

## MAHUNGANE AND NKOMUZA

<Stuart's interviews with Mahungane and Nkomuza all took place between 8 and 11 November 1897. In recording their testimony he seems to have been less than usually scrupulous in noting the precise dates on which specific items of information were obtained, and in writing up his notes three years later he organized his informants' statements not in chronological sequence but under a number of subject headings. As his original notes have not survived we have been unable to adhere strictly to our editorial convention of ordering testimonies in chronological sequence - eds.>

19.11.1900 - <evidence given  
c.8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, p. 53.

53 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza about 8.11.1897 and two following days, possibly also early morning of 11.11.1897 - but I am not sure.

These men had come up from the low country at my special request and were my guests for about three days. I write from full pencil notes recorded at the time.

There was a *dispute* between Noziyingili and Makasanyana, who was the *heir*.<sup>1</sup> He was not born during Hluma's life-time but Hluma had nominated him. Noziyingili was thus older. Noziyingili was favoured by the Zulus, who placed him on the throne. Mpande instated him. Makasane reported to the Zulus that Noziyingili was the heir; afterwards, however, Makasane changed his mind and nominated Makasanyana, but the Zulus refused to recognize him. Uzisumbula carried the first message to the Zulus, and Noziwawa. Sigawuli carried the message re Makasanyane; he was killed by Mpande.<sup>2</sup> Makasana *lobola'd* for Hluma but this woman did not bear children to Hluma; her son Makasanyane was of an *ukwigena* union.<sup>3</sup> The woman was Hluma's chief wife. Noziyingili was son of Hluma by a junior wife.

Makasane died in a forest, Mangobe, where Mangobe died and was buried.<sup>4</sup> He was carried there by the Makasanyane party. Noziyingili was *of the age of the Makeke regiment* [54]. He came to the throne about the year 1853 as a boy of about 10.

Bruheim (Madevu) arrived in Zambili's time. He did not succeed any former white man. He first built in Amatutu country as a boy.<sup>5</sup> 'A man of belonging to Inzanayo regt. say 38' [sic].<sup>6</sup> He married a sister of Ngwanaza, Umhungwane; also Manhla, Mponweni, Umbasanyana. He paid *lobola*; it is not known how he *lobola'd*. The *gcagca* ceremony

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took place.<sup>7</sup> He built a house but had a kraal alongside like John Dunn.<sup>8</sup> He had some children. Ngwanaza quarrelled with Madevu for acting as an agent of the Portuguese and getting people to go off with them and fight against Ngungunyana.<sup>9</sup> It is said that Bruheim is dead. Nkomuza knew him; he never, however, spoke to him, though he has heard him speak. He spoke the Tonga language well. He did not appear to drink.

The following are the names of some of the *izikulu* of Tongaland now [November 1897] living: Mpobobo, Bungane ka Hluma (with Ngwanaza) of the Izitshozi regiment; Tanga ka Noziyingili (with Ngwanaza); Siwunjane ka Mtunzi ka Hluma; Bekula ka Noziyingili; Sigema ka Noziyingili; Mvubu ka Noziyingili; Manyoka ka Makasane; Majuba ka Sibukula ka Bungane ka Makasane.<sup>10</sup>

20.11.1900 - <evidence given  
c.8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, pp. 54-5.

54 Makuba *drove out* Bukude. Bukude ran away to Makasane, whereupon the latter *armed a force*, attacked Makuba, *drove him away*, and established Bukude.<sup>11</sup> Both Mabudu's and Mhali's *isibongo* was a *ba kwa Tembe*.<sup>12</sup> Mabudu used to say Mhali's people were 'Amatonga'.

[Turn to p. 139, also p. 138, for further notes on Tonga history, by the light of which what follows will be better understood.]

It was Sabi who was attacked by Mwali.<sup>13</sup>

Makasane was on the throne long before Mahungane was born. He (Mahungane) was born at Bungane's, south of the Usutu river.

The Zulus attacked Makasane prior to his attacking Mayeza.<sup>14</sup> Mayeza died in ships on the sea among the Portuguese - [exact place not known by my informants]. We do not know why Mabayi was attacked by the Portuguese.<sup>15</sup>

The Madolo people were *attacked* only by Noziyingili; he however did not *drive them out*.<sup>16</sup> No others attacked, i.e. no previous kings. The Madolo people were *relations by marriage* of Makasane's.

Mabudu *paid tribute* with a *basket* full of earth, also food with it, in token of the Matshabane land given him by Mangobe.<sup>17</sup>

Sigauza shot himself in 1896. (We) do not know for how long his grandfather was transported.<sup>18</sup>

Makasane *paid tribute* first to Zululand; then Mhali and Mpanyela (did).<sup>19</sup> The reason for Mhali and Mabudu's paying separately was the antagonism existing between them.

Dinisa was attacked by Dingana; the route was different from Sotshangana's and Nqaba's.<sup>20</sup> The Madolo are Portuguese people, so were included in the attack and ran away.

The Sileyi famine was in Makasane's reign. Makasane arrested some of his people and sold them for food - *sweet cane (izidomba)*, mealies, *nyaluti millet*, *izinhlumayo beans* (like *izindhluvu nuts*) - and they were taken away as slaves.

Smallpox first came to Tongaland in Noziyingili's reign; it came from Delagoa Bay and went on to Swaziland.

There were many cattle at the time of Sotshangana's and Nqaba's flights, for these two raided many of them. It is not known where cattle originally came from.

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Mabayi was arrested by the Portuguese and is still [1897] in captivity (transportation): he was arrested about the year 1893. His people are being ruled by his wife; her name is not known by the informants.

Mahulule ka Mangobe was own brother to Mabudu. Noziyingili drove out Mahlombe; he scattered and disorganised the tribe (following). Mahlombe *konza'd* Mfungu (near Delagoa Bay) where he died. Sabi, his son, is at present living with the Madolo people.<sup>21</sup> Mahungane does not know if Sigauza's people are being governed by his wife (if he had any).

55 When Mangobe gave Mabudu his territory the Matshabane people (now ruled by Manaba) were in occupation of the land.<sup>22</sup> No hostilities appear to have occurred. My informants know of no *envoys* who were sent to arrange with the Matshabane about Mabudu being allowed to occupy part of their land. But it is plain the Matshabane people withdrew to the south (where they now are) upon Mabudu crossing the Usutu. My informants say they do not think the Matshabane people were ever attacked by Mangobe or his father or grandfather or any previous person now unknown by name.

It was by Cetshwayo's direction that Noziyingili attacked Manaba. No fight took place, as Manaba's people were so few and afraid - his cattle were seized. No fighting ever took place with the Matshabane people as a means of driving them back; this was due to their small numbers. The Tonga kings kept on and on encroaching on the land previously in occupation of the Matshabane, driving them further back. It will be remembered that it was Sambana who attacked and killed Manaba, being sent for that purpose by Dinuzulu.<sup>23</sup>

Nkomuza says that in the year 1859 (approximately), and just after the Ndondakusuka battle,<sup>24</sup> he had occasion to carry elephants' tusks to Mhlokonghloko (a white man) who had established an *umuzi* at the place of *Dhlovunga*, a man of Somkele's tribe.<sup>25</sup> He then noticed that the country between his starting point and the end of the journey was very sparsely inhabited, very much less than he knows to be the case now. In those days there were very many wild animals, lions, etc. The elephants had been shot by natives known in Tongaland as *amapisi*, i.e. natives who had been given guns by white people (presumably English and living in Natal) and told to hunt elephants; they may thus be called simply 'hunters'. There were other white people who sent hunters; my informants cannot give their native names. The *amapisi* at one time were not known; for instance, about 1840, they had not at that time been heard of. The Portuguese, however, used to bring goods and trade for ivory, etc., elephants being then killed only with assegais, no guns at that time being in the country. Guns came in chiefly in Noziyingili's reign; there were just a few in Makasane's time, held by the most important men.

Makasane reigned after he had become blind. Makasanyane ran away and lived at Ingcingwaneni near Ingwavuma magistracy, *konzaing* Lubelo.<sup>26</sup>

Mahungwane was a white trader at Delagoa Bay. Mahungane went there about the time of the civil war re Noziyingili.<sup>27</sup>

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21.11.1900 - <evidence given  
c.8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, p. 55.

55 Same conversation continued.

The Mvuma (people) were called *amanhlonga* by Mhali.<sup>28</sup> Mhali's people were called *amanhlonga* by Mabudu's (*enhlongen* means 'in Tongaland'). Mabudu's (people) were called *amanhlewanga* by the Matshabane (people) (i.e. Manaba's) who speak the Zulu language.<sup>29</sup>

8.11.1897

File 74, pp. 9-10.

9 8.11.1897. Authorities Mahungane and Nkomuza.

The *bonga* is an old custom of the people.<sup>30</sup> It is where a man proceeds with a beast to the father (and mother) of a girl to ask permission to marry her. The *imvulamlomo* referred to by Ndaba is food that is given by a young man to his future father-in-law when he goes to enquire how much *lobola* he will have to pay for the daughter.<sup>31</sup> The food may be in the form of a beast or £1 (cash) or a large flask or demijohn of gin (*isobe*) which costs about £1. The *bonga* and *imvulamlomo* are two distinct customs.

In the very old times *lobola* used to be paid in beads (*ubuhlalu*). These came from Delagoa Bay, and my informants have been told that the measure of *lobola* in beads consisted of a double string the height of a man and falling to the ground on either side if held immediately over his side, i.e. about 12 to 14 feet in length.

Nowadays a woman is *lobola'd* with either £15 or cattle, according to the father-in-law's choice. It is noticed that women are much more independent (after marriage) than they used to be. The following may, my authorities (say), account for the disrespect (for want of a better word): It has for some time been recognised that *lobola* can be paid in money. Now money has no *inzalo* (interest, that is, increase) as cattle have; again it also *hamba's* (disappears, moves away). But it must be remarked that the same independence is observed even though cattle are paid as *lobola*. Nkomuza tells me his third wife, who is a sister of one of his other wives, is very independent, although he *lobola'd* with cattle.

10 I tried to get at the causes of the independence, but the men do not appear to have any definite ideas. They say that boys began to go off to work long before Zulus did so. They went to work in Durban when the houses there had still thatch roofs. No one went to Delagoa in those days as there was only one house there. [I estimate this to be about 40-45 years ago.] Not many of the population went at first; a large number go off now to various places.

There are no missionaries in Tongaland, but there are several *amakolwa*. Mavilu (Ngwanaza's tutor) is one of them; he could read and write.

Again, liquor is sold very extensively in Tongaland. Both men and women drink gin in large quantities, so that much property and cash is thrown away in it.

The paying of cash for women began in Noziyingili's time. When women were *lobola'd* with neckrings (*izimbedu*)<sup>32</sup> or *ubuhlalu* (beads) they were not in any way independent or disrespectful. My informants do not attribute it to men not being liked, because, before marriage

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they consented to 'sleeping', i.e. lying with them as lovers.

21.11.1900 - <evidence given  
8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, pp. 106-7.

106 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza, from 8.11.1897 to, I think, 10.11.1897 or perhaps also early morning of 11.11.1897 - see p. 53.

*Lobola* was fixed by Makasane first at five *izimbedu* and five *metal bangles (amasinda)* [further remarks on these topics on p. 65], then, about the time of the *succession dispute* between Noziyingili and Makasanyana, he raised it to 10 of each. Noziyingili promulgated *lobola* as 15 *izimbedu* and 10 *amasinda*. *Izinhlalu beads* were possibly brought in by Mangobe - they were the first measure of *lobola* in then [or them or their] not known [sic]. *Ubuhlalu beads* came in in Mabudu's reign.<sup>32</sup> It is believed that it was owing to a proclamation by him that the length of beads necessary for *lobola* was fixed. The king Noziyingili objected to money being paid as *lobola*. He was in favour of *izimbedu*, but as people desired to use money the practice became established. No *lobola* was paid in cattle in Noziyingili's reign, but money came in and was used for that purpose. Cattle came in during Zambili's regency. Zambili advised the people to *lobola* with four head of cattle, the fifth being for killing. Owners of children objected, saying that this was insufficient, as one beast to kill and one for *isibindi* to the girl's maternal uncle left only three for her family.<sup>33</sup> Men proposed six head, i.e. one for killing, one for the maternal uncle, and four on account of the girl herself; others proposed 10 head. Zambili was thereupon compelled to give way, and said as her advice was not taken they must act for themselves. She, however, thought she was 'giving them kraals' (*nik' imizi*), i.e. doing a good thing for them. Zambili gave no instruction in regard to money *lobola* because her husband had brought up the matter before them and failed.

It must be remarked that Zambili was a Swazi girl, daughter of Sobuza. She was *lobola'd* with cattle only, of which there were many tens. The reason why Zambili proposed *lobola* less than ten (in view of the practice in other parts) was because there were so few cattle in the country. At the present day [1897] people *lobola* either in cattle or money as the father of the girl wishes.

107 Girls were not married in Makasane's and also during part of Noziyingili's reigns until they had fully grown up; after that time they were asked for when still young. The reason for this was probably because we used to go off to work when we acquired property; this was then available for, and was used as, *lobola*, instead of, according to the old system, waiting for the cattle accruing on the marriage of a girl of the family.

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File 74, p. 38.

38 Mahungane and Nkomuza [8.11.1897] are my authorities. [See notes in connection with Tongaland regiments.] Ndaba's statement re men building and cutting grass for huts is endorsed.<sup>34</sup>

It is no longer a custom of the people to *cazulula* meat.<sup>35</sup> The reason for this, my authorities believe, is because Tongaland had to

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*konza* Zululand and so copied the Zulus. The *head* used to be eaten by women; now it is eaten by men *of the assembly*.

It is by no means the rule for men to *lay out and roll up sleeping mats* as stated by Ndaba. This may prevail at some kraals of course, but the doing so there cannot be regarded as indicating the custom of the country. Years ago it was the woman's duty to *lay them out*.

I did not ask about women drinking beer with men, or men *gathering firewood*. Men hoe and cultivate gardens as well as women. A man may have his own garden or work at one piece of land with his wife.

8.11.1897

File 74, pp. 64-5.

64 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza, 8.11.1897.

These authorities state it as their opinion that the former custom of *cazululaing* a killed beast amongst the different 'houses' of a kraal as being perhaps due to contact of Tongaland with Zululand, owing to that country being defeated by Zulus. The conquered there-upon copied the custom of their conquerors in regard to the eating of a specially slaughtered beast. The custom is now similar to that of Zululand.

It seems men have sometimes to *spread out sleeping mats*, which was not the case formerly; therefore women are gaining in influence. [See Customs, p. 38.]

[Look at pp. 9 and 10 re the disrespect shown by women to their husbands, i.e. their growing independence. This attitude is a growth of comparatively recent date. A few probable reasons will be found at the pages named. My own opinion is that the moral code has been affected in some way, perhaps by the fact of Zambili, the regent, being a woman, helped by the circumstances in connection with payment of *lobola* by money which yielded no interest and was soon spent. The long period during which boys have worked with white people must also be considered, as well as the sale of liquor, and Europeans like

65 Bruheim having native women. The whole question is very important and must be probed further to the bottom.]

8.11.1897

File 74, p. 138.

| 138 | Tongaland regiments                       | <Corresponding Zulu regiments> | Approximate age in 1897 |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
|     | Umbungabunga - Mwali's                    |                                | 94                      |
|     | Umamba (Ingonyama) - Mwali's              |                                | 90                      |
|     | Upunga (Ungqatsha)                        |                                | 86                      |
|     | Udongo                                    |                                | 82                      |
|     | Ujiba (aba kwa Jiba)                      |                                | 78                      |
|     | Umpindu                                   |                                | 74                      |
|     | a ba kwa Intshe                           |                                | 70                      |
|     | Insananda - Mahungane of<br>this regiment | Tulwana                        | 66                      |
|     | Amahebula                                 | Indhlondhlo                    | 62                      |
|     | Izitshozi - Nkomuza of<br>this regiment   | uDhlokwe                       | 58                      |

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|                  |               |    |
|------------------|---------------|----|
| Amakeke          | uMxapo        | 54 |
| Amatutu          |               | 50 |
| Amagovu          |               | 46 |
| Ingubo ka Manaba |               | 42 |
| Inzanayo         | Ngobamakosi   | 38 |
| Unompilela       |               | 34 |
| Imkwitshimana    | Mbokodwebomvu | 29 |
| Amahuzu          |               |    |
| Izinsimbi        |               |    |
| Amalalanenjobo   |               |    |

Notes in regard to the above list.

I got the whole list from two men, Mahungane and Nkomuza (Nkomzohlatshwa), genuine Tongas but residing in Ingwavuma district close to the Pongolo and Ingwavuma. Both resided in Tongaland for many years. Mahungane is *of the age of the Tulwana regiment*, i.e. his regiment is the Insananda, whilst Nkomuza is *of the age of the Dhlokwe regiment*.

The Mbungabunga and Mamba regiments were *buta'd* by Mwali, but existed under Makasane. Makasane's own regiments proper begin with the Upunga. The Ingubo ka Manaba was so called because at that time Manaba was attacked by.... <sic> The Inzanayo *fought* at Mapunga. The Unompilela, Imkwitshimana, and others never engaged in warfare.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

The above Tongaland regiments were recruited as follows: Mwali recruited only the Umbungabunga and Umamba; Makasane's follow, and end with the Amahebula; Noziyingili's begin with the Izitshozi and end with the Inzanayo; Ngwanaza's begin with the Nompilela and go to the end of the list.

Zambili recruited what for her son? Only the Nompilela.

9.11.1897

File 74, pp. 65-6.

65 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza, 9.11.1897.

The name of the first foreigner who lived anywhere near Tongaland was Dinisa (the native name), a Portuguese. This man had a store and traded in various goods such as *izimbedu* (heavy brass neck-bangles), *amasinda* (lighter brass bangles for arm), *utshodo* (a black cloth). Dinisa was *attacked* by the Zulus in Dingana's reign.

It cannot be said that any boys went out to work in Makasane's reign. A large number began to go off during Noziyingili's reign, which began about 1873, and the custom has continued to the present day. The places chiefly visited were Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, and Kimberley. Many of those who went to work have not returned but live in the places named. For instance, Nkomuza, who has been to work in Durban, knows one Mgoboza, a Tonga, who is at present living near the Mtata river and quite close to the Point, Durban.<sup>36</sup>

A desire seems to have become evinced very many years ago to

acquire property. Tobacco was grown and elephant tusks procured and taken to Dinisa to barter for goods such as *utshodo* (black) and *izimbedu* and *amasinda* (bangles). After obtaining these, Tongas used to proceed with them to Zululand, with tobacco as well, to barter for other kinds of property, such as *wild-cat skins*, *sheep*, *sleeping-mats*, *goats*, shields. It will be inferred that there were few or no cattle in Tongaland in the early days. The goods to be sold in Zululand were always carried by men or boys, never by women or girls. Women and girls always stayed at home and never went any distance out of the country on any account. Food, except during the two historical famines, was always plentiful.

The result of all this was that at least two important kinds of property were brought into Tongaland both by traders and the work-boys, viz. cattle (including sheep and goats) and money. At the same time the *izimbedu*, *buhlalu*, *amasinda* and *izinhlatu* (large green beads, the size of the first joint of middle finger) were brought in by traders with the Portuguese storekeeper. All these kinds of property came at one time or another to be used as *lobola* for women. [For other evidence re *lobola* in Tongaland vide p. 106.] The first of all was *izinhlatu*. These beads, which are no longer to be got from storekeepers, though sometimes to be found one by one at old deserted kraal sites, must have been used in the early years of this century, if not before the century's commencement. As regards *buhlalu*, *izimbedu*, and *amasinda*, these seem to have come in at much the same time, although precedence seems to be again demanded by the beads, of which none are now to be got. Probably the first rise of these all fell within Makasane's long reign. Cattle (sheep and goats) seem soon to have followed as a form of *lobola*, whilst the last form - money - could not have come in during Makasane's reign because no boys seem to have gone out to work then but only during Noziyingili's.

It should have been remarked that 10 *izimbedu* plus 10 *amasinda* went to *lobola* one woman. Nkomuza himself has a wife whom he *lobola'd* with 10 of the one plus 10 of the other, and he must have married her about 30-35 years ago. The amount of money now paid for women is £15 per head.



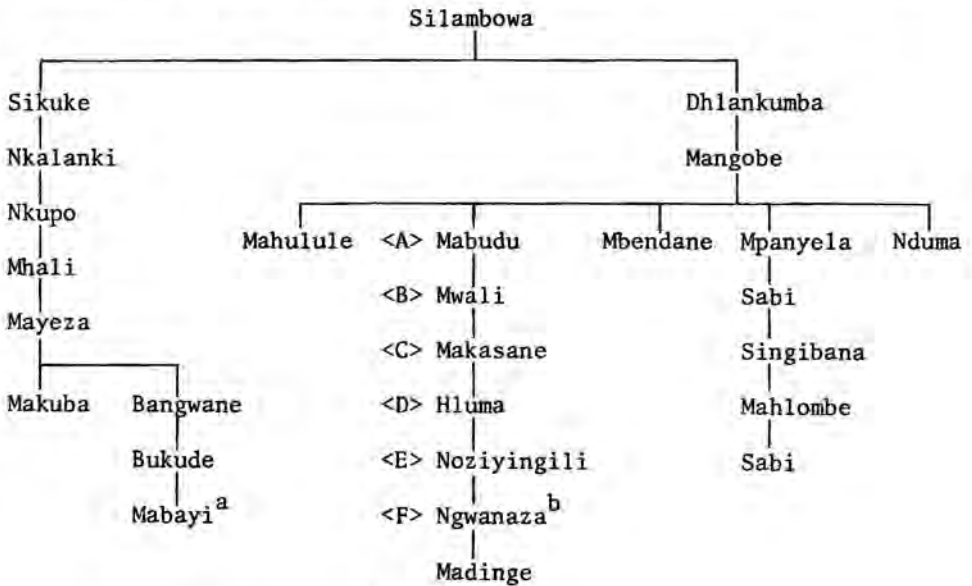
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File 74, pp. 139-40.

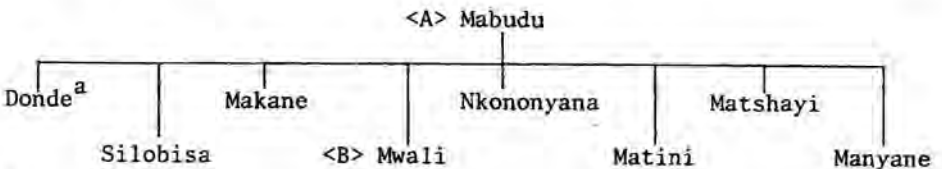
<In the genealogical tables that follow we use the symbols A, B, C, D, etc. to indicate relationships which in the original are indicated by conventional genealogical descent lines - eds.>

139 The royal house of Tongaland, per Mahungane and Nkomoza, 9.11.1897.

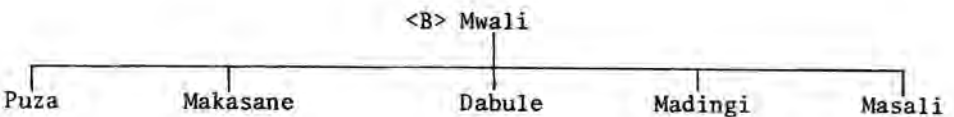


<sup>a</sup>Not known by Mahungane and Nkomoza if any issue.

<sup>b</sup>Not Ngwanazi.

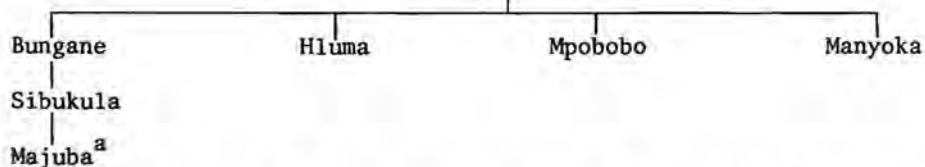


<sup>a</sup>Or Donda.



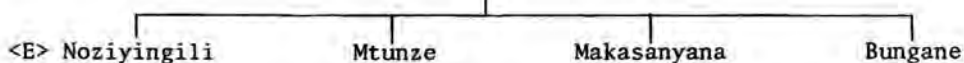
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<C> Makasane

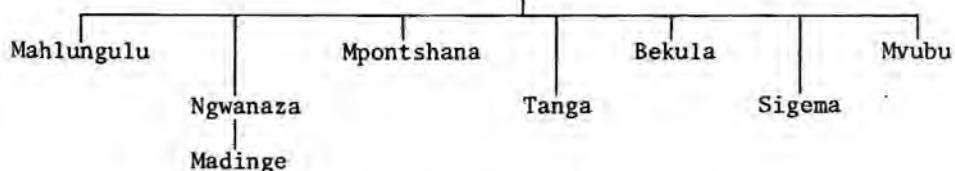


<sup>a</sup>I this day had a two hours conversation with this man, Silverton Road, Durban, 2.2.1902. He belongs to the Ingubo ka Manaba regiment, and aet. 43 or so.<sup>37</sup>

<D> Hluma



<E> Noziyingili



The *a ba kwa Madolo*



<sup>a</sup>Alias Umanyenhla.

<sup>b</sup>Not known by Mahungane if he had any issue.

[Care was taken in regard to the above genealogies. Mahungane knew most about the old people, but although he asserted positively that Silambowa was the father both of Sikuke and Dhlinkumba, I was not satisfied, because he at first hesitated as to Sikuke's father, although yesterday he said Silambowa was Dhlinkumba's father. Still, there appears to be no doubt that the two lines are very closely

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connected, if not, as stated, through Silambowa, then in some other manner. It is however quite certain that the main branch, the highest in rank though not in power, is that in which Sikuke's name appears first.]

It seems that Mangobe lived between the Mtembe and Usutu rivers about due north of the point or points where the Pongolo river enters the Usutu. At the same time the senior branch occupied, with its people, land also between the Mtembe and Usutu rivers, only to the north-east of Mabudu and his following; consequently they extended to the sea. This latter section of land seems always to have remained in the hands of the senior branch, with one small exception, when Mayeza was attacked by Makasane, to which further reference will be made. Mangobe in course of time gave each of his sons, Mabudu and Mpanyela, a territory. Mpanyela's was that hitherto lived on by his father, whilst that of Mabudu lay on the right side of the Usutu and Pongolo rivers.

Mention must be made of the fact that Mwali attacked the elder Sabi or Mpanyela(?), and was killed by Sabi, the invasion being thus repelled. Makasane too, the longest reigener in Tongaland, attacked Mayeza. Mayeza was defeated and fled to Zululand, where he lived for some time under protection of the Zulu king. The Zulu king, having attacked Makasane (whether before or after Makasane's attack on Mayeza I do not know) and defeated him, caused Mayeza to be restored to his old lands. Mayeza, I believe, eventually died on ships at sea.

Mahlombe seems to have been *attacked* and *driven out* by, I think, Noziyingili. Mabaya, the last head of the principal section, was arrested a short while ago by the Portuguese. Ngwanaza is living in British Tongaland, having fled from lands occupied by his fathers for fear of the Portuguese. Hluma died before Makasane died, so never reigned. It seems that owing to Mahlombe's being defeated the land was given by Noziyingili to the Amatutu people (the regiment), who proceeded to occupy the territory already described.

The Madolo people (this word is their *isibongo*) occupy, and for many years past have occupied, land lying on both sides of the Mbuluze river east of the Ubombo range. Sigauza, the last of the *chiefs*, shot himself a year or two ago because the Portuguese declared that it was their intention to transport him across the seas (imprisonment) for failing to find labourers as required of him. The young man's grandfather had been transported by the Portuguese for some years; immediately or shortly after his return he died.

The Mhali (Sikuke) people *paid tribute* to the Zulus, as also the Mabudu and Mpanyela people. The Madolo did not pay tribute to Zululand.

A great famine lasting three years, and called iSileyi (because so 'prolonged'), occurred before Mwali's time.<sup>38</sup> Another famine, called *Ukufa ku ka Mwali* took place about 90 or more years ago in Mwali's reign, hence the name.<sup>39</sup>

Dinisa, the only trader at Delagoa, was *attacked* by Dingana.

140 Mpoobobo, son of Makasane, was recently appointed by the Portuguese as head of that section of Tongaland which falls within their sphere of influence.

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File 74, p. 10.

- 10 Per Nkomuza and Mahungane, 10.11.1897.  
 Makasane appears to have at first definitely fixed *lobola* at five *izimbedu* plus five *amasinda*. At about the time of the civil war between Noziyingili and Makasanyana, Makasane raised the *lobola* and fixed it at 10 *izimbedu* and 10 *amasinda*.  
 The *bonga* beast. What happens is this: <sic>

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File 74, p. 137.

- 137 <In the original version of the list that follows, the names of the *izinduna* appear in parentheses against the names of the kings whom they served. We have set these names in a separate column - eds.>

| Kings of Tongaland                   | Approximate dates of accession | <Izinduna <sup>a</sup> >     |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Silambowa                            |                                |                              |
| Dhlankumba ka Silambowa              |                                |                              |
| Mangobe ka Dhlankumba                |                                |                              |
| Mabudu ka Mangobe <sup>b</sup>       |                                |                              |
| Mwali ka Mabudu                      | about 1800                     |                              |
| Makasane ka Mwali                    | say 1820                       | Munwana<br>Mbodi<br>Mahakeni |
| Hluma ka Makasane <sup>c</sup>       |                                | Mgwazi                       |
| Noziyingili ka Hluma                 | 1853 <sup>d</sup>              | Mhoweni                      |
| Zambili <sup>e</sup>                 |                                | Botoza                       |
| Ngwanaza <sup>f</sup> ka Noziyingili |                                | Gedeza                       |

<sup>a</sup>Only a very few seem to be remembered.

<sup>b</sup>Makasane and Mabudu reigned longest. Makasane reigned longer than Mpande. Noziyingili reigned about the shortest. Mwali reigned say about 10 years. Hluma did not reign at all. Noziyingili is of the *age of the Amakeke regiment* [54]. Makasane is of the Mamba regiment [i.e. 90 or so].

<sup>c</sup>Only a prince; did not reign.

<sup>d</sup>Noziyingili's accession was fixed by Mahungane saying he was of the *age of the Ingubo ka Manaba regiment* [42] when Makasane was killed by an *umbango* (civil war).

<sup>e</sup>Regent.

<sup>f</sup>Not Ngwanazi.

Note on the above kings of Tongaland. The three oldest kings were given me this day by Mahungane and Nkomuza, and the others confirmed. 10.11.1897.

The Tongas went out and attacked Mapunga north of Delagoa. [Ascertain further.]

Hluma was required to pay taxes to the Zulus. [More information wanted.]<sup>40</sup>

11.11.1897

File 74, p. 38.

- 38 Today (11.11.1897) I gave Nkomuza and Mahungane each a cup of coffee in my room. I had a cup poured out for myself. They would not partake of theirs until I had finished. As soon as they had finished theirs they *bonga'd* together, by saying in a loud voice just, 'Nkosi!' (Sir!)

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>Noziyingili and Makhasanyana were sons of Hluma and grandsons of the Mabhudu chief Makhasane, who died in the early 1850s. Hluma having predeceased Makhasane, the former's sons were rivals for the succession.
- <sup>2</sup>We have been unable to identify Zisembula and Sigawula. Noziwawa kaMzizima was one of the envoys employed by Mpande on missions to the Tsonga country: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 63, 65.
- <sup>3</sup>*Ukungena* means to take to wife the principal widow of a deceased male relative in order to provide an heir for his house.
- <sup>4</sup>Mangobe (Nwangobe) was either father or grandfather of Mabhudu (Maputju, Maputshu), founder of the Mabhudu chiefly line and grandfather of Makhasane. See the genealogies in Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, vol. 1, p. 25; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 293.
- <sup>5</sup>G. Bruheim was reputedly the first white man to settle among the Mabhudu. Zambili, daughter of the Swazi king Sobhuza and wife of Noziyingili (Nozililo), acted as regent of the Mabhudu for her son Ngwanazi after her husband's death. Under her rule, Bruheim, who had married one of Noziyingili's daughters, exercised considerable influence in Mabhudu public affairs. The 'Amatutu country' refers to the land allocated to the amaTutu *ibutho* by Noziyingili: see the reference on p. 152 of the present volume.
- <sup>6</sup>Presumably Stuart is here quoting from his original pencilled notes.
- <sup>7</sup>The *ungcagoo* was the main dance performed at a wedding: see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 548.
- <sup>8</sup>A white hunter and trader who lived among the Zulu from the late 1850s until his death in 1895.
- <sup>9</sup>Ngungunyana kaMzila was ruler of the Gasa kingdom from 1884 until 1895 when he was deposed by the Portuguese.
- <sup>10</sup>Majuba was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in the present volume.
- <sup>11</sup>Bhukude (Bhukutshe), who died c.1857, succeeded Bhongwana (Bhangwana) as chief of the senior section of the Tembe.
- <sup>12</sup>According to Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, vol. 1, p. 25, Mabhudu was the younger brother of Mhali (Muhali, Muhari), who was Tembe chief in the late eighteenth century. Mabhudu made himself independent, thus establishing the Mabhudu section of the Tembe. Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 293.
- <sup>13</sup>Sabi was a grandson of Mangobe. Mwali succeeded Mabhudu kaMangobe as chief of the Mabhudu.
- <sup>14</sup>Mayeza (Mayeta), son of Mhali, succeeded to the Tembe chiefship in the early 1820s.
- <sup>15</sup>Mabayi, chief of the Tembe, was deposed and banished by the Portuguese in the early 1890s.

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- <sup>16</sup>The abakwaMadolo people occupied land on the Mbuluze river east of the Lubombo range. Their chiefly genealogy is given in the evidence that follows. According to Leslie, Among the Zulu and AmaTonga, p. 269, the abakwaMadolo chief was in 1871 living within eight miles of Lourenco Marques. His people were considered by the Portuguese as 'peculiarly their own'.
- <sup>17</sup>Presumably the reference is to the people whom Bryant calls the Mashabana. See Olden Times, pp. 158-9, opp. p. 314, 336.
- <sup>18</sup>Sigawuza, grandson of Malengane, was chief of the abakwaMadolo people: see the line of abakwaMadolo chiefs given below.
- <sup>19</sup>Mpanyela was a son of Mangobe.
- <sup>20</sup>Dinisa was very probably the Governor-General of Lourenco Marques, Dionisio Antonio Ribeiro, who was killed by a Zulu force in 1833: see G. Leisegang, 'Dingane's attack on Lourenco Marques in 1833', Journal of African History, 10, 4 (1969), pp. 571 ff. Soshangane and Nqaba (Nxaba) were chiefs who fled from Shaka through what is now southern Mozambique c.1820.
- <sup>21</sup>Mahlombe was a close relative of the Mabhudu chiefly lineage. His grandfather and his son were both named Sabi; see the genealogy below.
- <sup>22</sup>Bryant gives Manaba of the Mashabana people as having died in 1892. See the genealogies in Olden Times, pp. opp. 314, 336.
- <sup>23</sup>Sambana(e) kaNhlongaluvalo was chief of the Nyawo living at the southern end of the Lubombo range in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- <sup>24</sup>The battle for the Zulu royal succession fought by Cetshwayo and his half-brother Mbuyazi in 1856.
- <sup>25</sup>Somkhele was chief of the Mkhwanazi people living to the north of the lower Mfolozi river in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- <sup>26</sup>Lubelo was chief of the Mngomezulu people in the mid-nineteenth century.
- <sup>27</sup>Presumably a reference to the struggle for the Mabhudu succession between Noziyingili and Makhasanyana after the death of Makhasane in the early 1850s.
- <sup>28</sup>Presumably a reference to the abakwaMvumu people who were descended from Hluma ka Makhasane of the Mabhudu chiefly house: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 306.
- <sup>29</sup>*Inhlwenga* (pl. *amanhlwenga*), or *inhlonga* (pl. *amanhlonga*), was a derogatory term used by the Zulu people to refer to the peoples living to the north-east of the Zulu kingdom in the direction of Delagoa bay.
- <sup>30</sup>*Ibhonga* or *ibhongo* means a 'young male (of man or beast) just after attaining virility....' See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 46.
- <sup>31</sup>The word *imvulamomo* literally means 'mouth-opener': see Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 841. Ndaba was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- <sup>32</sup>*Ubuhlalu* is the general term for beads. The informants later describe *izinhlatu* as 'large green beads, the size of the first joint of the middle finger'.
- <sup>33</sup>*Isibindi* literally means liver. It was regarded as the seat of courage. Its meaning in the present context is uncertain.
- <sup>34</sup>Ndaba was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear

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- in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- <sup>35</sup>The verb *ukucazulula* literally means to divide up. In the present context it seems to connote the apportionment of specific parts of a slaughtered beast to particular individuals or groups.
- <sup>36</sup>Presumably 'Mtata' is written in error.
- <sup>37</sup>Majuba was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears in the present volume.
- <sup>38</sup>The name iSileyi (isiLeyi) derives from the verb *ukusilela*, to lack supplies of food.
- <sup>39</sup>*Ukufa ku ka Mwali* literally means the death of Mwali.
- <sup>40</sup>It is not made clear in the original from whom Stuart obtained the information recorded in the two preceding paragraphs.