw a bone at you, and want to know why you made the mistake and why you did not take care.

In Tshaka's day no *hlobongaing* was allowed. The result of this was that girls used to go to their *lovers* at night time so as not to

52 be seen. (A girl would) go to *her lover's hut*, knock at the door (they would not be barked at by dogs for they did not *takata*). She would then be let in, sleep with her lover and then go back the same night to her home, the lover accompanying her part of the way home and then returning. The lover could not go to the girl's home for fear of being found out and killed. There were many only too ready to tell tales.

When Dingana came he allowed girls and men to *hlobonga*, hence girls went about freely in the open day-time. They *washed in the light of day*. He was thereupon called *uMalamulela*,⁶⁵ for intervening on behalf of girls and their lovers.

When Tshaka was killed Mhlangana jumped over him, as he looked on himself as successor; Dingana did not jump over him. Tshaka jumped over Pakatwayo, and Cetshwayo would have jumped over him (i.e. Mbuyazi) had his body been found.⁶⁶

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File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 52-60.

The Isipezi regiment wore the *umnaka* - brass rings round the neck and of this shape:



I do not know where the *brass* was got, possibly from Portuguese territory. The *umnaka* used to burn those who wore it, especially on a hot day, and they accordingly carried *fat* to put about the part of neck affected.

53

There is an *ilcanu* (Hottentot), Lomana, who was present at the Piet Retief massacre. He is living at Stoffel's near Nobamba, above Nobamba.⁶⁷ He had been put with the guns just outside Mgungundhlovu. He escaped on horseback. He is about my age.

I was present at the Ncome fight, though was not one of the attacking party. The Dhlabedhlu and Izinyosi (Zembekwela) attacked first, followed by the Imikulutshane, Izigulutshane and other regiments. The uKokoti was still too young, and, although a regiment, was one known as *isibiba*, i.e. *that part of the force which remained behind*, because they were *youths*. They were held back until the result of the attack was known, when, if favourable, they would be sent in. The successive rushes of the Zulus on to the Boer fort failed and were repulsed. The fort was made of waggons closely drawn together, with branches of trees put in between, these branches having been pulled in from surrounding parts by means of oxen. After our troops had been repulsed there was a general flight in various directions. The Boers charged; four came in our direction riding red horses, five in another direction, six in another. They fired on the Zulus with their *guns*.⁶⁸ Our men hid in antbear holes, under *ant-heaps*, stuffing their heads in even though otherwise exposed, whilst others hid themselves under the heaps of corpses to be found in every direction. Men were shot who were already dead. I found men shot dead in front as well as behind me as we fled. I wondered what had become of our chief Nodada. I questioned one or two but they

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told me they did not know where he was. As a matter of fact he escaped. He was a member of the Umfolozi regiment;⁶⁹ this was one of Dingana's regiments, about the same age as the Dhlambedhlu or Izinyosi. I found that as many as 30 *elders* from our tribe alone had been killed in this battle.

There was no chance of the Zulus doing anything. As for us Kokoti, i.e. Ndabakawombe,⁷⁰ who had scoffed at the Zulus' mode of fighting and were armed with *knobbed sticks*, we could do nothing at all, for no use could be made of these weapons at distances within which gunfire was effective!

55 During the battle we Kokoti were on the far side of the Ncome stream.

We did not cross into Natal with Mpande (*goda*),⁷¹ for we lived in Natal. I did not take part in the battle of Maqongqo⁷² between Mpande and Dingana, being in Natal at the time.

Mpande sent into Natal and seized very many cattle from our tribe and from Jobe's people, saying they belonged to him. This was after he became king.

I know there was a place called eBeje, for Dingana was sometimes said to be still at eBeje, but I do not know what eBeje was. I do not know what took place there.⁷³

I do not know where the *inkata* was kept. I never saw the *inkata of the Zulu nation*.⁷⁴

56 I remember *Jojo of the Masikane section of the Makabeleni*, who lived at Pisweni⁷⁵ at the place of Makaya, and who escaped although apparently condemned to be killed. An *inceku* shouted, 'Let the man you caught be brought forward!' He was brought to Dingana who said, 'Fellow, what thing that you prize do you leave here on earth?' He replied, 'I leave my king who, like a child beginning to talk, can only grow in greatness.' 'What else do you leave?' He said, 'Nkosi, I leave my child.' The king said, 'What is it?' He answered, 'It is a boy.' Then the king said, 'O Zulu! Let him be, for he says that he leaves two things of value, his child and his king.'⁷⁶ He was thereupon spared, and eventually died a natural death. This happened at Mgungundhlovu. He had been caught on the right side of the kraal (looking towards the gate), but had not been removed to Nkata. I do not know what offence he was said to have committed.

The *izinduna* used to kill off commoners and then report to the king that they had 'taken away' this or that (person) for *practising witchcraft*, but the *izinduna* were afraid of doing this to *great warriors*, although they used to tell tales about them to the king and get them killed in that way. .

57 All my father's near relatives were killed off by Dingana on the ground that they *pupa'd*;⁷⁷ they *pupa'd* because they used to hold the *umkosi ceremonies at Ngoza's*. It was said that Didiza (my father)⁷⁸ was not to be killed, nor his wife, nor his elder brother (Mapeka) and his wife, nor his mother (*daughter of Majola*), nor Mhlana (*a cattle-herd of Jobe*) and his wife. Only these were excused. Jobe called for me. 'Where is Lunguza?' I went and stood by him. All my relatives were killed at Ndindindi (name of a ridge) near Qudeni. Men came from Dingana to Jobe to say he was to *send out a force and surround* our kraal, as we *pupa'd*. Jobe did so, and came personally

to our kraal. He began by calling me out. The *impi* came before sunrise - only a small party. Our kraal had 20 huts; the name of it was Kwa Pangisa. The whole kraal was killed off except those mentioned, who were saved owing to Jobe calling them out.

Sikwantshu is said to have remarked on the great amount of killing off that went on in Tshaka's day, adding that also in that of Dingana the same thing took place. 'Would that some other king might reign!' Sikwantshu was a person without means who was given protection by my father Mpukane. This getting to Dingane's ears was the reason for our destruction. Sikwantshu was of course killed off. We do not know where he was alleged to have made this statement. Afterwards, i.e. the kraal having been destroyed, Jobe sent those spared to his kraal at Nhlakanhlakeni, below Qudeni mountain. The huts of our kraal were burnt.

Our (my) *isibongo* is Madondo, i.e. an offshoot of the Tembu tribe. Matshoba was the progenitor of the Madondo tribe. Matshoba sprang from Nyandeni. Madondo is said to have been a man. We were called after this man, for we were *dondobebe*,⁷⁹ refusing to work. [cf. Ndo-ndakusuka]⁸⁰

Dingana gave strict instructions to Jobe that Didiza (my father) was not to be killed. He was to be taken by the hand by Jobe and led out. If killed, Jobe's own kraal would be killed.

I was Jobe's *inceku*, and stayed at Nhlakanhlakeni. Jobe sent his *induna* Nogobonyeka to Dingana to ask if it was intended that he should kill his wife's mother, for Didiza's kraal was at that of Jobe's wife's father. (Jobe) was married to a sister of Mpukane, alias Didiza (my father). Dingana then gave directions as to who were to be saved [see above] and ordered Jobe to superintend the killing off himself.

This killing off took place the very day after my father's arrival from Mgungundhlovu where he had been rewarded with six head of cattle by Dingana. These cattle, together with those of the whole kraal, were then seized and taken to Nhlakanhlakeni kraal. They became Jobe's property by direction of Dingana.

Ny mother (sister of Makedama ka Mkulu, chief of the Makabela tribe⁸¹) was never *lobola'd* by my father, for he had no cattle. Having regard to the killing off referred to, he, on being given any cattle, would kill them off at once and eat them. He refused to keep them. This is the reason why my mother was not *lobola'd*. Mpukane was afraid that there would be jealousy created by his having cattle, whereupon people would tell tales and get him killed so as to obtain his cattle. My father, moreover, refused to *lobola* my mother on the ground that he had taken her under his protection at Pisweni (hill) - between the Bomvu and Kabela tribes, where the Amasikana tribe (offshoot of the Makabela tribe) is.

My father later on *lobola'd* my mother with 10 of my cattle. I partly *lobola'd* my own wife, but did not finish.

It was the *izinduna* who were responsible for the indiscriminate killing off that went on. Sometimes a man rewarded with cattle by the king would be killed just as he reached his home, and his cattle seized. These cattle, say if there were 10, would be taken off to

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the *izindunas'* kraals, and they would report that nothing in the shape of cattle was at the kraal.

The *izinduna* got into the habit of killing off people and then reporting, i.e. after the event, that they had 'removed' them for this or that reason.

I think our people were said to be *pupaing* because my grandfather Zikode (Mtshongotshongo) used to hold the preliminary *umkosi* dance in Ngoza's day. Ngoza used to follow with the main ceremony next day. My grandfather was told to *qalel' inkosi*,⁸² and his dance was known as *the black umkosi*, and that of Ngoza as *the white umkosi*, after which the people dispersed and went to their homes.

Ngoza's *umkosi* was held towards the winter, at the time of *harvesting*, not during the month Masingana.⁸³

Ngoza was a great fighter; so was Zikode (my grandfather), but Mkubukeli was not a fighter. He never accompanied the army to war.

Lugubu's⁸⁴ statement [of 4.3.1909] as to how Tshaka came to fight Ngoza may be correct. I do not dispute him.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 1-14.

Also present: Sitashi

1 Lunguza continues. Sitashi ['Starch', for starching shirts], son of Lugubu (Ngqambuzana's *induna*), present.

There is no special tribal mark or custom that distinguishes Tembus from other tribes. The headdress was always worn, as far as I know. My father and all his age wore the *headring*. Jobe had a *headring*. My grandfather also had on a *headring*, though I never saw him.

The Amacunas of today wear long *loin covers* and occasionally a *bunch of lousy feathers on the head*.

The abaTembu wear short, medium *loin covers*, and generally a *bunch of lousy feathers on the head*.

Cunu girls etc. have their hair done straight up.



Tembu girls have their hair done thus



I cannot say how the *headring* originated. The Zulus proper used to wear the ring as much as any tribe.

2 I remember when the Icenyané was *jutshwa'd*.⁸⁵ It was said, '*The other regiments will get the remnants*,'⁸⁶ i.e. after the Fasimba regiment, whom they were directed to marry, had been served. This was done at the time of the *umkosi*, just as all were about to disperse, the great ceremony being over. It was shouted out, '*Let the Cenyané take husbands among the men of the Fasimba*.'⁸⁷ They, however, had already been married before. Any girls remaining over might marry

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into any other *regiments* according to their wishes. The iCenyane girls used to *smear fat* on the chest above the breasts and between them.

A man of the regiment allowed to marry would go up to the marriageable girls and say, '*Now, girl, you are going to choose me as a husband!*'⁸⁸ whereupon she would consent, afraid of being killed if she refused, and her father would support the man who wanted to marry her. The man would direct her to come to his kraal on the following day.

3 A man who belonged to a regiment allowed to marry would take his *shield* and assegais and, with a boy to carry his mats, proceed to a kraal he had in mind where there were some of the girls he had been allowed to marry. On getting there *he would salute the umnumzana, saying, 'Son of —, I request a comfortable place to sleep.'*⁸⁹ A girl would then be ordered by the kraal head to go and sweep out a particular hut for the use of the new arrival. The girls (eligible) would then be collected and told to go into this hut. When there, the man would look at them and then fix on a particular one and invite her to come and sit by him, side by side. She would then do so, thereby causing the others to laugh at her. He would then proceed to court her, and during the night his mats would be spread out and each of the other girls would occupy the same hut during the night. The selected girl would sleep with the stranger on his mat. The mat-bearer would sleep alongside the other girls. The man might *hlobonga* with her. There was no sense of shame in this, even though the others heard what was going on. None of the girls were afraid for this was the general custom, hence girls saw nothing extraordinary or alarming about it.

The man would get up, go to the river and wash, whilst the girls, including the selected one, would prepare food for him and the kraal head. The man would then partake of the food, and then, bidding the kraal head good day, would go off, being accompanied some way by the same girls. The one he had selected would go somewhat further with him than the rest, and then return to her home.

4 This coming did not mean that the girl referred to would necessarily marry the man; he had come only to *ask for a comfortable place to sleep*. Somebody else might marry the girl. As he goes off, the girls carry his shield for him and his assegais, for they are very pleased at having been visited by one of the king's warriors. The selected girl may of course marry the man after all.

Only *jutshwa'd* girls could come into the hut and associate with the man. A girl not *jutshwa'd* would never dare to go to the visitor, for she would be killed and the man too.

The Icenyané were ordered to put fat on their chests between the breasts so that they might be distinguished. Hence it was *umbala* - a mark, distinguishing mark. Plenty of fat was applied and it melted and trickled down them to the waist.

Compulsion was not used with girls, for they were used to the custom, and consented merely if a man said, '*Girl, I am going to lie with you.*'

The Icenyané was *jutshwa'd* at Mgungundhlovu. The Ntshuku⁹⁰ was left to be *jutshwa'd* later.

As soon as *jutshwaing* took place, i.e. the order had been issued, the girls would disperse in all directions all over the country to

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5 their respective lovers in the 'permitted' regiment. Two or even three of these girls could marry any one man if he could afford to marry them and they cared for him. The *lobola* was only one beast to begin with, and afterwards a second beast, no more, for all the cattle belonged to the king. It was very hard indeed to get cattle, and if you should accumulate many you would be accused of making a *chief* of yourself, whereupon someone would report this to headquarters, and some pretext for killing you would be found. This was one reason then why the *lobola* was so low. Then again the *izinduna* were jealous of anyone having cattle; they would have him killed and seize his cattle for their own aggrandizement, as was done at my father's kraal. [See some pages back for what happened.] It was therefore very hard to get cattle. Only *notable warriors* were presented with them by the king.

When the Cenyané was *jutshwa'd*, I was at Qudeni at the place of Jobe. I saw a number of girls come and get married to our *abarumzana* of distinction, i.e. the foremost among the warriors. Girls *jutshwa'd* to a particular regiment might go to men older than the licensed regiment, i.e. to those previously licensed. They would do this even 6 in the case of men as old as I am now, for they liked to marry men of importance, men, that is, who were well off - had plenty of food. Food was the great attraction. Girls liked being the wives of wealthy men.

The beast for *lobola* would be given either before or after the marriage ceremony.

The custom of '*funelani neno*'⁹¹ was not known in Zululand; it was a Natal one. What happened in Zululand was that the man a girl had run to would send a messenger to her father to report she had come to him. The father would then say he was very pleased to hear it and that that was all right.

The marriage ceremony was very brief. (The company would *chant* only one *song*, and *dance* a little. It would be, given beer and food, and the head of the kraal would then disperse them. The bridegroom would ask his *umnumzana* for a young beast to slaughter for his intended bride. This would be given. It would be killed; the two hind legs would be cut off and carried by the women to the girl's (bride's) mother, and these legs (not called *ingqutu*) would take the place of the Natal *ingqutu*.⁹² We knew nothing of *ingqutu* in the Zulu country. There, then, would be an end of the whole matter.

7 People from all parts of the country attended the *umkosi*. There were representatives of every regiment of men and of every class of girl; hence when the order to marry was proclaimed it was quickly made known in all parts of the country.

The Icenyané and Ntshuku are the only girl regiments that I know.

I do not know where Dingana's drinking water was got from.

The *isigodhlo* was built with *umqandane* wattles, i.e. the sides of the *isigodhlo*. Branches of the *umklele* - very pliable, does not break - were used for the gateways of the *isigodhlo*. The gate posts were cut off with assegai knives and made smooth. There were door screens of reeds. The posts for the *isigodhlo* fence were got at Nkandhla. The fence was about five feet high. Dingana used to stand and look over this fence into the *cattle kraal*.

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Dingana had very small teeth; *they were hardly visible*. He did not laugh, merely gave a grunt. He had very large fat thighs and a large neck. He was *solidly built*, not *flabby* like Mkungu,⁹³ i.e. firm and tough, with the slightest show of whiskers, and a small beard. He was *dark brown in colour*.

8 A shield was held over him from the time he left the *isigodhlo* till he got outside, and all the time he was *in the cattle kraal*, then again till he walked back to the *isigodhlo*. The shield was *carried* by a son of Dambuza (Nzobo).⁹⁴

Dingana was *shaved* by Manokotsha ka Pangisa of the Njoko, old adherents of the Tembu tribe, though not perhaps an offshoot of the tribe. He *shaved* with a *whetted razor*. We had *amaLala in the Zulu country* who could *forge*; they made many razors. It was the *amaLala* who *forged*.

It was Manokotsha who *shaved* Tshaka. He died in Natal at the Mtshezi, at the Mtunzini, near Nobamba (Weenen).

No-one else, as far as I know, used to *shave* Dingana but Manokotsha. He died many years ago and I do not know if he ever shaved Mpande. [Lunguza shows - Sitashi acting the part of Dingana - how the shaving took place.] Manokotsha carried a small *basket* for the hair; this *basket* was put under to receive hair as it fell, i.e. he *collected* it. He would shave only when Dingana was not engaged talking, and adapt himself to the moods and movements of the king. The shaving took place in the *isigodhlo*. The hair would be taken in-
9 to the *isigodhlo* by Manokotsha. I don't know what he did with it.

There was no objection to the shaver passing in front of the king, but he must be rapid and adroit in his actions, and keep in a stooping posture. He also shaved within the headring, and the hair there would be scraped out with the hand into the *basket*. In shaving he would shave three or four times quickly, then leave off, then on and on in the same disjointed manner, never of course cutting the royal head. Water seems to have been rubbed on by the shaver before shaving so as to soften the hair.

I remember messengers being sent by Dingana to Jobe to ask him for *fat* for the *isigodhlo girls*. Jobe sent him 30 huge sheep (*wethers*) with large, heavy tails - animals that could only travel eight or ten miles a day, the journey to the capital taking the best part of a month.

Evening, 14.3.1909. I do not know where Matiwana ka Masumpa died.⁹⁵

I remember the Boers coming to Mgungundhlovu after their cattle; they said these cattle were *their fruits*.⁹⁶ They said the Zulus had taken what were their cattle. 'Did not the Zulus who seized them see dry corpses lying not eaten by vultures?' - for there were no vultures at the place of Mzilikazi, at eBulinga - thus indicating that the Boers had defeated Mzilikazi, and therefore the cattle which were in Mzilikazi's possession became theirs. The Zulus replied, 'You say these are your cattle? No cattle ever left Zululand after once getting here,' thus refusing to give them up.

10 What really happened was this. When the Zulus went after Mzilikazi, the latter's *imbongi* and the Zulu one came into touch with one another. Mzilikazi's asked if the Zulus did not know that there were no crows or vultures in that part of the country; that the Inside,

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Izimpangele and Inzanayo (Mzilikazi's) regiments were coming. The Zulu *imbongi* replied, '*Sikihli! Sikihli! Sikihli! Nya!*', meaning that no matter who came they would be completely wiped out. Mzilikazi's *imbongi* said, '*Here comes the expelled one*⁹⁷ of the people of Zimpangele; here comes Mzilikazi ka Matshobana, the wounded one whom they stabbed with wounds, who refused to go and cook meat at Bulawayo, whom they tripped up with their short feet and little big toes.'

The Zulu *imbongi* said, '*Is he coming, then? Now the Bringer-forth has come, he who "eats up" the cattle that show themselves before going out to graze.*' The *izimbongi* approached close to one another. The Zulu *imbongi* Sikihli then stabbed Mzilikazi's *imbongi*. '*The imbongi who "ate up" the imbongi of Mzilikazi*' - Sikihli's praises. [This undoubtedly refers to Magolwana's dramatic fight with Mzilikazi's *imbongi* - 10.1.1922.]⁹⁸

11 The Izimpangele then appeared and the Zulu regiments also came in sight. They fought. The Izimpangele had no assegais; they were *strong young warriors* who caught the enemy and threw them behind them to those who had assegais. The Mzilikazi troops caught Nombona ka Marama. They (the Izimpangele) threw him behind to the Inside regiment, who carried assegais, knocking one of that regiment down, i.e. by Nombona's falling against him. Nombona thereupon snatched the assegais that belonged to that man and stabbed in front those who had caught him, shouting, '*I have eaten, I, the finch of the ridge, the water-fowl of Marama, I, whose forearms do not break!*', as one of Mzilikazi's men fell dead, slain with one of their own assegais. After this the Zulu *impi* defeated that of Mzilikazi. They killed off practically all the Izimpangele, who carried no assegais, only shields. That section of Mzilikazi's *impi* that had assegais did nothing.

12 Mzilikazi's *impi* was put to flight and the Zulus seized their cattle, the 'Belu',⁹⁹ with very large horns; they had *amatshinara*, i.e. white markings and *imicibi* (stripes). The Zulus returned with these cattle to Zululand. These cattle died off very much but did not all die out. If a man *milked* he would have to do so standing up as they were so large. Mzilikazi had captured these from Basutu. When the Boers came they contended that these cattle were theirs, and this is the cause of the quarrel between Boers and Zulus. These are the 'Marole'¹⁰⁰ cattle, the uBelu. I am sure the tradition is that Mzilikazi seized these from the Basutu.

The Mzilikazi people informed the Boers on their going to them that they no longer had any cattle, and that all had been taken by the Zulus. The Boers complained to Dingana that the Zulus had eaten *their fruits, that the cattle were theirs*. The Zulus replied that they regarded the cattle captured by them as belonging to Mzilikazi when taken. The Zulus sang, '*We "ate up" the Belu cattle; we brought trouble upon ourselves*', when a dance was on, e.g. *when girls were dancing*. All girls danced with this song when they got married.

13 I was present at Mgungundhlovu when these Boers were killed, but was not engaged in killing them, for the great bulk of the regiments merely looked on. I was among the mass. The Boers slashed with their knives, cutting open the stomachs of those they attacked. The Boers were not stabbed, only caught with the hands, and had their necks twisted. There was *dancing* on, so they had no assegais. *An inkondhlo*¹⁰¹ was being danced. It was said they were being entertained

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with a display of dancing. (Lunguza, sings part of the *inkondhlo*: 'They were wallowing in plenty; they said we would not burn Mhlalanhlela',¹⁰² etc. etc.

These are the only Europeans I saw come to Dingana. I was present in the great *cattle kraal* and saw the massacre. We had no idea at that time that there was any other *king* that could rule the earth apart from the Zulus'.

I never heard of any attempt being made on Dingana's life.

Dingana *tefula'd* in his speech to some extent. He, for instance, said 'yoku' for 'loku'.

I never noticed if Dingana wore *brass armlets, neckrings, or arm-rings*. He may have done so.

- 14 I do not know Zulu ka Nogandaya or Ngqengelele. I knew Nombango ka Ngedhli, 'the white-marked shield that asks no questions'; he was a warrior of Tshaka's. I heard of Mdhlaka ka Ncindi. I do not know what became of him. I never heard of Hlambamanzi [Jacob]. I did not know Mvundhlana, Menziwa or Xoko.¹⁰³

The uKokoti did not carry assegais at the Ncome battle, only knobbed sticks.

My *clan-name* is Madondo, not Madonda.

There was no *outer fence* at Mgungundhlovu, only small fences about the outer huts to keep cattle off. Those who cared put up the fences. And if one stayed long at home one would come back and find that they had *ota'd* the fence, i.e. made firewood of it. Again, if one gathered firewood, (one would) take care to put the wood inside at the back of the hut. If (one left) it at the door someone was sure to steal it.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 14-24.

- 15 I entered the *isigodhlo* about six times in all. My father was appointed *induna* in Jobe's tribe by Tshaka, and so was often called into the *isigodhlo*. It was only when my father was there that I was called. 'Let the son of Didiza ka Jobe come up! Does he hear, the son of Didiza ka Jobe?' I would shout, 'Mgane! Your command is heard, my father.'¹⁰⁴ I would then start running quickly up, the distance being considerable from the part of the kraal I lived in. On getting into the *isigodhlo* I would find my father lying down on his stomach *à la chien*, eating meat on *eating mats* before him, biting it off without in any way using his hands. This meat would often be about to go bad and even have maggots, for that was the kind preferred there. Meat was kept a day or so before being cooked. There would also be *baskets* of beer alongside him, from which he would be helped to drink - *baskets* about 14 inches high and 14 in diameter, i.e. *baskets made of lala palm leaves*. I would lie down a yard or two behind my father. He was fed by the *izinceku*; the *umdhlonkulu* would feed me. I was given some of the *wili* dish as it was called, i.e. of *clotted blood* cooked and ground up and then mixed with fat; it

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16 becomes the rich, drinkable dish known as *ububende*. This was the *umdhlunkulu's* great dish, what they partook of daily. I received it of course in a large earthenware saucer, beautifully smooth and polished (*rubbed with a smooth stone*). The *wili* was given me warm. I drank it as if afraid of it or afraid to show that I was drinking. '*Drink with care, child, then you can have this whey to drink*' (*whey which had been drained off into calabashes*). I would then be given whey to drink, in a dish like a *small beer vessel*, i.e. the small basin which the *ummunzana* drinks from.

I was only in about half an hour, i.e. until I had quite finished, when the *umdhlunkulu* would say, '*Go now.*' The *izinceku* seated about the door would take the vessels from which I was feeding in order to wash them.

17 The *izinceku* I knew were Katangana and Ndhleleni. These sat on either side of the *isigodhlo* main outside door. I was taken towards the right first, then bore left to a hut with a *screen* in front, and on getting in there would find the *umdhlunkulu*, say 30 of them, and also Dingana towards the back of the hut, sitting on a raised platform, with his legs below him, i.e. as when one sits on a chair. Dingana gave directions as to my father's being fed. He would say when beer was to be given and when they were to stop to enable him to resume eating meat. The hut I went into was always the same, a large one beautifully made and high (for it was upheld by *roof poles from the Nkandhla forest*). The *wattles* were close together. I have also seen Dingana sitting on a heap of sleeping mats carefully arranged, with his feet resting on the floor below.

An ordinary conversation went on, and laughing with *self-satisfaction*. Dingana did not laugh out; he merely said, '*Phoo!*' when amused. It may be that he was afraid of exposing his teeth, which were very short.

18 On going out one would walk so that one side was turned towards the king until getting to the door, when one would go out in the ordinary way. My father and I left together. He would wait till I had finished. On going out he would crawl on all fours whilst I rose up, for of course I was looked on as a child. My father was feared; people did not come up to him face to face but turned aside, because of his having just come out of the *isigodhlo*. '*Would you meet him face to face?*', would be asked. I never dared to laugh in the *isigodhlo*. Had I laughed it would have been asked why I did so and what I had seen, for the *umdhlunkulu* was not *wearing loin covers*.

I do not know if Ngoza had an *isigodhlo* or not. I do not know of any fighting done by Ngoza before clashing with Tshaka.

I never went to Kangela, Hlomendhlini, Nobamba. I only knew Mgunghlovu. I never went to Nodwengu in Mpande's reign, nor to Undi,¹⁰⁵ for we left for Natal on Dingana's death, and Mpande came and seized our cattle. Jobe was accused of *making off with cattle of the king Dingana*. There were some cattle of Dingana's with Jobe, viz. the *amabedezi* and the *imitshezi* ones, the former red with white backs (had they been black they would have been called '*nkone*'), the latter red all over.

I do not know where Mzilikazi lived in Zululand.

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The uKokoti first *went to war in the Ncome campaign*, though did not take part in the action. I was present. That was the only expedition I went on. At the Umtshezi, *in the 'emagebeni' engagement* at 19 Estcourt, the older regiments fought there. The fight there was against Boers.¹⁰⁶

The Kokoti (Ndabakawombe) *went on campaign* during Mpande's reign. They were *followed in age* by the Isihlalo regiment.¹⁰⁷

The best cattle country in Zululand was reckoned to be *our territory at the Malakata and Qudeni*.

When Jobe crossed over into Natal by order of Dingana he was told to *pick out* all Dingana's cattle and leave them behind to be taken charge of by the Fasimba. I do not know the word 'Fansimba', only 'Fasimba'. When my father took down the 30 *sheep (wethers)* he was asked by Dingana how the cattle were doing in that part of the country to which Jobe had moved. My father replied that they were doing all right and increasing, only there were *leopards and hyenas* there. Dingana then had the *anabedezi* cattle *picked out* and sent over to Jobe to look after, and the following year the *imtshezi* cattle were sent. This accounts for his having Dingana's cattle after leaving Zululand, and these are what Mpande had fetched.

20 Afternoon. I never heard of any *unnatural occurrences*, animals speaking, getting on huts, or people coming back to consciousness.

Mdemude ka Masimbana of the Sitole was the man who stabbed Mr John Shepstone in the attack on Matshana ka Mondise.

I know that cocks used to be killed because they used to shout, '*Come over here! This is where we are!*' That is, when (an *impi*, wishing to *surround* any kraal, had passed on in the dark), the cock would crow to give information as to the kraal's whereabouts. I never heard of cocks being killed by Dingana or anyone because suspected of drawing lightning onto a kraal [*vide* Shooter's book].¹⁰⁸

Isibiba [see p. 53 preceding book]. This was a reserve force. If the troops were being repulsed the *isibiba* would be sent forward to support and put a stop to the repulse. *Isibiba* is also a snake antidote. The *isibiba* was a reserve of youngsters. Their duties are to *receive the cattle* that are seized by the regiments. They were not 21 *mat-bearers*. They were present to watch when misfortune occurred. They are kept back from joining in the attack. The *isibiba* might be sent forward to pursue fleeing foe, or be *tintibezwa'd*, i.e. restrained and given cattle to look after.

There was always a regiment left behind to *guard the king*. The whole of the troops never went forward.

Blue monkeys were killed in the Nkandhla and at Qudeni, and others got from Tongaland. *Louries* are got in all parts - one got them at Pasiwe and at Qudeni. They frequent forests and especially the high trees therein.

Prohibitions. *Itambo* beads, also *ungazi* beads were worn by the

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umdhlunkulu. Yellow-coloured *imfibinga* beads¹⁰⁹ - the king himself wore *imfibinga* on his ankles, also above either wrist or elbow.

Blood-red blankets were worn by the *umdhlunkulu*. Ordinary people slept under cattle skins that had been worked and softened.

22 Ordinary people could not put on decorations of leopard claws or lion whiskers. Dingana used to sit on leopard and lion skins. Any leopard or lion killed was carried by a body of men and taken to the king. The king would then jump over the animal. But if any man had lost his life in connection with the animal it would not be carried to the king but skinned on the spot. The king would give the great *izinduna* the skin to clean and make loin covers of it. It was not brought to the king.

In our district, if anyone was killed in a lion or leopard hunt, Jobe would be given permission to make loin covers out of the skin.

I remember seeing Dingana jumping over a leopard or lion. This was done, not in the *isigodhlo*, but in the cattle kraal. Dancing would accompany this. The king jumped only once. A beast would be killed and eaten along with the flesh of the leopard or lion. The cow meat must not be eaten alone. The leopard etc. would be skinned at Ndhlela's quarters. I do not know what became of the bladders. They were not worn, but kept by the *izinyanga*.

23 Dingana's doctors - there were many of them. There was Ngungwana of the Sikakana; he was the big doctor. He it was who sprinkled the men of the army with medicines. He was very tall and black, and elderly - of the Fasimba regiment. Ngungwana used to strengthen us, i.e. the *impi*. I do not know other doctors. Ngungwana died in the Tembu country.

Dingana's *izimbongi*. Sikihli was the great *imbongi*. Magolwana was also a great one, and there were many other *izimbongi*.

'Let the men of the regiments muster! Is the order heard?'¹¹⁰ They replied, 'It is heard!' Then they would come hurrying out of the huts and start singing, both sides of the kraal. This is the way the whole kraal was called into the (cattle) kraal. The king at the time would be looking over the fence of the *isigodhlo* at the troops. In going into the cattle kraal thus, the men would not bring their arms.

Some days the men would be called to sing in praise of the cows as they were returning from grazing for the morning milking. They would break into dancing. Then the order would be given for the men to disperse, i.e. when the cattle had got in. The cattle would not be milked unless the men had sung their praises and danced beforehand. This was a daily occurrence.

24 Sometimes the warriors were called up and had cattle doled out to them on the ground that they were hungry. Dingana was fairly liberal with cattle. He gave five, three, two or one, sometimes ten or more as presents. He killed many cattle, and freely, for the men if hungry.

Whenever a beast bellowed and kept it up, small groups of men would rush out into the kraal, listen to the beast, and dance about. They would become very excited and shout, 'Bellow, beast of the Zulu, you who will never leave this place. For where would you go to?'¹¹¹ These groups would come into the kraal from all parts of the

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umuzi, for, in hearing this beast low they would be reminded of the occasion on which they captured it, when they perchance lost relatives of theirs, and brought the beast from far-off regions. Such lowing would *evoke deep emotions in the men*. It would cause them pleasurable pain. The greatest excitement prevailed on such occasions, and the king, hearing it, would come to the fence of the *isigodhlo*, lean with his elbows on it, and look admiringly into the great *cattle kraal*.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 25-32.

Also present: Sitashi

- 25 Life at Mgungundhlovu. My father was *induna* of Jobe. His great duty with Jobe was to convey fat to Dingana at Mgungundhlovu, for being used by the *umdhlunkulu women to oil their bodies*. The sheep would be *wethers* with large tails. On arrival with the sheep, which would be driven by about five people, Mpukane would leave them *in the open space* just outside the kraal and go in and report his arrival with what was required by the king to Ndhlela. Ndhlela would then report to Dingana. He would say, '*Didiza ka Jobe has come with the fat which Jobe sends for the maidens.*' The king would direct that the sheep would be *brought into the enclosure* in order that he might see them. The sheep would be brought in and looked at the same day. Ndhlela would be told to take and look after them. Next day when my father was called *up to the isigodhlo* it would be said, 'It is said, "*Return home and give thanks to my father, the son of Mapita*"' (Jobe). My father would then go back and report to Jobe and we would go back to our home.
- 26 On another day a man of importance would come to Jobe and say he had come from Dingana. 'It is said *that I should come and ask for shields.*' Jobe would then *pick out white oxen* for my father to take. These would then be *driven off*. There might be 40 of these oxen. On arrival, the oxen would be *herded* outside whilst he went to report his coming to Ndhlela, who would notify it to Dingana. Dingana would then order the oxen to be brought into the *cattle kraal*. The king would then come out and look at them thoroughly, and then go back to the *isigodhlo*. On that day my father would be called to the *isigodhlo*. He would then go in and be given food as has already been detailed. It was to Tshaka as well as to Dingana that my father acted as or mimicked a dog. My father was first made *induna* in Jobe's tribe by Tshaka, and in Dingana's day my father continued to occupy the same position. My father on such missions as these would only stay one day at Mgungundhlovu and then be told to go back and *give praises to Jobe*.
- 27 On these occasions I had to carry my father's *skin blanket* (i.e. his sleeping cover), mat and *headrest*. There was also a *calabash*. My father would carry a couple of assegais and a *shield* (white, or with markings). My father wore his *black sheepskin loin cover, with the front part made of genet skin*. He might stick in his ring a *little bunch of feathers*, possibly of *dove feathers*. He was otherwise naked. He might put a *gall bladder* round his right hand if he had been given a beast to kill. He was a *hairy man* - chest covered

with hair - and very tall.

The way we took *crossed the Nsuze*. We went from our place at Malakata, *crossed the Nsuze*, and so straight on to Mgungundhlovu. The sheep took us four or five days to drive to the capital, for they were *fat-tailed*. We used to *put up at people's kraals*. I do not know the tribes we passed through on the way to Mgungundhlovu.

At Mgungundhlovu we got our water both from the Mkumbane and Nzololo, the former being on that side of the kraal on which I lived with my father. We returned the same way we had gone.

Sometimes Dingana would send to Jobe for Ncwadi ka Mnhlonhlo of the Ximba to *come and scrape down skins for blankets*. Jobe was to *call up people to cut aloes for softening skins*. That would be the order. My father would then escort Ncwadi to Dingana. I of course
28 would go too. I never ceased carrying my burden. My father would convey Ncwadi to Mgungundhlovu and, after conducting him thither, would return and fetch those who had been *cutting aloes* and again take them to headquarters. The *aloes* were carried by about 60 men (no women), even headringed men. Headringed men were told that they would be able to *put right their headrings after delivering the aloes of the king*. My father would be returned quickly again to Jobe and say that *war shields were needed for the Dhlambedhlu*. Black oxen, with *markings* on the sides (*amawaba*)¹¹² would then be *picked out*, say 60 of them. The cattle requested of Jobe would be taken from his (Jobe's) own stock, not Dingana's which had been *sisad*¹¹³ to him. Nothing would be taken from those *sisad* to Jobe by Dingana, for Dingana's cattle in Jobe's country were *herded* by the Imikulutshane. The members of this regiment were all over the place in very many kraals, and the cattle were distributed over every kraal. The cattle were milked and the regiment *ate the curds of their milk*. The regiment also milked the cattle. The *amabedezi* cattle (previously referred to) were not *milked*, for they were only oxen, nor were the
29 *imitshezi* oxen *milked*. These oxen (*amabedezi and imitshezi*) were a *great burden to all the kraals*.¹¹⁴

Evening. I once was present at Mgungundhlovu when the *umkosi* was held. This occurred after the Boers had come to Natal and Zululand. My father was then living in Natal, at eLenge. The whole country got notice of the *umkosi*; all were told to foregather. *'Let the people of the whole land gather to celebrate the umkosi'* was the proclamation.¹¹⁵ This was proclaimed *in the month of Masingana*¹¹⁶ when the *pumpkin plants are bearing*. There were about 80 from Jobe's tribe who went to attend this feast. They were escorted thither by my father. No women went. Some girls went, carrying mats for their fathers. The 80 each took one of their children, except such as had no children.

The *ukunyatela* month is *Zibandhlela*, before the flowering of mealies.¹¹⁷ *Masingana* comes just after this. We arrived after the *ukunyatela*. This *nyatela* ceremony was attended only by, say, three regiments. This was the *little umkosi*. It was simply a small
30 national ceremony. At this ceremony the tips of *pumpkin or gourd* plants were put into a dish by doctors, whereupon the king would *ncinda*¹¹⁸ therefrom. He would eat these *shoots*. No-one would be allowed to eat the *shoots* although the king had done so: he must wait until after the *umkosi*.

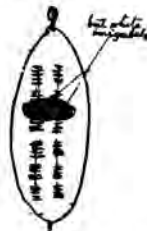
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The meaning of the *nyatela* is this (Sitashi points out and Lunguza agrees): It is to take the precaution of the king partaking of *pumpkins and gourds* in good time and thereby not, by delaying, affording thieves an opportunity for going into their gardens and beginning to consume these vegetables prior to the king doing so. The consequence of their eating before the king would be that they would cause him to get ill. They are therefore said to *bewitch* the king by consuming prior to his doing so. (In some parts of the country *pumpkins* etc. grow more rapidly and mature more quickly than in other parts.) These are called thieves not because they steal what is their own property - for it is their own gardens that they go into - but because they eat the vegetables before their consumption has been authorized according to national custom.

31 All the 80 went *decorated with ox tails*, each carrying *his war shield*. On arrival we found *the Zulu people gathered in large numbers*. The huts of the capital were occupied only by the owners thereof; all the rest of the multitude slept out in the open. They had no *temporary shelters*, for of course the ceremony was of very short duration. I *put up* in my father's hut with my father. Mondise (Matshana's father) also *put up* in my father's hut, for Jobe had no hut at Mgungundhlovu. We arrived at sunset. Matshana himself was still too young. Siwula, Nomaqongqoto, Sondhlovu, Sapula, Tendeni - sons of Jobe - all came with us. There was only one hut; all these slept in that hut. Jobe never went to attend an *umkosi*. He contented himself by sending my father.

The *umkosi* lasted two days. Nothing was done on the day of our arrival. The next day the great *throng* from outside came into the *cattle kraal* and there *danced*. As they *danced*, Dingana was in his hut *in the isigodhlo*.

32 At dinner-time Ndhlela announced, '*The king is about to appear. The Beje girls are coming forth.*' He said this *in the cattle kraal*, calling out to the whole assembly, '*Prepare yourselves! Take up your positions, all of you!*' The Beje then emerged - by 'iBeje' I mean the *umdhlunkulu*. Dingana then came, *wearing his dancing girdles of buck and monkey skin*. He wore them on the wrists, on the arms (above elbow), also on the limbs, so that his body was covered. He carried his *war shield* that was white with a single black patch the size of a hand or rather larger. [See illustration.] I am sure there was only one black patch on Dingana's *shield*.



The Beje wore *pure white beads* (beads of bone). In front they wore coverings of *white beads*.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 32-9.

Also present: Sitashi?

He, Dingana, at the *umkosi*, had a bunch of red lousy feathers stuck within his *headring*. His (Dingana's) *headring* was quite thin, about as thick as one's middle finger. There were also *girdles* of monkey skin which, as the king walked, waved and swayed (i.e. the ends turn up). He was literally covered with these strips of monkey skin, for they hung about him on all sides from his neck and shoulders. Some of these strips were plaited and bound about the neck. His *loin cover* could not be seen. His very feet could not be seen, for he also wore *fringes* of monkey skin on his legs.

- 33 At the *nyatela* ceremony, however, the king did not wear all these things. At the *nyatela*, *umhlahle* grass was gathered and prepared for plaiting. It was plaited into strips which were put on round the neck, so that they fell about him on all sides. The arms were then hidden from view; also the body. The king would then be brought forth into the open. He did not wear any feathers and had nothing in his hands. The head had nothing on and was visible; the feet were visible. The grass tassels extended to slightly below the knees, leaving the legs visible. The king was brought forth by his army, i.e. the men he *nyatela'd* with. The king got different regiments to *nyatela* with him: one one year, a different one the succeeding year. A whole regiment would *nyatela* with him. This regiment put on ox tails and carried war shields, also assegais.

The king carried no shield at the *nyatela* ceremony, only at the *umkosi*, when he also carried a stick until the gourd was handed him by his doctors, Ngungwana and co.

- 34 I saw the *ukunyatela* only once, prior to seeing the *umkosi*. I could not see the *umkosi* of the same year as that in which I saw the *ukunyatela* ceremony because I became ill. When I saw the *nyatela* I saw the king *ncinda* in the *isigodhlo*. I was inside the *isigodhlo* on that occasion. The doctor, Ngungwana, entered. The *ncindaing* was done with both hands and was continued after the king left the *isigodhlo* and went into the *cattle kraal*. The *potsherd* with the medicine would be carried by Ngungwana, the doctor, by means of pincers or holders. The king would walk straight ahead into the kraal as if towards the gate at the bottom end and proceed say 50 or 60 yards, then turn back, *ncindaing* constantly with both hands, and *spitting out*. Ngungwana would walk a pace ahead on the right of the king, turning towards him with the *sherd* as he walked. The *sherd* was like a little pot of clay, as big as a soup plate. This Ngungwana held with the pincers in his left hand, the other hand not being used. Ngungwana carried nothing in his right hand.

- 35 When the king enters the *cattle kraal* accompanied by the doctor, there is no-one else in the *enclosure*; the king and his doctor are alone. People are all at their huts, either at the doors thereof, or sitting about outside looking on, but none are inside the kraal. It is only when the doctor separates from and leaves the king, having finished treating him, that the regiment told off to attend the king enters the *enclosure*. The regiment enters by the two gates at the bottom end of the *kraal* and advances towards the king, who is standing in the *enclosure* at its top end. They then gradually form a

ring round the king, so much so that those on the outer parts of the encircling men cannot see the king, being prevented from so doing by others being in front. The regiment then *escorts* the king and takes him outside the *enclosure*, leaving it by the right-hand lower gate, and going somewhat beyond the *cleared space outside*. Here they halt, and an opening is formed in front of the king, facing the east. The sun is on the point of rising above the horizon, for the object is to get to that spot prior to the sun rising. Immediately before the sun rises, the king *rabulas water*, i.e. takes a mouthful, flings the *uselwa gourd* with his right arm, holding his arm at full length towards the sun the instant it appears above the horizon, and then squirts the water from his mouth - *phoo!* - at the sun, accompanied as he does so by the shouts of the warriors, who exclaim, '*Wa jiki-jela!*'¹¹⁹ The doctor would give him another sip of water and he would *spit out* in the same way as before; again the shout, '*He throws!*' Having done this twice, the king turns and, still closely surrounded by the regiment, passes through the gate, up the *enclosure* to the *isigodhlo*, where he enters, leaving the troops outside. Only the doctor goes in with the king. The doctor, as the king turns, goes to and picks up the *gourd* and takes it with him. I remember seeing Ngungwana ka Sikakana do this. He was *elderly*, tall, dark.

When this ceremony takes place the cattle are all out grazing. *Dancing* does not take place till the cattle *return at about midday* to be milked, when, as before remarked, *dancing* always took place, even on ordinary days. They would then *dance* in the *cattle kraal*. This *dancing* began and continued prior to milking beginning, and the signal for its discontinuance would be the appearance of the milkers from the *isigodhlo*. These milkers are *izinceku*, and each *inceku* carries a *bucket* at arm's length above his head. The first *inceku* shouts as he emerges from the kraal, '*Zi jubekile!*', i.e. they have been *jutshwa'd*, the king has ordered that they must be milked. The men would then leave off dancing and go out of the *enclosure* to their respective huts and have their meal.

Such is the *ukunyatela* ceremony as far as I know it. I never saw either Mpande or Cetshwayo *nyatela*, nor did I ever see their *umkosi*, the chief reason being that we had had our cattle seized by Mpande as previously stated; we were then simply *amankengane*¹²⁰ or outsiders.

The cattle, when ready for being milked at Mgungundhlovu, would stand about in groups or herds in various parts of the great *enclosure*.

The *izinceku* milked only the cattle that were set apart for the use of the *umdhlunkulu*, which was very numerous - *all the huts were occupied*. There would be many other milkers from all other parts of the kraal.

Some of the bigger and more important men had their wives and daughters with them at Mgungundhlovu, but those of ordinary men were away at their homes. There were numbers of the bigger men who had cattle at the capital which they milked and had the *curds* of. The cattle, however, were all the king's. Ndhlela had directions to *apportion* such cattle whose milk was not required for *umdhlunkulu* purposes to the *men of the regiments*, and this Ndhlela did.

The cattle were herded by *herdsmen* who might even be grey-headed, and these herds always ate the *first stomach of slaughtered beasts*. When cattle had been killed they would be *skinned* and cut up by

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izinceku, when the *first stomachs* would all be put in a heap. They would then direct, 'Let the gatekeepers (i.e. herdsman) come up.' They would be told, 'Take these stomachs,' which they would proceed to do.

Ndhlela used to give my father meat, not however any particular part.

59 Cattle (king's) were herded only by men, not however by *old men*, and these men would take with them into the field their *shields* and assegais. There were no mere boys among them.

There was *klesaing* at Mgunghlovu, but only when a *regiment* had been specially *directed* to that end. The Kokoti was *ordered* to *klesa*; this was done *in the spring* when the cows were calving and people were starting to plant. We *klesa'd* for only one month, and when the second moon appeared we were told to *disperse* and go to the *outlying areas*. This was done because *we contended with one another*, for when cattle were killed many would not get *portions* of meat for three days at a time. Hence many being told to go. Others were left and continued to *klesa*, and went on for months. *Klesaing* lasted only for about a year, for other youths were coming on.

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File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 39-50.

Also present: Sitashi?

Ndhlela was *dark-complexioned*, about six feet high, rather stout, not *bewhiskered* - slight beard, smaller than mine. He carried an *ilunga* shield, i.e. white with *two markings* [as per illustration].



He wore a *loin cover* of monkey skins, and had a *headring*. His head did not slope backwards thus:



He *tefula'd* slightly in the ordinary Zulu way.

He was a *kindly man*. He could speak well, was a good orator, *clear-headed*, i.e. no fool. And when he had occasion to admonish anyone he did so in a temperate way. He sometimes *upbraided* people, but generally speaking had no *temper*. His *praises* were: '*Fighting stick that points out to us the Ngwane; he who crosses to the other side; hornbill that is slow to move.*'¹²¹ He sometimes said to me, '*Here boy, are my goats still doing well with your father Dhlodhla?*', meaning my 'grandfather', to whom he had *sis*a'd them. I would answer, 'Yes.' Dhlodhla was my father's uncle.

Ndhlela was the supreme *induna*, older than Dingana. Next to him were Nzobo (Dambuza) and Mapita ka Sojiyisa. Nzobo was slightly shorter than Ndhlela - same size as Ndhlela - but portly. He had a *headring*. He was *dark in colour*. These *izinduna* inspired awe; they

were chiefs. And if one spoke to an *induna*, others would wonder whatever there was which you could require to talk to the *induna* about. He had a temper, and would rebuke people angrily. He lived in the *isicamelo*,¹²² on the left side of the kraal.

41 The doors of the huts at Mgungundhlovu did not all face one way; some faced the *cattle enclosure*, others looked towards the gates at the lower end, and so on. The huts were generally smaller than those of Natal natives.

I know none of Nzobo's *praises*.

Ndhlela seemed to me the great or principal *induna*. All affairs seemed to centre in him. Mapita came and consulted him. I cannot discriminate as to what class of affairs the one *induna* attended to, and what the other, for they dealt with them in their own quarters.

Ndhlela and Nzobo used to try cases, and when they found anyone had *done wrong* they would have him killed without reference to the king, though the king would be told afterwards what they had done.

42 Our chief Jobe put many people to death. He did this frequently, even more than Ndhlela. Jobe killed them for *takataing*, as he said. He made reports of those he killed to Dingana. Where any death had occurred under suspicious circumstances, doctors would be called together to *bula and smell out*, then Jobe would kill off those smelt out. If anyone was ill and there was any doubt about his illness, Jobe used to warn people that if he died others would have to die along with him. If he then got well, well and good, but if he did die, numbers might be killed off. Jobe exercised this power by virtue of his being regarded as Dingana's 'father', just as he had been Tshaka's 'father', and there was a tradition to the effect that he was always to be treated with the utmost consideration - 'be helped to (drink) milk', meaning that (it was wanted that he should) grow to an advanced age.

Then again, if the king's cattle, or any of them, were afflicted with some slight illness, say *quarter-evil*, Jobe would warn those in charge that if anything happened to them their keepers would die too, for he objected to always reporting their (cattle) deaths to the king.

Jobe used to grow white *amabele* (not a single red grain), red mealies and white mealies for the *isigodhlo*'s consumption, and these cereals had to be carried to Mgungundhlovu. The white *amabele* would be pure white. The *amabele* were grown in the ordinary gardens. I do not know where he got the seed from. Others did not cultivate this kind of grain.

Mapita also killed off people. He killed off more people than Jobe. These, Jobe and Mapita, were spoken of as 'fathers' of the king.

43 Jobe used to kill a man and woman committing adultery. But generally *bulaing* preceded the killing of anyone. When Jobe ordered *bulaing* he did not confine himself to the wizards of his own tribe, but fetched those *inside the Zulu country* if he saw fit.

Tshaka and the *izangoma*. Tshaka killed a beast. He said, 'How is it that even my warriors suffer injury?' (i.e. are killed off). He then took *clotted blood of the beast* and sprinkled with it *in the isigodhlo*. He did this as it was getting dark. All then went to sleep. The next day many sprinklings of blood were seen about the

isigodhlo, for the blood had been sprinkled. He then caused *izangoma* to be assembled from the whole country, and *bula'd*. They then smelt out people in various directions. A doctor (wizard), Mleku of the Dhladhla, then came forward, also Mbube of the Dhladhla, also Mehlo of the Dhladhla. These said, '*Nkosi, we cannot explain the matter. It does not look like the work of a man.*' They then looked upwards at the sky and said, '*It seems to be like drops of rain that have fallen from the heavens.*' Then he said, '*Are you smelling out me, I who am the heavens?*'¹²³ They said, '*It does not seem to us like the work of a man. It is the work of the heavens.*' Tshaka said, '*As you*
44 *smell out me and say I did this, go, return to your homes. But when you get home, kill your goats and eat them, for you have smelt out me and say I have done this.*' As for all the other *izangoma*, they were killed off to a man, i.e. those who had smelt out falsely.

The three who had been sent home were then sent for. The king asked their *family relationships*. '*Of what people are you?*' '*We are of the Dhladhla, Nkosi.*' The king said to Mehlo, '*Son of Mfiswa, you have smelt me out, saying that this was the work of the heavens. Go now, return to wherever you may be called to do so, at Jobe's or elsewhere.*' They then *bula'd*. Mehlo died eventually at Dumbeni in Natal, in the *Cunu country*. Mleku also died there. Mbube died in Zululand.

The doctors were all killed at Bulawayo.

Jobe killed very few people in Tshaka's day, but he did occasionally kill and then report what he had done. But in Dingana's day he killed people freely; no year passed without his killing someone.

We are better off now that the whites have come. People are now permitted to die natural deaths, a far more preferable system of government.

45 The *misbehaviour* of nowadays is due to its being impossible to kill off people as formerly. For people are confident that nothing, or very little, can happen, for there is a great chief who will stand up for them even though they have done wrong.

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

46 Afternoon. Account about the mother of Matshana. The mother of Matshana ka Mondise had been a girl of the *umdlunkulu*. She was married off to Mondise ka Jobe. The other girls of the *umdlunkulu* were 'spoiled' by what they heard from her in the *isigodhlo*. They were responsible for Poyeni's being discovered by Mzinyati in the act of lying with them. The girls said to Poyeni (an *inceku* who milked for the *isigodhlo*), '*Hau! Let us have a bit of that!*' Poyeni said, '*Po, girls of the king, let you have a bit of what?*' One of the girls went and closed the door. Then another said to Poyeni, '*Come over here.*' Poyeni said, '*What should I come over there for?*' Another said, '*Come, come here to me. If you refuse, we shall say that you have been laying hold of us, and you will be killed. Come over here to us, lie with us, let us have what is said to be so nice.*' So he did as he was told. When he had finished with one girl, a second said, '*Come, let me have some too! The one you have just left also says it is nice.*'

47 *That is how it was when there appeared at the door another inceku, Mzinyati. He looked and looked and looked. He then told another, 'I found Poyeni lying with the girls of the umdhlunkulu.' That was in the evening. Early the next morning this man Mzinyati went to report that he had found Poyeni lying with the girls of the umdhlunkulu. The girls were then taken before the king. They said, 'No, Nkosi, never did we lie with Poyeni. This man is accusing us falsely. It was he. Poyeni is a simpleton. It was this fellow Mzinyati who made advances to us; he could be clearly seen when he came into the hut.'*

The king said, 'So you make false accusations against the umdhlunkulu girls? Here they are, saying that when you came into the hut you were clearly visible. And now you are making accusations against Poyeni. So it was you? It is you who shall be killed, for the umdhlunkulu denies what you say.' He was thereupon taken away to be
48 *killed. 'You girls will not be killed for this fellow was accusing you falsely. But now, by whom were you told that what a man has is nice?' They replied, 'We heard from a former umdhlunkulu girl, Ziwelile, mother of Matshana, that it was nice.' Ziwelile was then killed at the place of Jobe. She had married Mondise. She died with Matshana as her only child; he was still very young, at the crawling stage.*

Jobe said, 'So the king married off to my child one who is an evil-doer, one who has taught the girls of the umdhlunkulu to want men? Let Ziwelile be killed!' So she was killed. Jobe ordered her to be put to death, and this was done. The king had said, 'First hear what Jobe has to say.' She was killed. Four people of the Zulu went off (to do it).

*The next day Jobe collected 30 oxen. The order was given, 'Mpu-kane, take them and give praises to the king, saying, "The king has put to death an evil-doer".' My father drove off the oxen. He came and reported to Ndhlela that Jobe had ordered him to come and give praises to the king. Ndhlela went in to the king. My father was summoned by an inceku, who called, 'Let Didiza ka Jobe come up.' My father went up. On hearing this report, Dingana said to my father he was to go back and express his gratitude to Jobe and to say that as Tshaka had said that Jobe would be allowed to live to a ripe old age, 'so will the same thing take place as far as I am concerned'.
49 *The next day, then, my father left.**

My father, on this occasion, went with Gumula ka Gosa to Mgungundhlovu, this man driving the said oxen. I did not accompany my father then.

This happened a good deal before the arrival of Piet Retief at Mgungundhlovu.

Life in the Zulu country was bad; things have been made better for us by you [i.e. the white people].

*Thus was Ziwelile killed. Forty head of cattle had been required as lobola for her, for she was married off from the umdhlunkulu. The
50 *cattle were provided by Jobe, and Mondise gave them to the king. I remember Ziwelile's wedding to Mondise. The wedding took place at Ndini,¹²⁴ the place of Mamalumbazo, the mother of Mondise. Those who came to dance at her wedding had three oxen slaughtered for them. Forty cattle went for the lobola.**

I know Matshana very well indeed. I frequently went with him to Jobe, to Nhlakanhlakeni, the place of Jobe's people.

19.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 50-8.

Also present: Sitashi?

The most frequent cause of people being killed was through the holding of a *smelling-out*. This took place by people standing all round the doctors, of whom there might be 10 or even 20 within the circle. The wizards would *run and prance about* within the circle. They are carrying *shields* and *assegais*. Those forming the circle carry shields (small) and possibly also *assegais*. These things they place on the ground, and when appealed to by the wizards, strike the ground with rough, knobbed sticks - straight sticks (*fighting-sticks*) are not used - shouting, '*Izwa! Izwa!*' Only those appealed to shout '*Izwa!*'; those from whom the wizard has just come or turned do not then beat and shout. The doctor says to those he immediately addresses, '*There is an umtakati here among you,*' and calls on them to *beat with their sticks*. The heartiness of the response of those addressed would depend on their opinions as to whether there was or was not an *umtakati* among them. If the nature of the response was feeble, the doctor would hesitate and not declare that there was an *umtakati* among them. He then turns to others who possibly become very excited and beat in the loudest manner. The wizard would then go on *smelling, smelling, smelling*, and then leave them. No-one would be killed.

A report would then be sent to the *king*. This report would be that the doctors smelt out *so-and-so and so-and-so*, for those in the *circle* are not a mixed gathering but *are grouped according to their imizi, and are not intermingled*. The doctors declare in the *circle*, '*So-and-so, you takata!*', giving the name of the person or persons smelt out. Those smelt out are in the circle. There is no chance given them of running away, nor would they attempt to run for there was nowhere to run to. They would not be put under arrest. The king would then give the order as to who of those smelt out are to be killed, and they would then be killed, say two or three days after the smelling out. They are not killed the first day. Those smelt out would return with their own people to their kraals. After the chief had given the order that anyone was to be killed he would be tied up (his hands being tied, not in front, but behind his back with *thongs*). He would be kept till those sent to kill him, i.e. sent by the chief, had arrived. The executioners would take him out of the kraal, 100 yards or so, and then kill him and leave him there. These people had their heads twisted to the back so that the neck breaks. In the case of others, stones might be got and he be *battered to death* with them. Others might have *thongs* tied round their necks and then be dragged off to the place of execution, and this string would be struck with a stick till it got tighter than it was round the neck, and so the victim would be throttled. A man tied round the neck in this way and dragged died quickest of all, even after being dragged no more than 30 yards.

The more important persons smelt out would be *surrounded during the night* (just before dawn). In other cases the *surrounding* took place as it was *getting dark*. One would see a kraal burning shortly after sunset whereupon, not knowing at the time what had happened, you would say, '*So-and-so's kraal is burning,*' and this would turn

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out to be the kraal at which an *umumzana* had been killed. This man would be *stabbed*; his children too would be killed, including women and of course males, for the whole place would be killed off. The only person or persons not killed would be those about whom orders had been specially issued. This person would then be called out to the attacking force as they surrounded the kraal. Another order might be not to kill boys or girls; only *men* and the women.

The big *smelling-out* referred to was *requested* by the chief Jobe of Dingana. I only saw one big *smelling-out* at Jobe's, but there were others that took place.

54 The big *smelling-out* I saw was at Ndindindi, *to the side of Qudeni mountain*. It took place *in the spring*. I was a spectator, about 30 yards off the *circle*, along with many other spectators. I wanted to see how a *smelling-out* took place. When a *smelling-out* is held, all the kraals in that neighbourhood must attend; none is left out, i.e. all under the control of the chief whose district is visited - for instance the *smelling-out* I saw included people from the whole of Jobe's kraals. Jobe's own sister Gemase was smelt out and killed on this occasion. Jobe himself was present at the *smelling-out*. Gemase too was present. The bigger or more important women attended the *smelling-out*. Gemase of course was a *chief's daughter*. She was an old unmarried woman. She was what is known as *igugetekaya* (i.e. old maid). Her elder brother Dubela ka Mapita was also killed on the same occasion.

55 It was alleged that Gemase *had caused the death of men of the Imikulutshane regiment, which had been stationed in Jobe's country, at all his kraals. She was accused of practising witchcraft because an induna of the Mkulutshana, Mngqangaza (an insizwa) had become ill.* The order was that the Imikulutshane were to *stay at all Jobe's imizi*. This man's illness was reported to Dingana, whereupon the latter ordered a *smelling-out* to be held of the whole of Jobe's tribe. The wizards *smelt out* Gemase, Dubela and some 20 or 30 others, for two might be smelt out at one kraal, three at another, four at another, and so it mounted up. I do not recollect the names of the other victims. Dubela was killed along with his sister. Strange to say, Mngqangaza did not die of the illness. He was a very fine-looking *insizwa, strongly built, and yellowish in colour* but not light yellow. He was fairly tall. He used to live at Nhlakanhlakeni and I knew him well. He was killed *in war*; I do not know when and where, for the Imikulutshane left our tribe by order of Dingana, and the Fasimba was sent to take their place and to milk the king's cattle.

The Imikulutshane were not immediately moved, but when the harvesting came on. And it was then that Jobe was told to cross over into Natal, to Lenge, and that the Fasimba would take the places of the other regiment. Owing to the time that elapsed, one would not be justified in saying that these orders were given in consequence of the *smelling-out* referred to.

Evening. Jobe crossed over to Lenge in the winter. My father crossed over with him. Every man of Jobe's tribe crossed over; not one remained. I fancy the Imikulutshane went to their own *ikanda* after leaving our tribe. Their *ikanda* was this side of the Mhlatuze.

Among the wizards at this big *smelling-out* referred to were Mleku

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56 of the Dhladhla, Mehlo of the Dhladhla, Mbube of the Dhladhla, these three being the ones who *had smelt out* Tshaka and were let off by him. There was among them another doctor, Nongqebengwana of the Dhladhla. All these wizards were *men* - no women. The king's *smelling-out* was always held by male wizards. In the days of Dingana I knew of no female wizards (witches), although a few might have been found in various parts of the country, but I never saw them. My first acquaintance with them was after we came into Natal.

The wizards at the *smelling-out* referred to *wore skins of buck and wildcat and leopard*, with the tails of the *wildcat, serval and leopard* left uncut and trailing on the ground as the men walked. On the heads they carried *bunches of feathers*. Their faces were not painted. I heard they also sometimes wore *skins of the inhlatu (inhlwati)*.¹²⁵ (I say '*inhlatu*' because I am an Ntungwa; the Zulus who are abeNguni say '*inhlwati*').¹²⁶

The *smelling-out* began *when the sun was getting warm*, and concluded *in the afternoon*. This time is taken up by the fact of there being many people, many different groups to attend to, and then the wizards *dance about* a great deal of the time.

57 I may say here that food in the old days was taken first thing in the morning even before daybreak. A man would begin by washing his hands, and his wife would get up very early and cook the meal for him whilst it was still dark. This became the practice owing to warriors having to be in a state of constant readiness to proceed to headquarters for military service when called, for these summonses came usually at night. Jobe might be told to call up all the *men of the regiments* that very night, and that they must march off and be all at Mgungundhlovu at dawn on the following day. The men would set off and travel all night. They would go off in groups, one group in front of the other, the object being that one group should get away before others. If there was delay of any kind there would arise a question as to whether the *messenger* had not clearly understood the order. It was an impossibility for, say, two out of four of the *men* in any given kraal to remain when the others were called out, for though undiscovered at the outset, those who had gone forward would, when they got back, ask how they had come to remain, what ailed them and so forth; and this coming to Jobe's ears, he would have the men killed on
58 the ground that they were teaching others to disobey orders.

20.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 31, pp. 58-61.

Also present: Sitashi?

There was no king's *ikanda* in Jobe's district or neighbourhood. Near Noyenda there was no *ikanda*. Noyenda was Ndhlela ka Sompisi's kraal and it was situated say 10 or 12 miles from Mpukunyoni hill where the battle (Leuchars) was.¹²⁷ Jobe had a kraal at Mpukunyoni called eNkupula, *the place of Mondise's people*, where he was born.

Ndhlela's chief kraal was Ezibungwini, on the north side of the Mhlatuze, high up the river.

I once fought with Tshiyabantu, son of Nowalaza. I struck him on

the head with a stick, whilst he struck me on the left side at the back. He got a slight fracture of the skull. Nowalaza said, 'Mpukane's boy won't repeat his performance of striking another boy; *this is where it ends.*' Hearing of this, my father went off and reported to Jobe. Jobe called Nogobonyeka (the *induna*). He came and was told what had been said by Nowalaza about me. Jobe had another *induna*, Gabela, called. Jobe asked, 'Who am I in future to take with me as a servant, as it is said, "*This is where it ends*", as that means that he is to be put to death?' Jobe then directed that Tole, the big *induna* of Nhlakanhlakeni (be summoned). Tole advised that Nowalaza, who had spoken about me, Lunguza, in this way, should be *removed*, seeing I was the chief's servant. He was then killed off straight away. After this a tall, dark man, Jabuzela, said, 'Although Nowalaza has been put to death, the son of Mpukane invariably strikes boys on the head with whom he may be fighting.' This was reported to Jobe. Jobe said, 'Then Jabuzela *is lamenting for Nowalaza.*' Tole then advised that Jabuzela was to be *removed*, 'for Lunguza will be killed, *as there is one who grieves for Nowalaza.*' Jabuzela was thereupon killed, but Jobe said Nomatshiq (Jabuzela's daughter) was to be brought to him. This duly took place. The girl was given over to the mother of Mondise, Mamalumbazo.

Afternoon. This girl Nomatshiq afterwards married Pakade ka Macingwane,¹²⁸ but was not chief wife. The chief wife was Masingina, the mother of Gabangaye.

Jobe was fond of me. When we crossed into Natal we crossed by that drift of the Mzinyati which is nearest Mpukunyoni. At this drift was a large stone. Jobe directed Xoloba, his *inceku*, to help me across above this stone, that being where they had already helped him across. There was a good deal of water. It was winter-time, *reaping time.*

Piet Retief had not, at the time we crossed, been killed. Siwula ka Jobe was directed to go and build at Mhlumayo, near the irrigation works, but on the north side of the Tugela at that part.¹²⁹ Tendeni and Nomaqongqoto were shortly after directed by Jobe to join Siwula.

There were no natives occupying the country we went to, only *cannibals* at the Ndaka river. Nogiwu was also directed to live at Mhlumayo, the reason for this being that if the cannibals, who were not far off, i.e. at the Ndaka, started eating people, then a large body of men could go quickly in pursuit of the aggressors. Jobe had his Dilizela-Intaba kraal (Mamatshaqane being the chief wife of it) *under the Mankamane ridge, right up under it*, so that the force would be a large one, i.e. be able at once to set up a defence. The Izituli-zikaMandala was another of Jobe's kraals, the chief wife of it being Cele, i.e. her maiden name. Her father was Mgedeza. She was my father's sister. Jobe married three in all of my father's sisters. This latter kraal was posted *beyond the Lenge to guard against the cannibals.* Then the Izintaba kraal was to be built at the Lenge close to Izituli-zikaMandala, and quite close to where Matshana was '*broken up*' by Mr J.W. Shepstone. Mr Shepstone *put up* at Nomakabela, another of Jobe's kraals. The object in posting these kraals was to prevent *cannibals* from *coming through* at any part, i.e. to come among our tribe. The order was that the biggest kraals were to *keep guard.*

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Tshaka once *filled up a donga with pregnant women because Nandi had become ill and died*. These women were collected from all parts of the country for having become pregnant and generally enjoyed life, seeing that the land was in mourning on account of Nandi. I do not know where this took place, but the donga was *filled up*. My mother was *pregnant* at the time, but she was concealed by Rwanqa, father of Faku, the boy I used to nurse (*carry on my back*) among the Mabaso. The child she afterwards bore. Mpanda (dead now), a boy, died *in old age*. This was my own mother; she *bore me as her first child*. Faku is dead; he died *at an advanced age*.

I had four wives; one (sister of the *induna* Lugubu) is dead. I have almost 20 children. My chief son is Mmelili. My mother had five sons, no girls - i.e. myself, Mpanda, Maboyi, Lujele, Mhaye. Myself and Mhaye are the only ones living. Mhaye *is frail and bent* now.

When Tshaka had the women killed as above stated, my mother was pregnant with the brother who *followed me in age*. I was quite a strong boy, able to run about and *carry* Faku when Mpanda was born. Mpanda was born in Zululand; Maboyi, Lujele and Mhaye were all born at the Lenge. I *grew up at the Lenge, and there I grew to manhood and had a war shield cut for me*.

In time of danger Jobe *went up to the top of the Lenge mountain*. He did so when Mpande sent an *impi*, as previously related, to fetch Dingana's cattle, which meant seizing those of his people and his own.

20.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 1-6.

Also present: Sitashi?

- 1 Afternoon. Lunguza continues: I must have been 6 years old, or even 7, when Tshaka died, for I, at that time, was able to *carry Faku about* as previously stated. This would make me as born about 1822 or the latter end of 1821, for boys were put on to *taking care of babies* prior to *herding calves*, i.e. at 8 and 9 years of age. Taking 1822 as the year of my birth, I would be about 87 or 88 years of age now. As then, I was born, so my mother told me, the year our chief (king) Ngoza ran off to Pondoland, this fixes Ngoza's flight as having taken place in 1822 or 1821.
Ngoza, after being attacked by Tshaka at Mmbe, fled to Nomagaga of the Kuze, where he found *the grain ripe*, i.e. about March.
.... <Praises of Ngoza omitted - eds.>
- 3 Lugubu is able to *praise* Ngoza, Mkubukeli, Nodada, Mganu, Mabi-zela, Ngqambuzana.¹³⁰ He has a better memory of *praises* than I have.
.... <Praises of Mpukane ka Zikode omitted - eds.>
- 4 All the Madondo people (tribe) *swear by* my grandfather Zikode. Zikode's chief son was Mapeka, who was *followed in age* by my father. Both were sons of one woman of the Majola tribe. Mapeka died after Zikode's death. His chief son, Mkonto, predeceased him. He left a girl, Nomageja, married to Jojo of the Radebe. Mapeka's wife was

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- 5 *ngenwa'd*¹³¹ by my father, but all her subsequent issue died off. Nomageja's *lobola* cattle, five in number, were given as *lobola* for a daughter of Gwele called Piwase. Piwase married me and is still living; her *clan-name* is Radebe. Piwase was my first wife. Our first child and son was Matshakaza, now a tall, dark *ikehla*. This son is regarded as Mapeka's issue, and so is the *chief* of all our family. He, being a child of the *indhlunkulu*, is now above me in rank although I am his father.

My father now directed, as I had worked for and earned cattle, that I should take a wife who should raise up seed for him. I was to marry a daughter of Tongo of the Mbata. My father wished me to *vusa*¹³² his *umuzi*, as I had *vusa'd* his elder brother's.

My father directed that if I, for *lobola* purposes or otherwise, borrowed at any time a beast from the hut of Piwase, I was to be careful to restore it to that house, and that I was not to use any cattle belonging to his elder brother for *lobolain*g the wife I was to raise up seed by for my father.

- 6 Later on I took another wife. I borrowed five head of cattle from Matshakaza and, with five of my own cattle, paid the *lobola*. These cattle I have only recently restored, being got from the *lobola* of the daughter by this wife, my said daughter having recently married.

21.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 6-18.

Also present: Sitashi?

My father never visited Mpande, not even once. This was because we had all *run away* on account of Mpande seizing cattle from our tribe as stated. The seizure was made in the year Mpande came to the throne [1840]. Jobe *konza'd* Bidinasi [intended to be the sound of a Boer name]. This Boer lived at the Tugela, before its meeting with the Mzinyati and just where the Mtshezi enters the Tugela. Hut tax is collected at that homestead even at this day. Jobe supplied this man with servants who *dug out tree stumps from the fields* for planting *wheat and mealies*.

My father died shortly before the *battle between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi*, say about 1850-1854. He died at the Mkolombe, a *high mountain near Nobamba* (Weenen).

- 7 Pakade ka Macingwane - I knew him in the Zulu country. Gabangaye, his chief son, was in the Kokoti regiment and therefore my age. Pakade was tall and dark; he got fat latterly. He was my father's age. He said to me now and again, '*Boy, you are one of our company*'.¹³³

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

- 8 There was a son of Gcwabe of the *Mbo people* called Matshukumbele. I do not know where this man, Gcwabe, or Zihlandhlo lived.¹³⁴

I only remember Matshukumbele because of the *praising of Dingana's oxen at Mgungundhlovu*: '*Go on, Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe; go on, Matshukumbele ka Gcwabe, go on, logs of the river!*' (said because of their great horns waving this way and that). This would be shouted by the *herdsmen, praising the cattle when they went out and when*

returning.

I never saw a *smelling-out held at Mgungundhlovu*.

9 The huts of the *isigodhlo* had the grass held together not with plaited string but thin sticks done right round, row after row, at intervals.

There was no such thing as Sunday or a day of rest in Zululand. We worked any and every day. We knew nothing of *Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Saturday* etc. We heard of all this in Natal. It was incumbent on every man to work every day. Should he not work he would be asked who told him not to work.

I am unable to give accurately the names of the various months, e.g. *Masingana*; *Mbaso* (cold - fires made); *Zibandhlela*; *Nhlaba* (because of the flowering of the aloe); *Newaba* (when the burnt grass sprouts and becomes green). I cannot give the name of the present month; the last was *uNdasa* (when the food is plentiful, when the crops are ripening and the women are cooking); *Nhlangula* (when the leaves have fallen off).

The native women seem to me to know more about the months than men, although one finds men who pay attention to this matter.

Instead of saying '*izimpande*' of trees, we, in Mpande's day, had to *hlonipa* and say '*izingxabiyo*'. The month *uMpandu* was called *uNgxabiyo*.¹³⁵

10 In Dingana's day the word '*dinga*'¹³⁶ was *hlonipa'd*; one said '*ntula*' instead. If a man said '*dinga*', the question would be asked, '*uDingana waye ding' epi?*',¹³⁷ but, no-one would use the word at all. The word '*zula*' might also be, and was, substituted for '*dinga*'.

If a person *spat* when disputing with another, it meant that he *insulted* him *deeply*, and a fight might ensue.

Even at this day the *Izigqoza*¹³⁸ I live with do not say '*izimpande*' for the roots of a tree but '*ingxabiyo*'. They *swear* by Mpande.

[Afternoon. Today I constructed with *chips of wood* for huts, and pieces of bricks and pebbles for cattle, the Mgungundhlovu kraal under Lunguza's guidance. I see this differs considerably from Holden's illustration - see History of Natal. The illustration on the following page comprises results arrived at. What Lunguza is most shaky about is the inside of the *white and the black isigodhlo*. He says the *umdhlunkulu* occupied both and does not know why one was given one name and the other another. He says the 'white' consisted of rows of huts in the ordinary way, and he believes the 'black' each had fences dividing certain huts from others. He had occasion to enter the 'white' six times in all, and each time he found Dingana in the hut marked 'Z' in the drawing.]

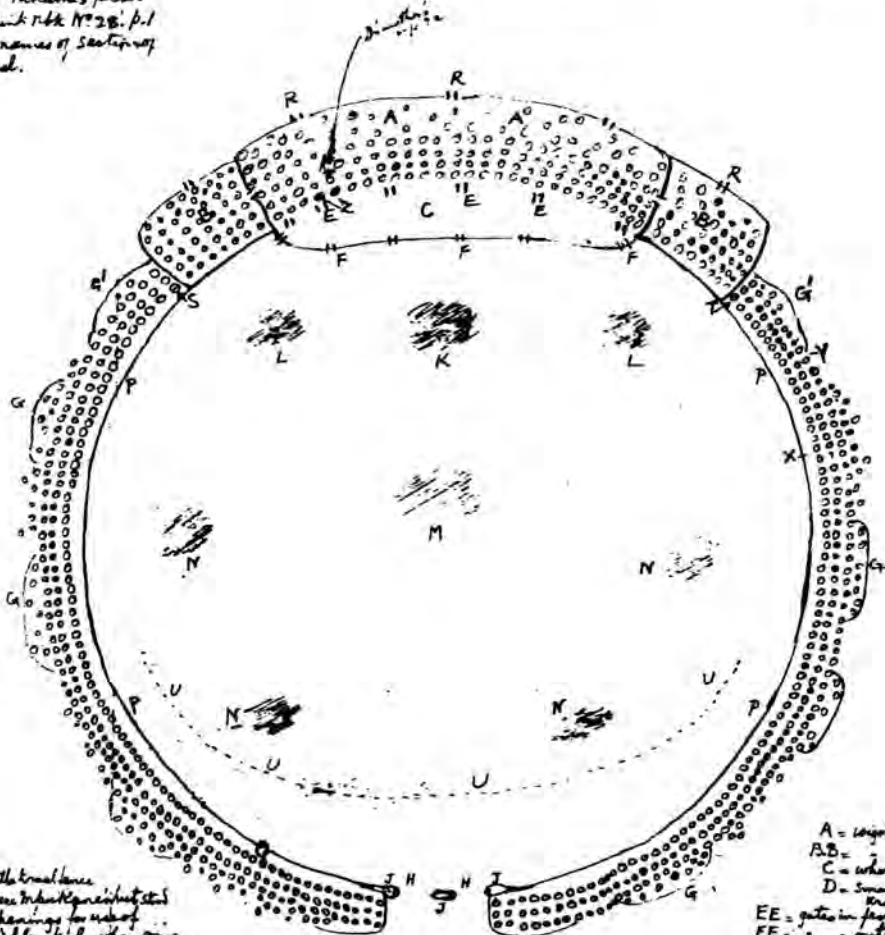
.... <At this point in the original a set of abbreviated notes has been scored out. These notes form the basis for much of the evi-

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Plan of Mungungundhlovu according to Lunguza

→ umuzana
→ iBeli Sinto //
→ kwa mbeceni
(per Tswana)

See Tswana's plan
in book nbk No 28, p. 1
for names of sections of
'kraal'.



PP = cattle kraal fence
Q = where mbekeni (hut) stand
RR = openings for use of
middle kraal opening
to relieve nature
S = Nkhlele's hut
T = Nyolo's hut
U = line of men dancing prior to
milking
V = place of occasion, kwa Nkhata
W = fodics deposited here, dragged
from V.
G = ice-melt
S-J and T-X = piton's cattle
X-J = igigaba
Z = hut in which Lunguza found the kraal fence, W

A = sigidlo (small huts)
B, B = enclosure
C = where King's huts
D = small royal
kraal
EE = gates in fence
FF = gates fence
G = small fence
H, H = large gateways
J = clump of poles -
upfandisa
K = measure above the
royal cattle stand
L = sigidlo cattle
M = private cattle
N = amfakati cattle

<The original of this sketch appears on p. 11 of nbk. 32, File 59.>

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dence that follows. As they serve as an indication of one of Stuart's methods of recording oral evidence we have reproduced them without translation or editorial emendation in Appendix 3 - eds.>

The cattle kept at Mgungundhlovu were principally oxen. There were of course many cows. The calves were kept tied up in various huts, i.e. where the milk went to. There were no goats at the kraal, and any sheep arriving, as for instance from Jobe, were kept in the great *enclosure* till slaughtered, which quickly happened.

The great *enclosure* was covered with grass, except on those parts where the various herds constantly stood. Each herd had a bull of its own. In the herd kept at the patch marked 'K' on the illustration there were many white cattle. There may have been 300-400 cattle in that herd.

14 One of the herd bulls, i.e. of the herds at 'K' or 'L' - there being only one bull for each herd - was killed at the annual *umkosi*. It was killed by a doctor with an axe - struck at the back of the head. It was not necessary for this bull to be of a particular colour. It was first caught by hand by a regiment. Its flesh was consumed only by the young troops who had not been out on any war expedition, and they ate it in the enclosure in which the king washed. The meat was *roasted*, not cooked in pots, and all the bones and horns were burnt at the same place.

The Kokoti once ate this meat and slept in the *isigodhlo* enclosure, but, says Lunguza, I did not happen to be with them then.

The cattle at Mgungundhlovu were accustomed to be called in by someone shouting in a loud voice, '*I-i-i!* He ate up the cows that showed themselves before going out to graze', adding other praises of Dingana. Such shouting would be done by a *herdsman*, and the cattle would start off to return of their own accord. This shouting would take place both at midday and in the afternoon. The herds did not return all together; one preceded another. They did not go into the kraal in any regular order; as soon as any herd entered, it would proceed to its spot and there be guarded by its *herdsmen* till the three principal herds, 'K', 'L', 'L', had passed on to their respective places.

15 All *herdsmen* slept close to the two gates, on either side. If the cattle were very late in returning to be milked, i.e. suppose they returned about 1 p.m., they would be said to have *grazed to the point of discord*.

In the dancing that took place, beginning at the bottom end of the kraal, Zulus used short sticks to dance with.

No cattle were confined in the *isigodhlo enclosure*.

Evening. There are *izivivane*¹³⁹ in our district. A man takes a stone or wisp of straw, spits on it and throws it on the heap, exclaiming, '*Sivivane of our ancestors!*', so that when he arrives at a kraal on ahead and he finds them eating, they will give him food *in plenty*, and he does this to obviate its being said to him, '*Are you so hungry that you pass by an isivivane?*', i.e. said by a fellow traveller. A piece of wood may, after being spat upon, be thrown on the heap. Some of these heaps have become very large.

I cannot say what the origins of these things are. They are very, very ancient. One sees their age from the fact that the path which went by them has eventually become a deep and regular watercourse,

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- 16 no longer being used by travellers. There were many *izivivane* in our old district about Malakata and Qudeni. I used to throw stones etc. on *izivivane* as a child in this district.

The common place for these things is where a path goes through a neck, (with a) hill or hillock on either side of the path, with plenty of stones about.

There was another *izivivane* on the south side of the Mhlatuze on our way to Mgunghlovu.

Mgunghlovu. I do not know the origin of the name. It may have some reference to *ingungu* - native drum, goat-skin stretched over it. [See Bryant's Dictionary.]

Imiloz.¹⁴⁰ I knew of these in early days. Tshaka would have had nothing to do with these, and put an end to them on the ground of, 'What is this whistling that comes sounding like this?' There were ventriloquists in Dingana's day. *Bulaing* was done before them. No shouting of 'Izwa!' was done. One made salutation, saying, 'Mngane!', and then sat down, whereupon it would proceed to *whistle* and say who was causing any particular illness.

- 17 Botshobana ka Sibaxa was a great *umlozi*. He said that all abaTembu chiefs were in him and had become *imiloz*. Kopo, uncle of Nodada, said to him, 'Our chief would never have become an *umlozi*.' He went about saying he was to have beasts for slaughter presented to him, for he had the chiefs in him. Some members of the tribe invariably slaughtered beasts for him; others refused.

No smelling-out was held with *imiloz*. They were consulted by those who were sick, who would go, say, two at a time.

Botshobana left our tribe. I do not know if he is still living; he is younger than I am.

I do not know of the Mbete famine.

- I know of the Madhlantule famine, when we were obliged to eat grass.¹⁴¹ [Socwatsha¹⁴² calls this 'Madhlantule' - see nbk., date 27.8.21, p. 19.] This came on before we left Qudeni. Grass was pounded up and cooked, (also) the *ingcengoe* plant (which has berries) also *uboqo* - like sweet potato, black roots. It was cut into pieces with a sharp-edged stone, put in the sun to dry, got quite black, then was mixed with curds and made a porridge of, then mixed up and eaten. It was not bitter. *Ingoni* grass was beaten, like *upoko* millet, ground up and kneaded into a dough. This grass was cut with an *assegai* and then threshed, the seeds beaten out and ground. This was good food. Dogs were also killed and eaten.
- 18

Beads came from among the *Nhlenga*,¹⁴³ also the red blankets, and green ones. They were brought by the *Nhlenga*. [Notice this: he does not say 'Nhlwenga'.]

I do not know what Lalas manufactured armbands and armrings.

Makabela tribe - present chief Gayede ka Magedama ka Nqobolela ka Mkulu ka Ndamane.¹⁴⁴ They do not *tefula* or *tekeza*.

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

22.3.1909

File 59, nbk. 32, pp. 18-26.

Also present: Sitashi?

In the *izicamelo* lived only big people, *izinduna*, persons of rank who were *izinduna* (who could not be killed except by order of the king), and the *izinceku*. Ndhlela used to have food brought him by his wives, and any wife without children might be directed to remain a little after the others had gone back. Ndhlela's wives visited him repeatedly, and one invariably remained with him to attend to his wants. And at his kraal he had *his own hut* which he slept in, and each night he had a different wife, this wife doing the cooking etc. for him. He did not go round to each woman's hut as ordinary people do, but his wives came to him. The *hut* was at the upper end of the *umuzi*.

My father and others used to go to each wife's hut in succession. Only his blanket would be taken from hut to hut, not his mat or *headrest*, because these could be provided in each hut.

Ndhlela, Mapita ka Sojiyisa, Nzobo and other *izinduna* used to act as Ndhlela did towards his wives. None of them, however, had *izigodhlo*.

Some *umdhlunkulu* girls were married out to big men from time to time, e.g. to Mondise ka Jobe. Forty head of cattle was given for this girl to Dingana. I do not know the girl's father's name; her name was Ziwelele. The king made no present of anything to fathers for girls selected for the *umdhlunkulu*. My father's daughter Jezile was taken to be an *umdhlunkulu* girl. She eventually married Gubudu of the Bele because after Dingana's death his *isigodhlo* broke up. She lived in the Mgungundhlovu *isigodhlo*. My father got six cattle *lobola* for her.

Girls were reluctant to enter the *isigodhlo*. The fatter, larger-limbed girls were preferred - anyone who showed a healthy growth, i.e. likely to develop to a good size. Girls, however, could not get out of going to the *isigodhlo*. Many of the *isigodhlo* girls (Dingana's) scattered on his death, whilst many continued to remain with Mpande.

I have seen snakes *basking in the sun* on the *isigodhlo* fence [marked 'F', 'F', 'F' on plan, p. 11], lying along the fence and on it. These snakes were green mambas; there were also brown ones, marked with speckles, and all were quite tame.

There were no trees in the great *enclosure*, nor were there any antbear holes.

So wide was the kraal that one shouting on one side could not be heard across on the other.

Cattle were slaughtered in the *enclosure*, in different parts of it, the cattle being surrounded by troops when stabbed to prevent their running about. *Small droves* of special slaughter cattle were brought from time to time from the *outlying areas*. The *slaughter cattle* were only killed about 10 at a time.

The *umdhlunkulu* used to be marched out before sunrise to the river to wash. They were marched in a column by *izinceku* armed with shields and assegais, just as European prisoners are marched about. At other

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times, four or five *umdhlunkulu* girls might go at a time to relieve nature, when in charge of armed *izinceku*.

The cattle kraal fence was not a high one, say about five feet.

Izinceku were sometimes caught by *umdhlunkulu* girls and made to seduce them on pain of their accusing them of attempting to do against their will what they really desired and urged their doing.

At the *umkosi* the *umdhlunkulu* emerged from the *isigodhlo* by all the gateways of the king's washing enclosure. They were decorated in differently coloured beads. Some girls wore only white beads, others only blue, others another colour. Grouping together just outside [by patches marked 'L', 'K', 'L' on plan, p. 11], they would then *dance*, the great bulk of spectators being already assembled in the cattle kraal.

*uNjunju wo hlanga*¹⁴⁵ - a name for Dingana.

- 22 Dingana's mother was a daughter of Donda. [Mgidhlana¹⁴⁶ says that she was Mpikase, a daughter of Myilela of the Qungebeni.] Her hut was in the 'white' *isigodhlo*, on the left side of it looking towards the main gates of the cattle kraal. It was in the third row of huts from the front.

Urine pots were used only by some girls.

[Lunguza and Sitashi left by train this morning. They left me at 7.45 and proceeded by the 8.40 train. I gave the former a present of 30s and Sitashi 6s and 1s for food. I also gave them a copy of the photo taken of themselves by Allerston on 18.3.1909 (mounted).]

The bull [referred to at the bottom of p. 13] was killed in the king's washing enclosure. It was slaughtered before the *dancing* took place. It was consumed by those referred to in the same enclosure, and the bones and horns were burnt there too.

- 23 The relieving of nature by the *umdhlunkulu*, as well as the two *izicamelo*, was done at a distance from the kraal, but lower down the kraal on either side. Owing to people relieving themselves close by, the stench was very bad. If a man went home and remained away for a time, those of adjoining huts would turn it into a closet, as already described. Even in the day-time men sat down to stool quite close to the kraal, there being no rule in the matter. Some again would void into the very water that others were in the habit of drinking. There was no decency in this respect, except only as regards those parts of the streams (Mkumbane and Nzololo) reserved for the use of the *umdhlunkulu*.

There were *guards* in the *isigodhlo*, but I do not remember seeing them about the main portions of the kraal. I occasionally went out to relieve nature at night, when I noticed numbers of others out for the same purpose, and so this continued every night and all times of the night.

Both the 'white' and the 'black' *isigodhlo* were occupied by the *umdhlunkulu*. I do not know anything particular about the black *isigodhlo*, why it was distinct from the white etc., for I never entered it.

The spot known as Nkosinkulu was well below the spot known as Kwa Nkata. There was a *euphorbia* tree there.

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The *isigodhlo* was composed of girls collected from all parts of the country. The girls were specially selected by persons acting on behalf of the king. Some were picked at the annual *wmkosi*.

- 24 The chief Jobe was very much afraid of the Zulus, so much so that in the hut occupied by him he had an opening made at the back so that if an attacking party stood in front of the door, he would be able to creep out at the back. In consequence of this fear he never visited the royal kraal.

The shaving of the king took place as a rule in the *isigodhlo*.

The *izimbongi*, when *bongaing*, approached and even entered the *isigodhlo*, *bongaing* the whole time. They also used language intended to excite the ire of the king, i.e. taunting him, e.g., 'We are Zuyu of Sitoye; we say, "Bellow, beast of the Zulu, you who will never leave this place." Here, fellow, as regards us, we are Zulu!',¹⁴⁷ all these phrases being addressed to Dingane himself.

There was a number of *menial* girls and women in the *isigodhlo*, i.e. old maids or widows. These attended on the *wndhlunkulu*.

The poles used for shutting up the double big gate were stood up against the *gatepost* that stood in the centre when the cattle were out grazing.

- 25 The *izenceku* of the *isigodhlo* did not as a rule sleep in the huts of the *isigodhlo*, but *in the open*. When the weather was bad they did, however, sleep under cover.

I never saw a hut on fire at Mgungundhlovu, and so cannot say what would have been done had one got alight. I remember seeing one in a fairly large kraal of Jobe's burn once. The expedient adopted was to remove at once the grass of huts where the fire had not reached, so that by the time the flames got there, there would be nothing to burn. Probably this is what would have taken place had fire occurred at Mgungundhlovu.

The shields of the warriors were kept in raised sheds known as *wnyango* (*anaxiba*, *izinqolobane*), of which there were a number in different parts of the royal kraal. Rats could not get at the shields. They were frequently taken out and aired and *shaken* to keep worms away.

- 26 [Note (22.3.1909). Lunguza seemed to me careful and accurate in everything he told me. The amount of detail he knows was surprising when compared with my other various informants. His memory for incidents and names is excellent, but his bump of locality is not strong, especially as regards Zululand, but this is explained by the fact that he left Zululand about 1837 or so, and seems not to have gone back, even on a visit.

His information about Mgungundhlovu is very full, though he naturally cannot speak about the inner workings of affairs. All that relates to Jobe (Sitole tribe) is also first-class. There are many customs and practices which he has also thrown considerable light on.

Not being familiar myself with what has been written by Gardiner, Owen and others, including Isaacs,¹⁴⁸ about Dingana's day, I could not ask all the questions I might have done, but no-one studying what I have set down independently can fail to get a very clear idea as to what went on at this great historic capital.]

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Notes

- ¹Ngqambuzana was chief of the Thembu in the Weenen district. This group was a branch of the Thembu who, in the early nineteenth century, had lived on the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river south of present-day Nquthu. For Bryant's version of the Thembu chiefly line see Olden Times, p. 244.
- ²The name Sokumalo literally means 'father of the Kumalo'. For a discussion of the ancestral relationships between the Thembu, Khumalo and Mabaso, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 241, 417-8. The term 'Ntungwa' is discussed by Bryant, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 233, and more extensively by Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies in Southern Africa, ch. 6.
- ³For Bryant's version of the origins of the Mabaso people, see Olden Times, pp. 243-4.
- ⁴Faku, Ngadabana and Mzakaza were chiefs of the Mabaso people in the Estcourt district. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 418, gives the chiefly genealogy of another section of the Mabaso located in the Msinga district.
- ⁵Malakatha is an extension of the Qudeni range overlooking the Mzinyathi river due east of Helpmekeer.
- ⁶Matshana had formerly been chief of the Sithole in the Msinga area of Natal colony. After falling foul of the colonial authorities in 1858, he fled to the Zulu kingdom, where he was assigned territory near the Mzinyathi river. See Colenso, The Story of Matshana, *passim*, and The History of the Matshana Enquiry, *passim*; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 261.
- ⁷The verb *ukwuvungama* means to grumble or murmur complaints. Its significance in the present context is explained by the informant in the evidence that follows. *Abatabatanyaso* literally means 'those who step out with their feet', and connotes speed, haste. Its significance in the present context is obscure.
- ⁸Literally, 'those who bear the chief'.
- ⁹The name Nyandeni derives from the locative form of *inyanda*, a roll or bundle of grass. The tradition among the Mbatha was that the child referred to in this passage had been brought concealed in a bundle of grass. For Bryant's version of the story see Olden Times, pp. 244-5.
- ¹⁰The original has '*abanikazi umuzi*'.
- ¹¹It is difficult to unravel Lunguza's account, as he has previously given the father of the twins as Mabaso. Furthermore, Ndaba is described as 'of the Tembu tribe', yet later in this passage Lunguza states that the progenitor of the Thembu was Ndaba's son. The name 'Ndaba' features in the chiefly genealogies recorded by Bryant for the coastal branch of the Thembu and for the related Mbatha; see Olden Times, pp. 224, 244.
- ¹²For Bryant's comments on the terms 'Ndabezitha' and 'Mvelase' see Olden Times, pp. 221-2, 244-5.
- ¹³In the original Zulu there is a play on the word '*inyati*', which literally means 'buffalo'. The name Nyati appears early in the Mabaso chiefly genealogy as given in Lunguza's subsequent evidence. We are unable to identify Nsele.
- ¹⁴*i.e.* in the Weenen district.
- ¹⁵The best-known *umuzi* with the name Dukuza was the one established

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by Shaka on the site of present-day Stanger in 1827, some years after the attack on the Thembu described by Lunguza. We have been unable to establish the location of the Dukuza referred to here, nor can we identify Nombalo.

- ¹⁶A hill between the present-day villages of Muden and Weenen.
- ¹⁷Bryant gives Nomagaga ka Mphumela as chief of the Phahleni offshoot of the Dlamini of the middle Thukela region (Zulu History, pp. 40, 47). This Nomagaga and the previously mentioned Nomagaga ka Dlomo, chief of the related Kuze, should not be confused with Nomagaga ka Nsele of the Zondi, who lived on the Nadi stream south-east of present-day Tugela Ferry. For the latter see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 522-4; Zulu History, pp. 59-60.
- ¹⁸Bryant identifies the Mahlaphahlapha who lived on the Ndaka (Sundays) river as chief of the Ntuli offshoot of the Bele. His people are also described as cannibals. See Zulu History, pp. 35-7; Olden Times, pp. 58, 347.
- ¹⁹Dhlepu (Hlephu) was chief of a sub-section of the Wushe living on the Mngeni river upstream from present-day Howick. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 374.)
- ²⁰The prominent hill overlooking Pietermaritzburg and shown on maps as Zwartkop or Swartkop. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 752.)
- ²¹Ciki does not feature in the genealogy of the Wushe chiefly line given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 372.
- ²²Presumably Mbazwana ka Nondaba, chief of the Phahleni, a sub-group of the Natal Dlamini and closely related to the Kuze. The Phahleni settled on the middle Mkhomazi after the upheavals of the early Shakan period had subsided. (Bryant, Zulu History, pp. 46-7.)
- ²³The Bhalule campaign was fought in 1828 against Soshangana, founder of the Gaza kingdom. Shaka was assassinated during the absence of his army.
- ²⁴See also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 251-2.
- ²⁵Or Sundays river.
- ²⁶A Zulu regiment formed by Shaka.
- ²⁷A prominent hill on the Ndaka river west of present-day Pomeroy; shown on maps as Job's Kop.
- ²⁸A prominent ridge north-west of present-day Pomeroy.
- ²⁹Mamalumbazo means 'daughter of Malumbazo'. This was the conventional way of referring to a married woman.
- ³⁰At Ndondakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela in 1856.
- ³¹Already identified by Lunguza as a son of Jobe, and therefore a brother of Mondise.
- ³²Vela was brother to Matshana's father.
- ³³One of Matshana's people who was accused of responsibility for the death of another member of his chiefdom.
- ³⁴'Hlathikhulu', meaning 'large forest', is a common place-name in Natal and Zululand. The reference here is possibly to the forest of that name that lies between present-day Estcourt and Giant's Castle.
- ³⁵Formed c.1838; age-group born c.1818. According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645, the regiment was also known as the Wombe.
- ³⁶See note 18 above.
- ³⁷Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236, also gives the Hlomendlini as one of Shaka's regiments. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645, lists it as one of Dingane's.
- ³⁸This paranthetical note occurs in the original as an insertion at

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- the top of p. 34. The circumstances in which this praise originated are detailed by the informant Lunguza in subsequent evidence.
- ³⁹The two lists of regimental names that follow do not conform in all details to the lists given by Bryant and Samuelson, which themselves show considerable discrepancies. See Olden Times, pp. 645-6, and Long, Long Ago, pp. 239-42.
- ⁴⁰*Izindaba* means 'matters, affairs'. The regimental name 'Izindaba ekadengizibona' literally means 'the affairs that I have seen'.
- ⁴¹'...wa kwa Mudhli, nezindhlabu namakasi' in the original. See also line 41 of the praises of Senzangakhona (Shaka's father) as recorded in Cope, ed., Izibongo, p. 77. Mudli was a close relative of Senzangakhona.
- ⁴²On the taboos held by the Zulu against the eating of curds, or *amasi*, Krige writes: 'In any kraal *amasi* is looked upon as food of the household, and strangers are not allowed to partake of it.' (Social System, p. 383.) See also Raum, Avoidances, p. 336ff.
- ⁴³Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 598, give *insasa* (pl. *izinsasa*) as 'beast with speckle-coloured belly on red or brown'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 646, gives *intsasa* as 'ox of red or brown colour having greyish spottings or speckles about the belly and lower flanks'.
- ⁴⁴The names are those of a branch line of the Zulu royal house. Its exact relationship to the main line of Senzangakhona is a matter of dispute.
- ⁴⁵*Ukhokhothi* is also the Zulu for a species of small snake.
- ⁴⁶Silwana(e) was chief of the Chumu section in the Weenen division when this evidence was recorded.
- ⁴⁷*Izivivane* (sing. *isivivane*) were piles of stones left by travelers as good-luck tokens at prominent places along the wayside.
- ⁴⁸A system of formally showing respect in both speech and action.
- ⁴⁹Literally, 'discussing war', presumably a reference to the announcements which were made to the army before a battle or campaign as to the plan of attack.
- ⁵⁰We have been unable to locate Mpama. In the best-documented study made to date on the early history of the Ndebele, Lye concludes that the Zulu launched two attacks against Mzilikazi's kingdom during the reign of Dingane. The first, in 1832, was made when the Ndebele were living near present-day Pretoria; the second took place in 1837 after they had moved to the present-day Marico district in the western Transvaal. (Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969.) For variant accounts see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Becker, Path of Blood, pp. 134-7, 152, 174-5.
- ⁵¹Sikhunyana was the eldest son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide. The attack mentioned in this paragraph probably refers to Sikhunyana's abortive invasion of the Zulu country in 1826. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 588-92.
- ⁵²Literally, 'the one who moves about like the sea'. In a subsequent comment on his father's praises, which we have omitted (File 59, nbk. 32, p. 3), Lunguza explained the derivation of this praise-name in the following terms: 'Said when he *gwiya'd*, probably from his style of *gwiya'ing* resembling the regular motion of the sea. My father *gwiya'd* in the *isigodhlo* and elsewhere by standing in one place and not lifting legs off ground but yet moving body up and down regularly.' To *gwiya* or *giya* is to dance about performing

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- war antics.
- ⁵³ Bongoza ka Mefu of the Ngongoma section of the Ngcobo people won fame for luring a Voortrekker force into an ambush after the battle at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 493.)
- ⁵⁴ 'Boy or boys of any age, from about five or six years, to the time when they are fit for warfare.' (Colenso, Dictionary, p. 301.)
- ⁵⁵ One of Shaka's *izinduna* who rose to become principal *induna* to Dingane.
- ⁵⁶ *Isiziba* means a deep pool.
- ⁵⁷ Colenso, Dictionary, p. 471, gives *ipini* as '*induna*, second in command of a regiment'. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 663, give it as 'underling; inferior officer; personal representative'.
- ⁵⁸ Literally, 'the great cattle enclosure', a term applied to that section of a regiment attached to the principal *umuzi* of a chief or king.
- ⁵⁹ Father of the Thembu chief Ngoza.
- ⁶⁰ The verb *ukubhina* means specifically to gird the loins with an *umutsha* or skirt.
- ⁶¹ *Inkaweshelezi* means a bent or drawn-in object, and applies to a person with flat buttocks. *Idanda* (pl. *amadanda*) is applied to protruding buttocks.
- ⁶² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 335, gives *isikusa* (pl. *izikusa*) as 'menial of the chief engaged to herd the cattle, guard the fields from birds, etc.; sometimes applied to any menial or dependent living in a wealthy man's kraal'.
- ⁶³ The position of the *isicamelo* section is shown in the accompanying sketch map of Mgungundlovu. Literally the word means 'headrest'.
- ⁶⁴ The Rev. Francis Owen ran a mission station at Mgungundlovu from October 1837 to February 1838. Captain Allan F. Gardiner was the first missionary to reach the Zulu. His first visit to Dingane took place in February 1835; he finally left Natal after the killing of Piet Retief and his companions at Mgungundlovu in February 1838.
- ⁶⁵ Literally, 'the mediator'. The verb *ukulamula* means to settle a dispute or argument.
- ⁶⁶ Mhlangana, half-brother to Shaka and Dingane, was an accomplice in the former's assassination in 1828. Phakathwayo, chief of the Qwabe, was an early victim in Shaka's career of conquest. Mbuyazi, Cetshwayo's half-brother and rival for the succession, was killed at the battle of Ndongakusuka in 1856.
- ⁶⁷ i.e. Weenen.
- ⁶⁸ The original has '*izitunyisa*', which Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 808, give as a *hlonipha* term for the more commonly used *izibhamu*.
- ⁶⁹ Neither Bryant nor Samuelson lists this regiment.
- ⁷⁰ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 645-6, gives 'AmaWombe' as an alternative name for the Khokhothi, and gives 'Ndabakawombe' as the name of a regiment formed by Mpande. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236, gives the 'Undabakaombe' and 'Amaombe' as regiments of Dingane.
- ⁷¹ The reference is to Mpande's secession in September 1839 when he crossed with a large following from the Zulu country to the Natal side of the Thukela. The word *igoda* (literally 'rope') as used in the text denotes the expression *ukugqabuka kwegoda* ('the breaking of the rope'), which is commonly used to refer to this event.

⁷²January 1840.

⁷³A section of Dingane's *isigodhlo* was known as the iBheja or iBheje. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 27, writes, '... the kraal set apart for them at emGungundhlovu was called eBeje.'

⁷⁴An *inkatha* is a grass coil placed on the head for carrying a load. As a symbol of nationhood, a royal *inkatha* was ritually manufactured, and preserved as part of the king's regalia. See Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 401; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 469).

⁷⁵A prominent hill south of the Thukela below its junction with the Mzinyathi.

⁷⁶Bryant, Olden Times, p. 650, records a similar story of Shaka's reprieving a condemned man.

⁷⁷The verb *ukuphupha* is literally to dream, or to talk nonsense, or to become weak. Its meaning in the present context is obscure.

⁷⁸The name which Lunguza uses elsewhere in his evidence to refer to his father is Mpukane. For Zulu conventions in regard to the use of personal names see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 208-9, 431-7; Krige, Social System, p. 96.

⁷⁹Literally, 'weak, powerless, stunted'.

⁸⁰The name of the place on the north bank of the lower Thukela where the forces of Cetshwayo defeated those of Mbuyazi in 1856. *Indondakusuka* means someone slow to move.

⁸¹For Bryant's genealogy of the Khabela chiefs see Olden Times, p. 512.

⁸²Literally, 'start it for the chief'.

⁸³The Zulu lunar month commencing at the beginning of December.

⁸⁴Another of Stuart's informants.

⁸⁵The Chenyane was an age-grade of girls. In his Dictionary, p. 72, Bryant gives it as formed by Dingane, while in Olden Times, p. 645, he gives it as formed by Shaka. *Ukujutsiswa* is the passive form of the verb *ukujuba*, which most commonly means to give the order permitting girls of an age-grade to marry.

⁸⁶The original has '*Amany' amabandhla a zo tola amavutuluka*'. *Anabandla* more strictly means assemblies of men; we have here translated it as regiments.

⁸⁷The original has '*UFasimba a lu garwe iCenyane*'.

⁸⁸The Zulu reads, '*U ya bona wena mtanetu, usa uzo gana kimi.*'

⁸⁹The Zulu reads, '*Ngi kuleka uhlangoti o luhle, mnta ka -, ngi lale.*'

⁹⁰In his Dictionary, p. 602, Bryant gives the '*inTshuku-ka-Madango*' as an age-grade of girls formed by Shaka. In Olden Times, p. 645, he gives it as formed by Senzangakhona.

⁹¹Literally, 'look for her over here', a phrase associated with certain courting procedures. For particulars, see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 536-8.

⁹²The *ingquthu* beast is the one given to the bride's mother, and is distinct from the *lobolo* cattle. See Krige, Social System, p. 390.

⁹³Presumably the son of Mpande by Monase ka Mntungwa of the Nxumalo. He lived for many years in Natal.

⁹⁴Dambuza was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. Shooter, Kafirs of Natal, p. 318, gives 'Tambuza' as the praise-name of Nzoba, who is presumably to be identified with the Nzobo ka Sobadli ka Jama of the Zulu clan referred to by Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 133, 429, 670.

⁹⁵Mathiwane was chief of the Ngwane who fled across the Drakensberg onto the highveld in the reign of Shaka. He returned to the Zulu kingdom soon after Dingane's succession in 1828, and was put to death at Mgunundlovu at the place of execution subsequently known

- as KwaMathiwane.
- ⁹⁶ 'Amakiwan' *abo* in the original; literally 'their figs'.
- ⁹⁷ 'The expelled one' is our translation of '*uMkatshwa*', which derives from the passive form of the verb *ukukhaba*, to kick. In the present context it presumably refers to Mzilikazi's flight from the Zulu country. It may be significant that Mkatshwa was the name of an ancestral figure in the Khumalo chiefly line to which Mzilikazi belonged. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 420; also Mzilikazi's praises as recorded in Cope, ed., *Izibongo*, p. 133.
- ⁹⁸ Bryant's version of this fight in *Olden Times*, pp. 429-30, is based on Stuart's account in his vernacular reader *uTulasizwe*.
- ⁹⁹ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 32, gives *ubelu* as 'Very fine kind of ox... captured originally by Dingane from *uMzilikazi*'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 30, gives it as 'Afrikander cattle...first brought down from the Transvaal Basutos about the time of Mzilikazi's raiding there'. The word *ubhelu* derives from *abaBhelu*, the Zulu form of 'baPedi'. (See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 309.)
- ¹⁰⁰ H.C. Lugg relates that when the Trekkers came to claim these cattle the Zulu said that they were to be found at the place of the headman Marole (Mahole). The Trekkers went off to fetch them, only to be told that the cattle were not there but at the place of another headman, and so they were sent from pillar to post. Hence the expression *izinkomo zikaMahole*, 'the cattle of Mahole', referring to the cattle claimed by the Trekkers.
- ¹⁰¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 315, gives *inkondhlo* as a 'kind of dance... with gradual forward and backward movement...of a quick, spirited nature...not being accompanied by any clapping of hands'.
- ¹⁰² The Zulu reads, '*Bazi tel' obisini; beti ka si ku wu tshis' uMhlahlandhlela*', etc. etc. Mhlahlandhlela was the name of the *umuzi* which Mzilikazi built c.1826 on the Crocodile river near its confluence with the Limpopo. (Becker, *Path of Blood*, p. 78.)
- ¹⁰³ Zulu ka Nogandaya and Nombanga ka Ngedi were distinguished warriors in the time of Shaka. Ngqengelele ka Mvulana of the Buthelezi rose to prominence in the service of Shaka, and his son Mnyamana became a chief *induna* under Cetshwayo. Mdlaka ka Ncidi of the Mgazini commanded Shaka's army in a number of campaigns. Hlambamanzi, a Xhosa-speaker from the Cape, was stranded on the coast near present-day St. Lucia while serving as interpreter to a trading expedition. After the establishment in 1824 of a settlement of white traders and hunters at Port Natal, he rose to prominence as Shaka's interpreter. He lost favour in Dingane's reign and was killed. Bryant gives Xoko as eldest son of the Zulu chief Ndaba, and first head of the Mgazini offshoot of the Zulu clan. Menziwa and Mvundlana were his son and grandson respectively. (*Olden Times*, pp. 39-40).
- ¹⁰⁴ Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 158, says of the ejaculation '*Mgane!*' that it 'may be used respectfully on entering a hut, or to one not very high in rank, or to a chief coaxingly'.
- ¹⁰⁵ The place-names given are those of principal *amakhanda* or royal *imizi*.
- ¹⁰⁶ The reference is to the battle at Vecht Laager on the Mtshezi (Bushmans) river in 1838. Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, p. 69, writes, 'The Natives call the place *emaGebeni* - the Place of the Pits - a reference to the earthworks hurriedly thrown up at the time'.
- ¹⁰⁷ Neither Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 645-6, nor Samuelson, *Long*

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- Ago, pp. 236-7, lists the latter regiment.
- ¹⁰⁸ Presumably J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, London, 1857.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ithambo* beads were white, *umgazi* dark red, *imfibinga* opaque and amber-coloured.
- ¹¹⁰ The Zulu has 'A u kupuk' umpakati! Uyezwa njena?'
- ¹¹¹ The original reads 'Kala nkomo ya kwa Zulu, wen' o nga soze waya ndawo; wozwe wayapi-ke?'
- ¹¹² *Iwaba* is given by Bryant, Dictionary, p. 691, as a black ox with a white patch on the belly and side.
- ¹¹³ To *sisa* was to place stock in the care of another person, usually a dependent, who was given certain rights of usufruct.
- ¹¹⁴ The original reads, '... za zi qede imizi yonke'.
- ¹¹⁵ The Zulu reads, 'A u butan' umpakati izwe lonke ku zo dhla! umkosi.'
- ¹¹⁶ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 378, gives *Masingana* as the 'month beginning about or after the middle of November....'
- ¹¹⁷ The *ukunyathela* or *ukweshwana* ceremony was the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony held in the lunar month *Zibandlela*, which began in mid-October. See Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 465, 726; Zulu People, p. 511ff.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ukuncinda* means to suck food or liquid from the tips of the fingers.
- ¹¹⁹ Literally, 'He throws'.
- ¹²⁰ A derogatory term for foreigners and destitute persons.
- ¹²¹ For an extended set of Ndlela's praises see Cope, ed., Izibongo, p. 187.
- ¹²² For the position of the *isicamelu* see the sketches of Mgungundlovu as reproduced on pp. 309 and 340 above.
- ¹²³ The wizards and Shaka are making a play on the word *izulu*, which literally means 'the heavens'.
- ¹²⁴ One of Jobe's *imisi*, situated near the Mbilane hill east of the Mzinyathi river.
- ¹²⁵ i.e. python
- ¹²⁶ For discussion of the terms 'Ntungwa' and 'Nguni' see Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 1; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6.
- ¹²⁷ Mpukunyoni is the name of a hill on the eastern side of the Mzinyathi due east of present-day Pomeroy. During the disturbances of 1906 an engagement took place nearby in which the Natal Government forces were under the command of Col. G. Leuchars. See Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, pp. 266-76.
- ¹²⁸ Macingwane was chief of the Chunu. For Phakade's career see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 271-3.
- ¹²⁹ Mhlumayo hill overlooks the confluence of the Thukela and Ndaka (Sundays) rivers from the west.
- ¹³⁰ The names are those of figures in the Thembu chiefly genealogy. See Lunguza's opening statement of 11.3.1909, and Bryant, Olden Times, p. 244.
- ¹³¹ *Ukungena* means to take to wife the widow of a dead brother for the purpose of raising issue for his house.
- ¹³² *Ukuvusa* in this context means to raise up, as a house or family. For further clarification of the terms *ukungena* and *ukuvusa*, see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 272; Zulu People, p. 599; Krige, Social System, pp. 168-9, 181-2.

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- ¹³³The Zulu reads, '*Mfana ka ntanga yetu!*'
- ¹³⁴The names mentioned are those of figures in the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly line. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ¹³⁵The informant is illustrating one of the conventions of formal avoidance known as *ukuhlonipha*. The words *izimpande* and *izinxabiyo* both mean 'roots'.
- ¹³⁶i.e. to need.
- ¹³⁷Literally, 'Where was Dingane in need?' The implication is that Dingane was not expected ever to be in need.
- ¹³⁸Originally the name given to the faction which supported Mbuyazi in his contest for power with Cetshwayo in 1856. After Mbuyazi's defeat, many of its members crossed the Thukela into Natal. The word is also 'sometimes applied to any Zulu Native who has "gone over" to the white people or to reside in Natal'. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 201.)
- ¹³⁹See note 47 above.
- ¹⁴⁰*Umlozi* (pl. *imilozzi*) means a 'familiar spirit of a necromancer which makes itself audible by a whistling voice, said to be produced by ventriloquism; such a necromancer supposedly possessed by such a spirit'. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 364.)
- ¹⁴¹Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 63, 68, refers to a Madlutule famine as having occurred in the early years of the nineteenth century.
- ¹⁴²Another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁴³*Inhfwenga* is a derogatory term applied to the Tsonga living to the north of the Zulu country.
- ¹⁴⁴Cf. Bryant's genealogy in Olden Times, p. 512.
- ¹⁴⁵Literally, 'the sharp pain of the royal line'.
- ¹⁴⁶Another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁴⁷The original reads: '*Si uZuyu we Sitoye; siti "Kala nkomo ya kwa Zulu, wen' o nga soze waya ndawo." Mina! mfana, si ngaba kwa Zulu tina!*' In saying, 'uZuyu we Sitoye' instead of 'uZulu we Sitole', the *izimbongi* are deliberately drawing attention to Dingane's *thefula* manner of speech. According to H.C. Lugg, 'Sitoye' or 'Sitole' (from *isithole*, a young heifer or steer) was a praise-name often applied to royal personages. As used in this context, the word may also allude to the Sithole people, and hence serve further to draw attention to the extraneous influence apparent in Dingane's speech.
- ¹⁴⁸Captain A.F. Gardiner was author of Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country, and Nathaniel Isaacs of Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, both of which were originally published in London in 1836. The Rev. Francis Owen's Diary was not published until 1926; Stuart may be referring to a number of his letters which were published in J.C. Chase, ed., Natal Papers (Grahamstown, 1843) and in J. Bird, ed., Annals of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1888).