

## APPENDIX.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

## Page 4, Note 11.

There is an interesting version of this legend given by Casalis as existing among the Basutos :—

“ ‘The Lord,’ they say, ‘in ages gone by, sent this message to men : Oh, men, you will die, but you will rise again. The messenger of the Lord was tardy in the performance of his mission, and a wicked being hastened to precede him, and proclaimed to men : The Lord saith, You will die, and you will die for ever. When the true messenger arrived, they would not listen to him, but replied, The first word is the first, the second is nothing.’ In the legend the first messenger of the Lord is designated by the name of the Grey Lizard, and the other who supplanted him, by that of the Chameleon.” (*The Basutos*, p. 242.)

The word here rendered by Casalis “ Lord ” is no doubt Morimo; the meaning of which see in the article on Utikxo.

Arbousset again gives another version “ as current in South Africa,” and which connects in a curious way the Hottentot legend with that of the natives of these parts :—

“ The Lord (*Morena*) sent in the former times a grey lizard with his message to the world, ‘ Men die.....they will be restored to life again.’ The chameleon set out from his chief, and, arriving in haste, he said, ‘ Men die.....they die for ever.’ Then the grey lizard came and cried, ‘ The Lord has spoken, saying, Men die.....they shall live again.’ But men answered him, ‘ The first word is the first ; that which is after is nothing.’ ” (*Op. cit.*, p. 342.)

Campbell gives the following legend of the cause of death on the authority of a Mashow native :—

“ Matooome was the first man, and had a younger brother of the same name, and a sister whose name was Matoomyan. She was the first who came out from the hole, and had orders respecting the cattle, and was appointed to superintend them ; but her brother Matooome came out, and without leave went and led the cattle round the end of a mountain, which so enraged his sister, who possessed medicine for the preservation of life and health, that she returned to the hole, carrying with her the precious medicine ; in consequence of which diseases and death came into the world, and prevail in it to this day.” (*Op. cit.* Vol. I., p. 306.)

## Page 65, Note 27.

The following extract from the Sire de Joinville's *Saint Louis, King of France*, is added as an interesting illustration of the existence of a custom similar to that of making the Isivivane :—

“ He related to us yet another great marvel. While he was in

their camp a knight of much means died, and they dug for him a broad and deep trench in the earth; and they seated him, very nobly attired, on a chair, and placed by his side the best horse and the best sergeant he had, both alive. The sergeant, before he was placed in the grave with his lord, went round to the King of the Comans, and the other men of quality, and while he was taking leave of them they threw into his scarf a large quantity of silver and gold, and said to him, 'When I come to the other world thou shalt return to me what I now entrust to thee.' And he replied, 'I will gladly do so.'

"The great King of the Comans confided to him a letter addressed to their first king, in which he informed him that this worthy man had led a good life and had served him faithfully, and begged him to reward him for his services. When this was done they placed him in the grave with his lord and the horse, both alive; then they threw over the trench boards closely fitted together, and the whole army ran to pick up stones and earth, so that before they slept they had erected a great mound over it, in remembrance of those who were interred."

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THE following letter is republished from the *Natal Courier* to establish the fact that Ukulukulu is only a dialectic pronunciation of Unkulunkulu:—

*To the Editor.*

SIR,—You have thought the discussion of the meaning of Unkulunkulu worth a place in the *Courier*. Will you grant me space for a few more remarks?

I have, for some years, been perfectly satisfied with the accuracy of my views on this subject. Yet I have not discontinued my researches. Every fresh objection, and even every old objection repeated by a new objector, has led to new investigations; and every fresh investigation has led to a confirmation of my previous views, whilst it has at the same time extended them and made them more clear. This has been the case with A. B.'s objection, that I have confounded Unkulunkulu, the nasalized form, with Ukulukulu, the unnasalized word.

I have for a long time been aware of the use of the two words among the natives; and although I copied without comment Dr.

Bleek's remark;—"perhaps the unnasalized form is at present more usual in the signification of a great-great-grandfather, or the first ancestor of a family or tribe;"—thinking he had authority for such a statement; it did not tally with my own experience, my impression being very decided, that the nasalized form is by far the most common, I having very seldom heard the unnasalized word used by natives. The reason of this is now obvious. My investigations have been conducted for the most part among the Amazulu: whilst the unnasalized form, Ukulukulu, is a tribal pronunciation. So far as I at present know, it is pronounced thus especially by the Amalala; but probably it is also in use among other tribes. The Amazulu, the Amakzosa, and the Amakuza use the nasalized form, Unkulunkulu.

It will perhaps help others to a

clear understanding of this matter, if I just detail some conversation on the subject with two sets of natives on two different occasions, since my last letter to the *Courier*.

There were three men working together. The eldest, *Unggeto*, some time ago gave me *Dumakade* as the name of the *Unkulunkulu* of his house. This word *Dumakade* is his *isibongo*, and all members of his house can be addressed by it. I addressed him by the name, "*Dumakade!*" The other two smiled at my knowing his *isibongo*; and he, laughing, said—"I told you that name a year ago, and you remember it now."—I said—"Yes; you told me *Dumakade* was the name of the *Unkulunkulu* of your house."—He said—"Yes."

I turned to another, and said—"Usibamu, what is the name of yours?"—He replied, without a moment's hesitation—"Ubaleni."

I turned to *Utombo*, and asked—"And of yours?" He answered—"Ukwele."

Another native here joined us, and I asked him—"Ulwati, what is the name of the *Unkulunkulu* of your house?"—He said—"Does he ask our *isibongo*?"—I replied—"I said nothing of *isibongo*. I asked the name of your *Unkulunkulu*."—He answered—"Uzimande."

At a short distance there was a fifth man, *Ugovana*, working. I had asked him a few weeks ago if he knew anything of *Unkulunkulu*; and he gave me the common version of the tradition of the origin of man. I went to him; and he, having overheard us, said—"O, you were asking of that! I thought you were asking me about the *Unkulunkulu wabantu bonke* (the *Unkulunkulu* of all men)."—I said—"Yes, I was,

when I asked you a short time since. But are there not many *Unkulunkulu*?"—He said—"Yes. Ours is *Umdaka*."

Thus in the space of half an hour I have the names of five different *Unkulunkulu* given to me. And be it remembered that these *Unkulunkulu* are the objects of worship in their respective houses.

I observed, on another occasion, *Umpengula*, a native Christian, standing by the side of three heathen natives. Their names are *Udingezi*, *Ubulawa*, and *Umkonto*. They are all probably more than sixty years old. I called *Umpengula* and said—"They say I have confounded *Unkulunkulu* with *Ukulukulu*. What do you say?"

He replied—"What do they mean? Why, it is one word. The *Amazulu* say *Unkulunkulu*; the *Amalala* say *Ukulukulu*."

I said—"I know. But what I want to ask is, whether you remember when *Ukoto* came, and I asked him about *Unkulunkulu*?"

He said—"Yes. I remember quite well."

"He told me that their *Unkulunkulu* was *Usenzangakona*."

"Yes."

"Do you remember my asking him whether he did not mean *Ukulukulu*, and his answering, 'We (viz., *Amazulu*) say *Unkulunkulu*. But it is all one!'"

He said—"Yes. I remember."

"And you agree with him?"

"Certainly."

I said—"Let us call *Udingezi*, and hear what he will say. Do you ask him, and I will be silent. Ask him what the heads of generations are called."

*Udingezi* came.

*Umpengula* put his question thus—"What is the name of your *Ukulukulu* (the unnasalized form)?"

I was vexed with this, because I had not wished any thing to be suggested; and said—"No; ask him thus, What is the father of your father called, and so on backwards."

He began—"He who begat ubaba is ubaba-mkulu, or ukulu; he who begat ubaba-mkulu is ukoko; he who begat ukoko is unkulunkulu." Thus using the nasalized form, though the unnasalized word had been suggested. An *experimentum crucis* this!

We then went to Ubulawa and Umkonto, who were still sitting on the grass at a distance. They gave the heads of generations in the same way as Udingezi, viz., Ubaba, Ukulu, Ukoko, Unkulunkulu: each using the nasalized form.

I asked them what the Amalala called the head of the fourth generation back?

They thought for a little while, and Ubulawa answered—"Ukulukulu."

I said—"Then Unkulunkulu and Ukulukulu is one."

They replied—"Yes. The Amazulu say Unkulunkulu; the Amalala Ukulukulu."

I asked—"Are you Amazulu?"

They replied—"No; we are Amakuza."

I continued—"Well, you speak of one Unkulunkulu of all men. What was his name?"

They replied—"We do not know him. We know nothing about him."

I said—"I mean him who first came out of the bed of reeds, and brought out all things."

They replied they knew nothing about him.

We are not to understand this answer absolutely. Had I wished it, I could have got each of them to relate a version of the tradition.

I said—"But some of the Onkulunkulu have names?"

They replied—"Yes."

I asked—"What is the name of yours, Ubulawa?"

"Umpungulo."

"And of yours, Udingezi?"

"Ujikitshi."

"And of yours, Umkonto?"

"Usoni."

"Has the Unkulunkulu of the Amakuza tribe a name?"

"Yes; Uthlomo."

And Udingezi added, without my asking—"Udhlamini is the name of him who divided the tribes."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> We have met with this saying frequently in the previous pages. It has been understood to mean that *Unkulunkulu created the nations*. But it has no such meaning, and does not even allude to creation at all, as will be clear from the following explanation of the words:—

Ukudabula izizwe i loku ukwa-  
/lukanisa ind/lu etile netile, zi  
hamba ngokwa/lukana, zi zibusela.  
Ukudabuka ke loku; ngokuba a  
zi sa yi 'kubuyela emuva, se zi ya  
pambili njalo.

To divide (or break off) the nations is this, to separate house from house, that they may go in different directions, and have their own government. This, then, is division; for they will never again return to their first position, but separate further and further from each other.

Njengaloku ku tiwa ku kona ukudabuka kwegode m/la Udingane 'a/lukana nompande. Kwa

For instance, it is said there was a division of the rope when Udingane separated from Umpa-

From these conversations we conclude that there are many who are called Unkulunkulu :—

1. Great-great-grandfathers, of whom eight are here named.
2. The heads of tribes, of whom one is named.
3. The dividers of tribes, of whom one is named.
4. The Unkulunkulu of all men, whose name is unknown.

This last I have been accustomed to call, for the sake of distinction, Unkulunkulu the First, and the others, Secondary Onkulunkulu. Dr. Bleek feels the need of a distinctive epithet, and says, the Unkulunkulu *par excellence*.<sup>76</sup> We find a native making the distinction of his own accord, by saying the Unkulunkulu *of all men*. We have also the separate testimony of several natives that Ukulukulu is all one with Unkulunkulu, and

that the former is a tribal pronunciation.

I think, Sir, that entirely independently of other materials in my possession, the position is fully established by what I have here written, that Unkulunkulu is, both on critical and religious grounds, an utterly unfit word with which to translate God. The error of supposing it to be, appears to me to have arisen from the fact that the natives ascribe in some sort the divine act of Creation to the first man. But I think I shall be able, at a future time, to show that their notions of creation are so widely opposed to ours, that most of the words they use to express it are unfit to be used for the purpose by the missionary, implying as they do a theory of creation utterly inadmissible in Christian theology, which is founded on the Word of God.

H. C.

tiwa, "Umpande u dabukile kudingane, u se zihambela yedwa ; nodingane u se yedwa." Nako ukudabuka.

Ukudabuka kwezizwe kukqala ukuba inkosi yo/lanqa yahlukanise ezindahlini zayo eziningi, i ti, "Bani, yaka ekutini, u pume lapa, u zimele." Na komunye, kubo bonke i tsho njalo.

I loko ke ukudabula izizwe ; se be izizwe labo aba kitshiwe nemizi. Njengaloku Umahhaule u dabuke embo, nonjan, nomunyu, nongangezwe. Bonke labo ba puma kuzi/lan/lo, inkosi yabo enkulu.

nde. It was said, "Umpande has broken off from Udingane, and goes by himself; and Udingane too is by himself." That is to divide or break off.

The dividing (or breaking off) of the nations at first is this, that a primitive chief should make a division in his many houses, saying, "So-and-so, live in such a place. Depart from this place, and go and reign for yourself." He says the same to another, and to all his children.

This, then, is to divide (or break off) the nations. And those become nations who are taken out together with their villages. For example, Umahhaule broke off from the Abambo, and Unjan also, and Umunyu, and Ungangezwe. All these came from Uzithlanthlo, their great chief.

<sup>76</sup> Usithlanu calls him "Unkulunkulu wamandulo," The most ancient Unkulunkulu, see p. 89.

## U T I K X O .

UTIKXO, the word adopted for God by the early missionaries among the Kxosa or Frontier Kafirs, was not a word known to the natives of these parts, but was introduced by missionaries and others. And it is generally supposed that the word does not properly belong to the Kxosa or any other of the alliterative dialects spoken in South Africa;<sup>1</sup> but has been derived from the Hottentots. The word Utikxo has the nearest resemblance to the Tikxwoa of the Cape Hottentot dialect.

We cannot doubt that this is the word which Kolb means to express as the Hottentot name for God.<sup>2</sup> Having declared his undoubting conviction that the Hottentots generally "believe in a supreme Being, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of every thing in them; the arbiter of the world, through whose omnipotence

all things live and move and have their being. And that he is endowed with unsearchable attributes and perfections," he goes on to say:—"The Hottentots call him Gounja Gounja or Gounja Ticquoa; that is, the God of all gods; and say he is a good man, who does nobody any hurt; and from whom none need be apprehensive of any; and that he dwells far above the moon."<sup>3</sup>

If the investigations of Moffat, Appleyard, Casalis, and others are correct, Kolb very much exaggerated the Hottentot notion respecting God, and substituted instead of what they really believed, the belief of a Christian man. Nothing is more easy than to enquire of heathen savages the character of their creed, and during the conversation to impart to them great truths and ideas which they never heard before, and presently

<sup>1</sup> Bleek. Comparative Grammar, p. 92, sec. 397.—Moffat. Missionary Labours, pp. 257, 258.—Appleyard. Kafir Grammar, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. Written originally in High German. By Peter Kolben, A.M. Done into English from the original, by Mr. Medley. Kolb's Work was published in German, Folio, 1729. I quote from the translation by Medley, 2 Vols. 8vo., published 1731.

<sup>3</sup> Id., Vol. I., p. 93.

to have these come back again as articles of their own original faith, when in reality they are but the echoes of one's own thoughts. But even here in Kolb's statement we have the idea, more clearly and distinctly enunciated by after investigators, that great, and mighty and good, as, according to him, the Hottentots might have regarded their Tikzwoa, they believed that he was but "a good man."

And further on Kolb tells us they also "worship an evil deity whom they look upon as the father of mischief, and source of all plagues. They call him Touquoa; and say he is a little, crabbed, inferior captain, whose malice against the Hottentots will seldom let him rest; and who never did, nor has it in his nature to do, any good to any body. They worship him therefore, say they, in order to sweeten him and to avert his malice."<sup>4</sup>

The two words—Ticquoa and Touquoa—here given for a good and evil deity, are remarkably alike; and it is not improbable that Kolb mistook two words, identical in meaning, and applied to one imaginary being, for the name of two beings, a good and evil one. If not, then we must suppose that since the time of Kolb a great corruption has taken

place in the original creed of the Hottentots, and that the good and evil, which were formerly kept distinct and referred to different agents, have become confused, and are indiscriminately ascribed to one being.

Observing that Dr. Bleek speaks of Tikxwoa as being one with "Kolb's Tikquoa or touquoa," I supposed he might have more ample reason for thinking them identical than I had.<sup>5</sup> His reasons, however, are simply philological. I quote from his letter on the subject:—"By identifying this Toukquoa with Tikquoa, the name for God found in the vocabulary (where Cham-ouna is that for the devil, who is called in Nama Hottentot Kau-ap), I do not think I exceeded the probability. But it may yet be that Kolb meant a different word. However, considering it fully, I have not much doubt it is really the same word, identical with the Nama Tsuikxoap, which contain both the vowels in the first syllable of which the two renderings of Kolb give only each one."

I may add that whilst recently on a visit among the Griquas I met with several persons who were acquainted with the Hottentots, and understood their language. They told me that the

<sup>4</sup> Id., p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Comparative Grammar, p. 92.

name they used for God was Tikwa. They did not know any other name for an evil principle resembling it. They also understood the language of the Bushmen, and told me that their word for God was *Ikqum'n*; and that the meaning of the word was, "Father who is above."

Moffat quotes from Dr. Vanderkemp the following, which appears to justify the surmise that Kolb was mistaken in supposing the two words referred to two beings from not observing that he was dealing with a merely tribal difference of pronunciation:<sup>6</sup>—"A decisive proof of what I here say with respect to the national atheism of the Kafirs, is, that they have no word in their language to express the idea of Deity; the individuals just mentioned calling him 'Thiko, which is a corruption of a name by which God is called in the language of the Hottentots, literally signifying one *that induces pain*.'"7

But Moffat is equally decisive

that the Hottentots and Namaquas are just as ignorant of God, and their language just as devoid of a word for God, as Dr. Vanderkemp and others have represented the Kafirs. Whilst pursuing his investigations among the inhabitants of Great Namaqualand, he says:—"I met with an ancient sorcerer or doctor, who stated that he had always understood that *Tsu'kuap* was a notable warrior, of great physical strength; that in a desperate struggle with another chieftain, he received a wound in the knee, but having vanquished his enemy, his name was lost in the mighty combat which rendered the nation independent; for no one could conquer the *Tsu'kuap* (wounded-knee). When I referred to the import of the word, one who inflicts pain or a sore knee, manifesting my surprise that they should give such a name to the Creator and Benefactor, he replied in a way that induced the belief that he applied the term to what we should call the devil, or to

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Bleek gives the following variations of the Hottentot name of God, which, not having the requisite characters, I shall spell in accordance with the principles laid down in the Preface to Vol. I. of *Zulu Nursery Tales*.—

"I add here the Hottentot name for God, which is *Tsu'kuwap* (Schmelen's *Tsoeikwap*) or *Tsuigxoap* (Wallmann's *Zuigxoap*) in the Nama; and *Tshukxoap* in the *Kgora* dialect; *Thuikxwe* (Van der Kemp's *Thuickwe*) among the Eastern Hottentots; and *Tikxwoa* (Kolb's *Tikqwoa* or *Toukqwoa*) near the Cape." (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 92.)

It will be seen that most of these words differ from each other more than the two words of Kolb.

7 Moffat. *Op. cit.*, p. 257.



death itself; adding that he thought death, or the power causing death, was very sore indeed."<sup>8</sup>

And then he asks:—"May not the Tsui'kuap of these people be like the Thlanga of the Kafirs, an ancient hero; or represent some power which they superstitiously dread, from its causing death or pain?"<sup>9</sup>

We see, then, that Moffat comes to a conclusion somewhat similar to that of Kolb, that there is an evil principle or being, feared by the Hottentots, and which has received the name of Tsui'kuap, which is equivalent to Utikao. But he does not appear to have heard any thing of the good principle or being, of which Kolb speaks.

Again, Casalis expresses an equally decided opinion as to the "endemic atheism" of the inhabitants of South Africa generally. He says:—"The tribes had entirely lost the idea of a Creator. All the natives whom we have questioned on the subject have assured us that it never entered their heads that the earth and sky

might be the work of an invisible being."<sup>10</sup>

Shaw also says:—"The Kafir nations cannot be said to possess any religion."<sup>11</sup> And again:—"Before Missionaries and other Europeans had intercourse with the Kafirs, they seem to have had extremely vague and indistinct notions of God. The older Kafirs used to speak of Umdali, the Creator or Maker of all things, and Uthlanga, which word seems to have been used to denote the source or place from which all living things came forth."<sup>12</sup>

A similar statement is made by Arbousset. He says:—"They have scarcely retained the idea of a Supreme Being. The more enlightened admit that there is a *Morena* in heaven, whom they call the *powerful master of things*, but the multitude deny that there is, and even this name of *morena* is the same as they give to the lowest of their chiefs. All the blacks whom I have known are atheists, but it would not be difficult to find amongst them some theists. Their atheism, however, does not prevent

<sup>8</sup> Moffat. Op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>9</sup> Id., p. 259.

<sup>10</sup> Casalis. The Basutos, p. 238.

<sup>11</sup> Story of My Mission, p. 444.

<sup>12</sup> Id., p. 451.—My reasons for thinking that these views require very considerable modification are given in another place.

their being extremely superstitious, or from rendering a kind of worship to their ancestors, whom they call *barimos*, or in the singular *morimo*."<sup>13</sup>

He says of the Mountain Bushmen's faith:—"They say that there is a *Kaang* or *Chief* in the sky, called also *Kue-Akeng-teng*, the *Man*, that is to say, the *Master of all things*. According to their expression, 'one does not see him with the eyes, but knows him with the heart.' He is to be worshipped in times of famine and before going to war, and that throughout the whole night, performing the dance of the *mokoma*."<sup>14</sup>

The same notion of malevolence is connected in the native mind among the Bechuanas with the word *Morimo*, which the Missionaries have adopted for God. The meaning of *Morimo* as given by Moffat,<sup>15</sup> and of *Molimo* as given by Casalis,<sup>16</sup> is, like that given to the Bushmen's *Ikqum'n*, "He that is in heaven." But, says Moffat, "Morimo, to those who knew any thing about it, had been represented as a malevolent *selo* or *thing*."<sup>17</sup> And again, "According to native testimony *Morimo*, as well as man,

with all the different species of animals, came out of a cave or hole in the Bakone country."<sup>18</sup> "There is," says Casalis, "an obvious contradiction between the language and the received ideas."<sup>19</sup>—That is, I presume, Casalis supposes that the word *Morimo* or *Molimo*,—a heavenly one,—is a testimony preserved in the language of the people against their present infidelity and corruption of faith. And Archbishop Trench, in his work on "The Study of Words," has brought this word forward as a remarkable instance of the disappearing of an important word from a language, and with it "the disappearing as well of the great spiritual fact and truth whereof that word was once the vehicle and the guardian."<sup>20</sup>

But Dr. Bleek has made it more than probable that Moffat and Casalis are mistaken in the derivation and meaning of this word; and that *Molimo* has a sound by accident only similar to *Moh'olimo*—"one who is in heaven." He says:—"In other South African languages, different words are found indicating the idea of a supreme being; but in *Se-tshuana* at

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 363.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*, p. 262.

<sup>20</sup> P. 18.

least the word for 'God' has a similar reference to their ancestor worship as the Zulu *Unkulunkulu*. Thus in Se-suto *Mo-limo* means God, and *me-limo* gods, but *mo-limo*, ancestral spirits, plur. *ba-limo*.<sup>21</sup>

This is a far more probable derivation. And when we remember that Morimo is supposed to have come out of the same hole that gave origin to man and beasts, as Unkulunkulu came out of the same bed of reeds; and that in the native mind there is no connection of thought between a heavenly being and this Morimo, there can be little doubt of the correctness of the view taken by Dr. Bleek.

Further, it may be added in corroboration that although the Amazulu do not say Unkulunkulu is an Itongo,—an ancestral spirit; they say he was an Ukoko,—an ancestor: and not only does it appear that they suppose that at one time he was regarded as an Itongo, and was worshipped among other Amatongo by his own laud-giving names, but we find them incidentally giving intimations of a belief in a great Itongo from whom all things proceeded. Thus they are heard to say in explanation of the superiority of the white man to the coloured that the former re-

mained longer with a great Itongo than the blacks, and therefore came into being more perfect, with better habits and accoutrements.<sup>22</sup>

This view brings the notions of different people of South Africa into a certain similarity and consistency. Whilst on the other view they are neither consistent with themselves nor with each other.

Appleyard gives a somewhat similar account to that of Moffat as to the meaning of Utikxo. He says:—"Tshoei'koap is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived their Utixo, a term which they have invariably applied, like the Hottentots, to designate the Divine Being, since the introduction of Christianity. Its derivation is curious. It consists of two words which together mean 'the broken knee.' It is said to have been originally applied to a doctor or sorcerer of considerable notoriety and skill among the Hottentots or Namaquas, some generations back, in consequence of his having received some injury of the knee. Having been held in high repute for extraordinary powers during life, he continued to be invoked, even after death, as one who could relieve and protect;<sup>23</sup> and hence, in process of

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>22</sup> See p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> That is, strictly in accordance with the custom of an ancestor-worshipping people.

time, he became the nearest in idea to their first conceptions of God."<sup>24</sup>

If this account be correct, and there appears no reason whatever for doubting its accuracy, it is clear that the early Missionaries, in using the word *Utikzo* for God, adopted an *isibongo*, or laud-giving name, of some old brave.

To my mind nothing here found conveys the idea that the notion of divinity was ever in the uneducated native mind connected with *Utikzo*; much less that *Utikzo* ever meant God: on the contrary that it meant something very different from God; in some instances, at least, an evil spirit, which was worshipped just on the same grounds as the *Yezidis* worship Satan, "because he must be conciliated and revered; for as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them."<sup>25</sup> And it appears to me to have been unwisely and improperly adopted by the early Missionaries; to be explained and excused only on the ground that at first the teachers and taught were unable freely to communicate ideas one to the other.

The term *Molimo* or *Morimo*

appears equally improper. How very objectionable is it to use a word for God in teaching savages the doctrines of Christianity, to which they have a natural or rather educated repugnance, and of the Being whom it is meant to represent they can speak as a native chief spoke to Mr. Moffat:—"When we assured him that God (*Morimo*) was in the heavens, and that He did whatever He pleased, they blamed us for giving Him a high position beyond their reach; for they viewed their *Morimo* as a noxious reptile. 'Would that I could catch it, I would transfix it with my spear,' exclaimed S., a chief, whose judgment on other subjects would command attention."<sup>26</sup>

At the same time it is quite possible that the confusion of ideas between good and evil,—the association of the idea of evil with God,—which we here meet with, is a confusion of comparatively recent times; that originally there existed a defined belief in a good and an evil Being; but that the common multiform natural phenomena, which are constantly exhibiting the Creator's beneficence, were lost to these afflicted populations amidst phenomena of an ap-

<sup>24</sup> Grammar, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> Layard's *Nineveh*. Vol. I., p. 298.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

parently opposite character, and especially amidst the sufferings and wants of their daily life; until created things spoke to them only of suffering, and fixed their attention on a pain-creating being, whom they feared more than revered, and whom if they worshipped, it was to deprecate wrath, rather than to express their faith in his love.

And may not the legend,—so bizarre and bald,—given by Dr. Bleek in the “Hottentot Tales”<sup>27</sup> of a contest between Heitsi Eibip and Ggaggorip be a confused tradition of some old faith, the fundamental principle of which was that of a contest between good and evil in nature; but which in process of time has been lost, and the good and the evil come to be confounded, and referred alike to one fabulous being.

According to Du Chaillu, we find even at the present time among the inhabitants of the Western coast of Africa the worship of a good and evil spirit. He says:—

“Aniambia enjoys the protection of two spirits of very great power, named Abambou and Mbuirri. The former is an evil spirit, the latter is beneficent. They are both worshipped; and their accommodations, so far as I

was permitted to see, were exactly alike.

“Abambou is the devil of the Camma. He is a wicked mischievous spirit, who lives near graves and in burial grounds. He takes occasional walks through the country; and if he is angry at any one, has the power to cause sickness and death. In worshipping him they cry, ‘Now are we well! Now are we satisfied! Now be our friend, and do not hurt us!’

“Mbuirri, whose house I next visited, is lodged and kept much as his rival. He is a good spirit, but has powers much the same as Abambou, so far as I could see. Being less wicked, he is less zealously worshipped.”<sup>28</sup>

This coincides remarkably with Kolb's statement; and leads to a reasonable suspicion that his Touquoa,—probably only some local or tribal variation of the word now come down to the Kafirs as Uti-kzo,—and the Morimo of the Bechuanas and Basutos, is the same as the Abambou of the people of Aniambia. Yet what missionary would choose Abambou as the name for God, even though he should have ascribed to him, in addition to his own, the only “less wicked” attributes of Mbuirri?

Dr. Bleek's Hottentot legend just alluded to, begins with the

<sup>27</sup> P. 77.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., pp. 202, 203.

significant words, "At first there were two." And among the natives of these parts we have the two words Unembeza and Ugovana to express the good and evil hearts which are supposed to be contending within them. And they ascribe good and evil to the Amatongo which they worship, and worship more sedulously to avert evil than to acknowledge good.

Be this as it may, the impression so generally existing among those who have laboured long in South Africa of the "endemic atheism" of the different peoples, and the difficulty universally confessed of being able to determine whether the name, applied to some being to whom certain supreme acts are referred, is in the native mind any thing more than the name of their great forefather, or of some great hero-benefactor of times gone by, to whom with perfect consistency an ancestor-worshipping people would refer such acts, suggest that it would be both more wise and reverent, and more likely to be effectual in attempting to teach them a new faith, to introduce a new name,—a name not really newer to them than the idea of the supreme Being itself. I am myself persuaded that such a new name is very desirable, aye more,

very necessary. For there is no name, whether Utikzo, or Morimo, or Unkulunkulu, which, without possessing any primary signification referring to divinity, has not much, both etymologically and traditionally, which is highly objectionable, and calculated to mislead the young convert. Bishop Colenso felt this on his first introduction to mission work. And I do not doubt that his impression was the result of devout and intelligent thought, which is not at all invalidated by a change of opinion, which led him to attempt to introduce an equally objectionable word for God, and to which exception has been justly taken by many on grounds similar to those which may be taken against Utikzo.

In connection with the word Utikzo, "the broken knee," the following interesting and curious corroboration of the idea that Utikzo is but the isibongo or laud-giving name of some ancient brave, is well worth considering. Among the Amazulu there is a word, clearly an isibongo, *U-gukqa-badela*, which means, He kneels and they get enough of it. And the following explanations appear to show the character and circumstances of the conflict from which he obtained the name :—

U-gukqa-ba-dele, umuntu o hlanganyelwe abantu abaningi, be zitemba ubuningi, be ya 'ku m enza ame/lo 'mnyama ngoku m hahkqa, a fe e nga bonisisi loko a ngakw enzako. Ku ti ngesikati sokulwa nabo, 'emi. Ku ti ba ngam hlababa, noma be nga m hlabile, ba bone e ti kiti ngedolo, ba ti, "U ya wa; si m hlabile." Ba sondele kakulu, ku nga bi njengokuba be be sondele e s' emi, ku dhlulisise ukusondela kwabo kuye, e se wile, ngokuti, "E, manje ke, a si m kqede." Kepa ba ze ba dhlulwe isikati be nga m kqedi; e u yena yedwa o ba kqeda nganhlanye, be ng' azi uma ulukuni ngen dawo enjani; ba ze ba ti, "Hau! sa za sa pela umuntu emunye na? A si m shiye."

Ba m shiye ke, e se kuyo leyo 'ndawo lapa be fike e kona. Ngaloko ke lapa se be mukile be m shiya be m bona, ba hambe be bheka, be m bona e sa gukqile, e ba lindile ukuti, kumbe ba ya 'utatela amaudhla okubuya. Ku ti, ngoku nga buyi kwabo, 'esuke, a hambe.

Kanti ke ba delile, ukuti b' esuti, a ba sa m funi. U lowo ke

We apply the name U-gukqa-ba-dele to a man who has been surrounded by many others, who trust to their number, and expect to be able to confuse him by surrounding him, and so kill him before he can well see what to do; and perhaps they stab him, or without having stabbed him, they see him sink on his knee, and say, "He is falling; we have stabbed him." And they draw near to him, no longer now as when he was standing; they go quite close to him now he has fallen, saying, "Ah, now then, let us make an end of him." But a long time passes without their killing him; it is he alone who kills them, they not understanding in what way he is so difficult to kill; until at length they say, "Hau! are we then at length all killed by one man? Let us let him alone."

And so they leave him still in the same place where they first found him. So then when they have left, going away with their faces towards him, they go on looking back and see him still kneeling and watching them, for he thinks they may take heart and come back to him again. But when they do not return he arises and goes away.

They have had enough of it forsooth, that is, they are satisfied,

U-gukqa-ba-dele. Leli 'gama lokuti U-gukqa-ba-dele, a si lo igama lomuntu nje; igama e si li zwe li fika nabantu ekufikeni kwamabunu, e vela emakzoseni; a fika nabantu basemakzoseni; be funga be ti, "Tikzo o pezulu. Gukqa-ba-dele." Kodwa lelo lokuti "gukqa" a li kqondeki kahle, uma la fika kanyekanye na, nelokuti "Tikzo" na. Sa li zwa ke ngamakzosa ukuba Utikzo inkosi e pezulu.

Ekukqaleni amakosi a e puma impi, a hlasle nayo; kepa ku ti, ngokukalipa kwezita, z' enze ikcebo lazo lokuti, "Ukuze laba 'bantu si ba ngobe, a si bulale inkosi yabo le, ukuze ba pele amandhla." Nembala ke ku ti ba nga i bulala inkosi, ba i kcite leyo 'mpi; ngokuba amakosi lawo a e puma ngokuti, "Kona abantu bami be ya 'kuba nesibindi, be bona ngi kona."

Kwa yekwa ke loko; a ku sa vamile; se ku kona kwezinye izizwe; kwazulu, a ku se njalo.

and do not go after him any more. Such a man, then, is called U-gukqa-ba-dele. It is not the name of a common person. It is a name which we heard from people when the Dutch first came from the Kxosa tribes; they brought some Kxosa people with them; when they took an oath, they said, "Tikzo who is above. Gukqa-ba-dele." But it is by no means clear whether the word "gukqa" (kneel) came at precisely the same time as the word Utikzo. We heard from the Amakzosa that Utikzo is the Lord who is above.<sup>29</sup>

At first chiefs used to go out with the army, and invade other people with it; but it happened through their shrewdness that the enemy devised a plan, saying, "In order that we may conquer these people, let us kill their king, that they may be discouraged." And in fact they might kill the king and scatter the army; for the kings used to go out, saying, "Then my people will be brave, when they see me there."

So the custom of accompanying the army was given up; it is no longer usual; it may still be among some nations; it is no longer the custom among the Amazulu.

<sup>29</sup> Compare the Bushman word, which is said to have a similar meaning, p. 64; and the dispute between the two Kxosa natives as to the use of Utikzo and Unkulunkulu, p. 68.



Kwazulu inkosi i bongwa ngokwenzwa kwabantu bayo, a ba kw enze eziteni; ba ngobe; a ku tshiwo ukuti, kw enze abantu bayo. Njengokuba, uma impi e nama-ndhla ya vela ngenhla, enye i ngenzansi, i ti induna e/lakanipile, "O, indawo imbi; si ya 'utateka; a si mi kahle; gukqa ni ngamadolo, ni ba ngume amatumbu." Ngalelelo 'kcebo, uma ba ngoba ngalo, inkosi yabo i nga tiwa i U-gukqaba-dele, njengokungati kw enze yona; kanti kw enze abantu bayo ngesibindi sokukumbula inkosi yabo. Ku tshiwo njalo ke ukubizwa kwenkosi; njengaloku ku tiwa ukubongwa kwenkosi yakwazulu, ku tiwe, "Wena, wa dhla Ubani e be zalwa ng' Ubani; a kwa ba 'ndaba zaluto." I bongwa ke ngokwenza kwempi yayo. Lawo 'mandhla aw enziwa impi, i ye 'kutata izibongo zokuba ku bongwe inkosi ngazo. Ku njalo ke a ku bonakali ukuba kw enze yona ukqobo, noma kw enze abantu bayo na.

Among the Amazulu the chief is praised for the conduct of his people among the enemy; they conquer, and it is not said that the conquest was made by the king's people. For instance, if a powerful army appears on the high lands, and the other army is below, a wise officer says, "O, the place is bad; we shall be borne down; our position is bad; kneel, and stab them in the bowels." If they succeed by this stratagem, their chief may be called by the name U-gukqa-ba-dele, as though it was he who did it, when forsooth it was his people through the bravery which the recollection of their chief gave them. This is the manner, then, in which kings get names; as it is said when lauding the king of the Amazulu, "You who ate up So-and-so, the son of So-and-so; and it was nothing to you." So the chief is praised for the conduct of his army. The power which is exhibited by the army is the source from which the lauds of the chief are taken. So it is that it is not clear whether it was done by him in person or by his people.

Hence it appears certain that the word Utikzo is the laud-giving name of an ancient hero, and that it was given in consequence of some conflict in which he repulsed enemies more powerful from numbers than himself by the stratagem of kneeling, and so causing them to approach him under the impression that they could make an easy prey of him.

## THE LORD OF HEAVEN.

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In the previous pages we meet with frequent allusions to a lord above or heavenly lord. Thunder and lightning and aerial changes appear to be the only natural phenomena which have attracted the notice of the natives of this part of Africa, and led them to believe in a personal power above nature. Struck with terror by a thunder storm, they encourage each other by asserting that they have committed no crime against the powerful being in heaven who wields the lightning, and that he is not angry, but merely playing. But we shall be much mistaken if we hasten to conclude from this that because they speak of a heavenly lord, they have any conception of him which identifies him with God.

In almost every country there is some such notion of a heavenly being,—a relic possibly of heaven-worship; or it may be merely a natural suggestion of the human mind, springing up spontaneously among different peoples, and every where leading to a similar conclusion, that where there are such manifestations of power, there is also a personal cause.

There is the Indian Indra, called also "the lord of heaven;" the Zeus and Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans; the Esquimaux Pirk-soma; the Mau or Ye-whe of Whydah; the So or Khevioso of Dahome; the Kaang or chief in the sky of the Bushmen; and the Thor of our own ancestors.

We have already seen that the Dahomans speak of thunder in the same way as the natives of these parts; they do not say it is the sign of an angry chief, but of a chief who is rejoicing or playing. Arbousset says that among the Bechuanas, "when it thunders every one trembles; if there are several together, one asks the other with uneasiness, 'Is there any one amongst us that devours the wealth of others?' All then spit on the ground, saying, 'We do not devour the wealth of others.' If a thunderbolt strikes and kills one of them, no one complains, none weep; instead of being grieved, all unite in say-

ing that the lord is delighted, (that is to say, he has done right,) with killing that man." (*Op. cit.*, p. 323.) In like manner among the natives of Natal, if the lightning kills their cattle, they neither complain nor mourn, but say, "The lord has taken his own." Neither do they cry the funeral wail over those who have been killed in this manner, lest, as they say, they should summon the lightning to kill them too. It is not lawful for them to touch the body of a person killed with lightning, until the doctor has come and applied medicines to the dead, and to the living of the village to which he belonged.—Among the Romans those struck with lightning were not buried, neither are they among the Dahomans; but they cut from the corpse lumps of flesh, which they chew without eating, crying to the passers by, "We sell you meat!—fine meat!—Come and buy!" (*Burton. Mission to the King of Dahome. Vol. II., p. 142.*)

The following statement by an intelligent, educated Christian native will show how utterly indistinct and undeveloped is their notion respecting a heavenly lord:—

<p>Indaba ngenkosi yezulu a ku bonakali kakulu okona ku tshiwoyo ngayo. Ngokuba lapa izulu li tshaye kona, ku tiwa, "Inkosi i tukutele." Ku tshiwo ngokutshaya kwalo. A kw ahlukaniwa kakulu ukuti e yona 'nkosi i tshayayo i i pi, noma unyazi, noma unyazi lu amandhla ayo. Ku tshiwo ngonyazi ku tiwe, "Inkosi i tshayile." Kepa maningi amakosi a tshiwo abantu, nezilwane amakosi, inhlatu nebubesi; kepa loko noma ku tshiwo ku ya bulawa; ku ya bonakala ukuti a ku lingani nenkosi yezulu.</p>	<p>It is by no means clear what is really said about the lord of heaven. For when the heaven [lightning] has struck any place, it is said, "The lord is angry." This is said because of the lightning stroke. It is not very clear which is the lord that strikes—whether it is the lightning, or whether the lightning is the lord's power. It is said of the lightning, "The lord has struck." But there are many who are called lords by men, and even beasts, as the boa and the lion; but although they are thus named, they are notwithstanding killed, that is, their being called lords is not the same as giving the name lord to the lord of heaven.</p>
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Ku kona inyoní yezulu ; i ya bulawa nayo ; y e/la ngesikati sokutshaya kwonyazi, i sale pansí ; a ku tshiwo futi ukuti i yona i inkosi ; a kw a/lukile kakulu ngenkosi ukuba i i pi kunonyazi kunayo e sezulwini. Si zwa ku tiwa ku kona abantu nje ezulwini na pansí kwom/laba futi. Kulukuni ke ukwazi labo 'bantu aba ngapansi kwom/laba ukuba ukuma kwabo ku njani na, na ngapezulu futi a b' aziwa uma ba njani nokuuma kwabo. Izwi lodwa eli tshoyo ukuti ba kona.

There is a bird of heaven,<sup>30</sup> it too is killed ; it comes down when the lightning strikes the earth, and remains on the ground ; but neither is it said to be the lord ; it is not very clear which is meant by lord, the lightning, or the lord which is in heaven. We hear it said there are men in heaven and under the earth. But it is hard to understand what is the condition of these underground men ; neither do we know what is the condition of those who are above. All we know is that it is said they are there.

Among the Amazulu, when there is a thunder storm, they say :

Li ya duma, li ya na likamjokwane, likapunga nomageba ; likagukqabadele.

The heaven of Umjokwane is thundering and raining, the heaven of Upunga and of Umageba ; the heaven of Ugukqabadele.

The first three of these names are izibongo of the Amazulu, that is, of the royal family, the names of ancient chiefs. But Ugukqaba-

<sup>30</sup> "The bird of heaven" is a bird which is said to descend from the sky when it thunders, and to be found in the neighbourhood of the place where the lightning has struck. The heaven-doctors place a large vessel of amasi mixed with various medicines near a pool such as is frequently met with on the tops of hills ; this is done to attract the lightning, that it may strike in that place. The doctor remains at hand watching, and when the lightning strikes the bird descends, and he rushes forward and kills it. It is said to have a red bill, red legs, and a short red tail like fire ; its feathers are bright and dazzling, and it is very fat. The bird is boiled for the sake of the fat, which is mixed with other medicines and used by the heaven-doctors to puff on their bodies (pepeta) and to anoint their lightning-rods, that they may be able to act on the heavens without injury to themselves. The body is used for other purposes as medicine. A few years ago some peacocks' feathers were sold at a great price among the natives of Natal, being supposed to be the feathers of this bird.

dele is said to be a new name, invented for that Lord of heaven of whom the white man speaks to them. It means the Unconquerable (see p. 114). This is explained in the following account :—

Le 'ndaba yokuti, "Izulu likapunga nomageba nomjokwane," a ku vunywanga ukuba ku be kona into enkulu kunenkosi. Ubukulu bezulu kwa tiwa obukapunga, yena e inkosi enkulu yakwazulu; ngokuba u nga bona ngaloku ukuba into yokukukumeza umuntu a bizwe ngokutiwa nezulu elake.

Ku be ku ti uma ku kona umlola o vela pakati kwomuzi, w' enziwa inkosi. Njengaloku Utshaka wa ka wa fafaza igazi lenkomo esigodhlweni ebusuku, e ti i kona e ya 'kubona uma izinyanga zi kqinile ini ngokunuka abantu. Kepa a zi nukanga ka/le; wa zi bulala zonke, kupela ya ba nye eya ti, "Kw enziwe izulu." Loko ke ukuti, "Ngi za 'kunuka izulu na?" Kupela ke; abantu b' azi ukuba u tsho izulu njalo, u tsho Utshaka; ngokuba nezulu ku tiwa elake. Loko a ku 'siminya; ukukuliswa kwenkosi nje. Ngokuba ku tshiwo ku tiwa, i ngangezintaba, ku tshiwo izintaba ezinkulu. Kepa ku be ku nge njalo, ngokuba uma

As regards the saying, "The heaven of Upunga and of Umageba and Umjokwane, it is not permitted that there should be any thing greater than the chief. The greatness of the heaven was said to belong to Upunga, who was a great Zulu chief; for you can see by this that it is merely something done for the purpose of exalting a man when it is said that the heaven too belongs to him.

It used to be said if any omen happened in a village, that it was occasioned by the chief. For instance, Utshaka once sprinkled the blood of a bullock in the royal house during the night, saying by that means he should know if the diviners were true when they pointed out offenders. But they did not divine rightly, and he killed them all but one, who said, "It was done by the heaven," and asked, if he could point out the heaven as the offender? That was all he said; and the people understood that by the heaven he meant Utshaka; for the heaven too was said to be his. This is not true; it is a mere exaltation of the chief. For they say he is as big as the mountains, meaning great mountains. But it is not so; for if he is standing or sitting at the foot of

e pansi kwaleyo 'ntaba, 'emi noma e Alezi, i nga m fiġla, a nga bona-kali. Ukukuliswa kwomuntu nje.

Futi, leli 'zwi lokuti Ugukqabadele, a si lo igama likatshaka noma Usenzangakona. Leli 'lizwi li vele lapa esilungwini ; kwa tiwa igama lenkosi e pezulu. Ngokuba kukqala, lapa kwa fika Amabunu, kwa ba kona ukufunga ngokuti inyaniso, si fungiswa abalungu ; ngokuba awakiti amakosi a ba w' azi noma umuntu u ti ni. Kwa ba kona nokuti, "Tikzo o pezulu ;" nokuti, "Ngi funga inkosi e pezulu," nokufela umunwe ngamate a kombe pezulu a ti, "I nga ngi tabata, a ngi kw azi loko." Izwi lokuti Ugukqabadele, ku tshiwo inkosi e pezulu. Kepa ukugukqa isibonakalisosamandġla, ngokuba ku tiwa uma indoda i funa ukuba i zipase impela, i tate amandġla onke, i ya gukqa ngedolo, ukuze i nga suswa kuleyo 'ndawo ; lowo 'muntu o lwa nayo u ya 'ku i shiya. I lona ke izwi lokuti "ba-dele," ukuti, ba m shiya lapo e gukqe kona.

the mountain it would hide him, and he could not be seen. It is the mere exaltation of a human being.

Further, the word Ugukqabadele is not a name of Utshaka or Usenzangakona. It is a name which has arisen here among the English, as a name for the lord of heaven. For at first when the Dutch came, the white men used to make us swear to the truth of what we said ; for they did not understand what a man said when he swore by our chiefs ; so the oath was, "Utikzo o pezulu," God of heaven ; or, "I swear by the Lord of heaven," and one spat on his finger and pointed towards heaven and said, "May He take me if I know this thing." The word Ugukqabadele means the Lord of heaven. And kneeling is a sign of strength ; for it is said, if a man wish to make himself very firm, and avail himself of all his strength, he kneels, that he may not be moved from his place ; and the man who is fighting with him will go away. That, then, is what is meant by "ba-dele," They pass on or have enough, that is, they leave him when he has knelt.

AN old native, in expressing his gratitude for some act of kindness, said, pointing towards heaven, "Nkosi, elako ilanga," Sir, the sun is yours. On asking the meaning of this, I received the following explanation:—

Kwazulu kwa tatwa igama le-zulu; uma li duma, kwa tiwa, "La duma izulu lenkosi." Ku nga tshiwo umninilo owa l' enza-yo; ku tshiwo umuntu o inkosi nje; wa kuliswa ngokuti izulu elake. Abantu abaningi se be kuleka kwabanye ngokuti, "Wena wapakati, nezulu elako; konke okwako."

Be tsho ngokuba ngapambili kwabo be nga boni 'mumbe, kupela inkosi leyo, e yona i nga ti uma i tsho ngaleso 'sikati ukuti, "Ubani ka fe manje," nembala ku be njalo. Ba tsho ke ba ti, "Lowo 'muntu umninizulu; konke okwake." A kw anele kubo ukudumisa omkulu uma be ng' etulanga izulu li be pezu kwake; a ba kolwa; ba ya tanda ukutola ubukulu bonke, ba bu beke pezu kwalowu 'muntu.

Ku njalo ke ukukuleka kwabantu abamnyama; ngokuba inkosi i b' i nga tsho ukuti, "Ai; ni y' eduka; a si lo lami izulu nelanga; ku nomniniko; ngi mncinane mina." I b' i bhaka ukuba ku

Among the Amazulu they use the name of heaven; and when it thunders they say, "The heaven of the chief thundered." They do not mean the owner of the heaven who made it, but a mere man who is a chief; he is exalted by saying the heaven is his. And many are now in the habit of making obeisance to others, saying, "Thou of the inner circle of greatness, the heaven is thine; all things are thine."

They say thus because they see no one else but the chief himself, who if he choose can command any particular person to die, and he will die at once. And so they say, "That man is the owner of heaven; and every thing is his." It does not suffice them to honour a great man, unless they place the heaven on his shoulders; they do not believe what they say; they merely wish to ascribe all greatness to him.

Such, then, is the reverence of black men; for the chief did not say, "No; you are ascribing to me what does not belong to me; the heaven and the sun are not mine; they have their own owner; for my part I am insignificant." He expected to have it said always

tiwe elayo njalo ; se be tsho njalo abakwiti kwabam/lope.

Ku kona indaba pakati kwabantu abamnyama. Ku ti ngosuku lapa ku puma impi ngalo, lokupela inkosi se i /langanise amaband/la onke ayo, i kuluma nawo ; nge-mva kwaloko kw enziwe ihhubo eli vusa usikisiki lokuba izin/iziyo zi fudumale ngokunga impi i nga ba kona ngaleso 'sikati ; lokupela izulu li kwebile, li pendule ngomoya omubi, ku tiwe, "Izulu lenkosi li y' ezwa ukuba inkosi ibu/lungu." Ngaloko ke kwa kqiniswa ngokuti, "Izulu elenkosi," emakosini amakulu ; ngokuba lapa i /langanise impi yayo, nezulu li ya pendula, noma li be li sile.

that the heaven was his ; and now our people address white men in the same way.

It happens among black men when the chief calls out an army and he has collected all his bands, he addresses them, and then they sing a song which excites their passions, that their hearts burn with the desire of seeing their enemy ; and though the heaven is clear, it becomes clouded by a great wind which arises. And the people say, "The heaven of the chief feels that the chief is suffering." Therefore it was affirmed among great chiefs, that the heaven is the chief's ; for when he assembles his troops the heaven clouds over, although it had been quite bright.

ANOTHER native, named Ududula, who was a great courtier, whose highest notion of politeness was the highest hyperbole of praise, wished to borrow half-a-crown, which I had no wish to lend. At length he said, "Mfundisi, u ng' ubaba," Teacher, you are my father. I asked, "How ?" He replied, "Wa dabuka em/labeni, wa kula, wa ba ngaka ; mina be ngi ngaka nje," You broke off from the earth, and grew as big as this, (placing his hand six feet above the ground ; ) but for my part I only grew as high as this, (placing his hand about a foot and a half from it.) By this he meant to say that I was not born like other men, but came out of the ground, like Unkulunkulu.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Arbousset appears to have noticed a similar custom. Yet his statement may have been made from not understanding the meaning of such phrases as "Inkosi yo/llanga" (see Note 30, p. 14) :—"They



It appears, therefore, that in the native mind there is scarcely any notion of Deity, if any at all, wrapt up in their sayings about a heavenly chief. When it is applied to God, it is simply the result of teaching. Among themselves he is not regarded as the Creator, nor as the Preserver of men; but as a power, it may be nothing more than an earthly chief, still celebrated by name,—a relic of the king-worship of the Egyptians; another form merely of ancestor-worship.

A lad of the Waiiau or Ajawa tribe, living on the Eastern coast of Lake Nyassa, informs me that among them the Rainbow is called Umlungu, that is, God; for Umlungu is the word they there use for the Supreme Being and supernatural powers. They also call the Supreme Being Lisoka, the Invisible, when they wish to distinguish him from the Rainbow.<sup>82</sup>—Among the Dahomans, the Rainbow is wor-

have no idol but he; it is before him, literally, that they prostrate themselves. He grants them permission to live, or he slaughters them according to his caprice. Can the devil really have whispered to the Zula (the celestial) that he is a god? Be this as it may, many of the Matebeles, of the same people, believe, on the word of their princes, that the ancestors of these have sprung from the reeds of a fountain, instead of being born of a woman, as other men are." (*Op. cit.*, p. 231.)—But the Amazulu are so called, not because they have arrogated to themselves the title of "Celestials," but from Uzulu, an ancient chief. He, however, may have obtained that name from the ascription to him of heavenly power. U-izulu, Thou art the heaven, became soon converted into the proper name, Uzulu.

<sup>82</sup> In Rowley's *Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* we find the following account of the religion of the people in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa:—

"Both Manganja and Ajawa seemed to have a better idea of the Deity than most savage tribes. The Manganja called God, Pambi, or Mpambi; the Ajawa, Mulungu. Neither, as I have elsewhere said, looked upon Him as a God of wrath; indeed, they did not appear to assign any wrathful attribute to Him, nor did they in any way make Him the author of evil; they supposed evil to proceed from malevolent spirits—the Mfiti. We never, therefore, found them offering up human sacrifices in order to avert God's anger. If great danger, either famine or war, threatened them, they would assemble at an appointed place, and in an appointed way, offer up prayer to God to deliver them from the famine, or to give them the victory in the war. We saw instances of this. At Magomero, soon after the commencement of the first rainy season after we were in the land, there was a solemn assem-

shipped under the name of Danh, the heavenly snake. (*Burton. Op. cit., p. 148.*)

blage for prayer. The ground had been prepared, the seed sown; the rains came, the corn sprang up—all seemed as we desired it; and then the rains ceased: day by day, week by week, and no rain; the fierce sun seemed withering the young corn, famine appeared imminent. Chigunda assembled his people in the bush outside the village, then marched with them in procession to the appointed place for prayer, a plot of ground cleared and fenced in, and in the middle of which was a hut, called the prayer hut. The women attended as well as the men, and in the procession the women preceded the men. All entered the enclosure, the women sitting on one side of the hut, the men on the other; Chigunda sat some distance apart by himself. Then a woman named Mbudzi, the sister of Chigunda it was said, stood forth, and she acted as priestess. In one hand she had a small basket containing Indian corn meal, in the other a small earthen pot containing the native beer, pombi—the equivalent, doubtless, to the ancient offering of corn and wine. She went just into the hut, not so far but what she could be seen and heard. She put the basket and the pot down on either side of her. Then she took up a handful of the meal and dropped it on the floor, and in doing this called out in a high-pitched voice, 'Imva Mpanbi! Adza mvula!' (Hear thou, O God, and send rain!) and the assembled people responded, clapping their hands softly, and intoning—they always intone their prayers—'Imva Mpanbi!' (Hear thou, O God!) This was done again and again until the meal was expended, and then, after arranging it in the form of a sugar loaf, the beer was poured, as a libation, round about it. The supplications ceased, Mbudzi came out of the hut, fastened up the door, sat on the ground, threw herself on her back; all the people followed her example, and while in this position they clapped their hands and repeated their supplication for several minutes. This over, they stood up, clapped hands again, bowing themselves to the earth repeatedly while doing so; then marched to where Chigunda was sitting, and danced round about him like mad things. When the dance ceased, a large jar of water was brought and placed before the chief; first Mbudzi washed her hands, arms, and face; then water was poured over her by another woman; then all the women rushed forward with calabashes in their hands, and dipping them into the jar threw the water into the air with loud cries and wild gesticulations. And so the ceremonies ended."

## NOTE.

SINCE writing Note 62, p. 91, on the Shade or Shadow of a man, I have found that many of the natives connect the shade with the spirit to a much greater extent than I supposed.

Their theory is not very consistent with itself nor very intelligible, neither is it easy to understand on what kind of observation it is founded. It is something of this kind. They say the shadow—that evidently cast by the body—is that which will ultimately become the *itongo* or spirit when the body dies. In order to ascertain if this was really the meaning, I asked, “Is the shadow which my body casts when I am walking, my spirit?” The reply was, “No; it is not your *itongo* or spirit,”—(evidently understanding me to mean by “my spirit” an ancestral guardian spirit watching over me, and not my own spirit)—“but it will be the *itongo* or ancestral spirit for your children when you are dead.” It is said that the long shadow shortens as a man approaches his end, and contracts into a very little thing. When they see the shadow of a man thus contracting, they know he will die. The long shadow goes away when a man is dead; and it is that which is meant when it is said, “The shadow has departed.” There is, however, a short shadow which remains with the corpse and is buried with it. The long shadow becomes an *itongo* or ancestral spirit.

In connection with this, the natives have another superstition. If a friend has gone out to battle, and they are anxious about him, they take his sleeping-mat and stand it upright in the sun. If it throws a long shadow, he is still living. If a short one, or none at all, he is dead!

PART II.

AMATONGO;

OR,

ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

AMATONGO ;  
OR,  
ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

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<p>BA tí amatongo into a ba vela nayo kukqala ekuveleni kwabo. Ba vela se ku tiwa, “Ku kona amatongo;” kwa ba ukuba nabo b’azi ukuti ku kona amatongo. A ku ’nto a ba vela nje ba se be ya bona ukuti amatongo.</p> <p>A si ’nto e velayo ngasemva kwokucela kwabantu, uma ba wa bone ba ti, “Nank’ amatongo.” Izinkomo kambe za vela, ba zi bona, ba ti, “Nazi izinkomo,” zi vela ngemva kwabo. Ku ya bonakala ukuba a si kulumi ngokucela kwomuntu wokukqala; lapa</p>	<p>MEN say they possessed Amatongo as soon as they came into being.<sup>1</sup> When they came into being, men already spoke of there being Amatongo; and hence they too knew that they existed. It is not something which as soon as they were born they saw to be Amatongo.</p> <p>It is not something which came into being immediately after men, which when they saw they said, “Those are Amatongo.” They saw cattle indeed, which came into being, and said, “Those are cattle,” they having come into being immediately<sup>2</sup> after themselves. It is evident that we are not speaking of the origin of the first</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Not at the time of the creation, but of their own birth. There is no one now who can remember when the Amatongo were first spoken of. As soon as he came to years capable of understanding, he heard others speak of the Amatongo, as they had heard others who were older than themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Note the distinction between *ngasemva* and *emva*.

si ti ukuvela kwabantu si kuluma ngemva kwake, ngokuba a kwaziwa ukuma kwowokukqala. Si tsho ke ukuti sa vela nawo tina 'ba vele se ku tshiwo ukuti amatongo, ku tshiwo abapambili.

Kwa tsho abokukqala bonke ke ; kwa ba aba velayo ba se be vela se be ba tshela wona amatongo, ba w' azi ke ukuti a kona amatongo. Kw azise futi ukuti kona kukqala ba ti be vela nje, ba be vela kanye nezinyanga ezona za ba keansisela ukuti a kona. Ba ti ke, 'abiwa umuntu wokukqala, owa ti, "Ku kona amatongo a inyoka." Ununtu wokukqala Umvelinqangi, Unkulunkulu. 'Aziwa ke izizwe zonke. A kwa ba ko 'sizwe esa ti, "Tina 'basekutini ka li ko kwiti itongo."

Izizwe zonke za bonga amatongo, ngokuba kwa tsho Umveli-

man : when we say the origin of men we speak of those who came after him, for the standing of the first man is unknown. So we, who came into being when men who preceded us already spoke of there being Amatongo, say, " We came into being possessed of them."

All the first men, then, spoke of the Amatongo ; and they told those who came into being after them, as soon as they came into being, that there are Amatongo. And further in the beginning, as soon as they came into being, they had doctors<sup>3</sup> who taught them that there are Amatongo. And so they said that the Amatongo were created<sup>4</sup> by the first man, who said, "There are Amatongo who are snakes." The first man is Umvelinqangi, Unkulunkulu. And thus all nations knew of the Amatongo. There was not a single nation which said, " We people of such a country have no Itongo."

All nations worshipped the Amatongo, because Umvelinqangi

<sup>3</sup> The izinyanga or doctors are thus represented as the appointed teachers of the people. They are, no doubt, the relic of an ancient priesthood.

<sup>4</sup> The native who relates this does not, he says, mean that when Unkulunkulu was speaking to primitive men, Amatongo were already in existence ; but speaking of the future as already present, he appointed the spirits of the dead to be the protectors and helpers of the living:—that he said, "There are Amatongo," but the people looked around, but were unable to see them until death had deprived them of their parents, and then they addressed prayers to them, received visits from them in dreams, or in the form of snakes ; and sacrificed to them.

ngangi, owa ba tshelako, wa ti, "Ni bona nje, into e ngi ni tshela yona; ngi ni tshela amatongo, ni bongwe wona; ngi ni tshela izinyanga zokubula, ni bule kuzo, zi ni tshela uma ununtu e gula, e guliswa amatongo; zi ya 'ku li zwa ukuti u gula nje, u guliswa amatongo."

Zonke ke izizwe ke za se zi ti, noma be ya 'kuklasela empini; noko i ba bulala, ba ti, abakubo labo abafleyo be bulewe impi, ba ti, "Li si fulatele elakwiti itongo." Ba ti, "Ini ukuba abantu ba ze ba pele bonke, impi ku nga buyi noyedwa na, nomuntu na?"

A ti um' e kona osindileyo, a ti, "Mina, ngi kqabuke, ngi sinda se; ku be se ku tiwa nje, ma si pele sonke; kw ale umuntu wa ba nunye; ngabe si te si kqedwa mpi nje, yena owa be pi na? Ngi kqabuke, ngi sinda; ngi be ngi nga s' azi uma ngi za 'usinda, ngi bona abantu bonke bakwiti se be selila."

commanded them to do so, saying, "You see, then,<sup>5</sup> I tell you about the Amatongo, that you may worship them. I tell you about divining Izinyanga,<sup>6</sup> that you may enquire of them, and they tell you when a man has been made ill by the Amatongo; they shall hear the Itongo declaring that he has been made ill by the Amatongo."

So all nations used to think when they were about to attack an army, that they should be assisted by the Itongo; and although they were killed by the army, the friends of those who were killed said, "The Itongo of our people has turned its back on us." They asked, "How is it that all our people have at length come to an end, and not one man come back from the army?"

If there is one who has escaped, he says, "As for me I escaped I know not how. The Amatongo had decreed that we should all die; one man<sup>7</sup> would not assent; when we were destroyed by the enemy, where was he I wonder? I escaped I know not how; I no longer expected to be saved, when I saw all our people destroyed."

<sup>5</sup> A mode of claiming attention, or commanding silence.

<sup>6</sup> *Izinyanga*.—It is, perhaps, better to retain the native word than to translate it by a word which does not fairly represent it. *Inyanga*, generally rendered *doctor*, means a man skilled in any particular matter = *magus*. Thus, an *inyanga yokubula* is a doctor or wise man of smiting, that is, with divining rods—a diviner. *Inyanga emitshi*, a doctor of medicines. *Inyanga yensimbi*, a smith, &c.

<sup>7</sup> That is, one man among the Amatongo—one of the Amatongo.

Ba ti ukukgala kwabo, ba ti, "Amadhlozi akwiti mabi! Ini ukuba umuzi u pelele empini wonke na? Amadoda angaka na! Impi ukupela na i kqedwe impi na! Kangaka a be fulatele, kw e-nze njani? Into a be nga i tsho si zwe uma kw' enza njani na? A ze a kgede umuzi na? u pele wonke na? Yena o kqabuke e sindisa ubani lo, u be ye ngapi na? U be nga hambini ini pakati kwamanye amadhlozi na?" Ba tsho njalo abakalayo.

Na labo abafayo empini se be ya 'kuba a wona amadhlozi futi.

Ba ti abasindileyo ab' amadhlozi akubo e ba bhekile, ba sinde, ba ti, "Si sindiswe amadhlozi akwiti." Ba fike ba buye, be vela empini, ba fike, ba wa gwazele izinkomo; ba bongwe ukuba be ti a ba pilisile; ba zitele ngenyongo emzimbeni, be ti, "Ma kacakambe, a be m/lope, a nga bi mnyama," ukuze a ba pilise ngolunye usuku futi. Ba bongwe ku be ku/le.

Ku be ku kalwa ngalapa be file,

At first the people say, "The Amatongo of our people are good for nothing! Why has the whole village perished in the fight? So many men as there were! Our whole army destroyed by the enemy! How did it happen that they turned the back on so many? How is it that they never mentioned any thing to us that we might understand why they were angry? Have they at last destroyed the whole village? has it come utterly to an end? Where had the Itongo who saved So-and-so gone? Why was he not among the other Amatongo?" Those who weep for the dead say thus.

And those who died in the fight will now become Amatongo.

And those who escaped, whose national Amatongo looked on them and saved them, say, "We have been saved by the Amadhlozi of our people." When they come back from the army, they sacrifice cattle to the Amatongo; they return thanks because they think they have saved them; they pour the gall of the sacrifices on their bodies, saying, "Let the Amatongo be bright and white, and not dark, that they may save us on another occasion." They return thanks with glad hearts.

And there is funeral lamenta-



ku tiwe, idhlozi labo limnyama. Ba ze b' enzele ukuze ba ti noko nga inkosi yabo i ba pindelisa empini, i ti, ma ba hlasele, amadhlozi akubo a nga soli 'luto, ngokuba ba wa lungisile, ba wa kcacambisa; se be ya 'kuti noko be fika kuyo impi se b' azi ukuti, "Umakazi loku sa wa lungisa amadhlozi, a ya 'kuti s' ona ngani na?" Lapa se be bona impi a ba ya 'kulwa nayo, ba kumbule amadhlozi, ba kcabang' izinto a ba z' enzayo, be wa kcola um' a be ma'le; ba ku bone loko enhliziyweni zabo, b' az' ukuti, sa wa lungisa amadhlozi akwiti; noko si fa, ka si yi 'kutsho ukuti i kona into a wa be e i kaleda.

Mbala ba tukutele ke, ba ti, "A ya 'kuba a si fulatele nje." Ngokuba uma be ya empini, ba ti, "Si hamba nawo amadhlozi akwiti," ba lwe ke nanye impi. A ti um' amadhlozi akubo em'lope, 'ale ukuba ba fe, ku be i bona be bulala abantu ngan'laneye, ba bone ke ukuti si be si hambe namadhlozi

tion where they have lost their people; they say, their Idhlozi is dark. At length they sacrifice, that if perchance their chief lead them again to attack the enemy, the Amatongo of their people may have no cause of complaint, because they have made amends to them, and made them bright; and now when they reach the enemy they know what they have done, and say, "Can it be, since we have made amends to the Amadhlozi, that they will say we have wronged them by anything?" When they see the enemy with which they are about to fight, they remember the Amadhlozi, and think of what they have done for them, by sacrificing to them that they may be propitious; they see that in their hearts, and know that they have made amends to the Amadhlozi of their people, and that though they die they cannot say there is any thing of which the Amadhlozi have reason to complain.

So truly they are very brave, saying, "The Amatongo will turn their backs on us without cause." For when they go to the enemy they say, "The Amadhlozi of our people go with us;" and so they fight with the enemy. And if their Amadhlozi are white and do not allow them to die, and they kill on their side only, then they see that their Amadhlozi go with

kulabo abafileyo ba pike abaseleyo, ba ti, "A si nama-dhlozi Ini uma si fe si pele na? Amadhlozi akwiti 'ahlulwe amadhlozi akwabanye abantu na?" Ngokuba be ti aba nga fanga, ba ti, "'Ahlulwe amadhlozi akwabani, 'ahlulwe akwiti "

Ku njalo ke kubantu abamnyama, a ba velanga nje ukuba be ti, "Amatongo ka wa ko " Ba vela se ku tiwa, "Amatongo a kona " Kodwa ke nati ke ka s'azi uma lowo 'muntu owa vela kukqala wa za wa ti nje, "Ku kona amatongo " U kona ini umuntu owa ke wa ti e hamiba wa be inyoka na? Ngokuba nati si ja kolwa lapo, uma Umvelinqangi wa za wa ti, idhlozi li inyoka nje, ngani Loku umuntu e suka a fe nje e nge namsila, nati lapo ka si kolwa enyokeni, loku noma abantu belele, u ti a nga pupa inyoka, a papame masinyane, 'etuke, a ti uma e pupa umuntu owa fayoy, a kulume naye izindaba ekupupeni, inyoka umuntu e i pupa ka kulumi nayo izindaba, u y'etuka Ngi ti mina, amadhlozi ka wa ko a nemisila Umvelinqangi tina si ti w'

then they see that their Amadhlozi go with them But on the part of those who are conquered, those who survive say, "We have no Amadhlozi Why have we died utterly? Why have our Amadhlozi been conquered by the Amadhlozi of other people?" For those who have not died say, "The Amadhlozi of So-and-so have been conquered by the Amadhlozi of our tribe "

Thus it is with black men, they did not come into being when it was said, "There are no Amatongo " They came into being when it was already said, "There are Amatongo " But we do not know why the man which first came into being said, "There are Amatongo " Was there ever a man who whilst living said he was a snake? For we too do not understand why Umvelinqangi said, "The Idhlozi is a snake " For a man dies having no tail, and even we in that respect do not believe in a snake, for if a man is asleep, and dreams of a snake, he awakes immediately and starts, but if he dream of a dead man, he speaks with him of affairs in a dream, but if he dream of a snake, he does not talk with it, he starts For my part, I say there are no Amadhlozi with tails And we say Umvelinqangi made a mistake when he said,

eduka yena um' a t' abantu ba izinyoka Ngokuba nabantu abadala aba 'madoda si ti lapa si buzayo si ti, " Amadhlozi lawa ku tiwa a izinyoka nje ngani?" ba ti, " Ngoba kw amadhlozi " Si buze tina, si ti, " Ake ni si tsheli abantu abafa be nemisila na?" Ba kohlwe lapa, ba nga si tsheli Si ti ke, " O, imi ukuba ni nga si tsheli amadhlozi a izinyoka na?" Ba tsho njalo ke, ba kohlwa, ba nga si tsheli uma si zwe Si y' cwa uma be tsho amadhlozi enyokeni, ka si zwa uma inyola idhlozi

" People are snakes " For old men, when we ask why it is said that the Amadhlozi are snakes, say, " Because they are Amadhlozi " And we ask saying, " Just tell us if dead men have tails " They are puzzled there, and cannot tell us And so we say, " O, how is it that you do not tell us whether the Amadhlozi are snakes " So they repeat the same words, they are puzzled and do not tell us, that we may understand We understand if they say, " The Amadhlozi are in snakes," we do not understand if they say, " The snake is an Idhlozi "

*Ukuaba equivalent to Create*

NJENGALOKO lapo inkosi ya tsho, ya ti, " A ku be kona ukukanya," kwa ba kona nje-ngokutsho kwayo inkosi, si ti, " Kw' aliwa imi si ukulanya " Ku njalo ke abantu ba ti, " 'Aliwa amatongo Umvelinqangi," Ba ti futi, " Umuntu wokukqala w' aba amatongo, ukuti, wa wa veza " Ba ti, " Zonke izinto z' abiwa umuntu w kukqala, Unkulunkulu, z' enziwa uye," ngokuba ku ya linana ukwabiwa nokwenziwa

Just as when the Lord said, " Let there be light," and there was light in accordance with the word of the Lord, we say, " The light was created [abiwa] by the Lord " So the people say, " The Amatongo were created [abiwa] by Umvelinqangi " So they say, " The first man created [aba] the Amatongo, that is, he gave them being " They say, " All things were made by the first man, Unkulunkulu, they were made by him," for kwabiwa and ukwenziwa are one man in

Lapa tina ke, tina bantwana bavelayo, si ti, " Alintwana ba bavelayo at the present time, now

ba lahleka. Ini ukuba ba ti ka ba m azi Umvelinqangi na? Abantu abaziyo abafundisi; bona be kulu-ma ngemiteto yenkosi. Yona si i zwayo igama layo, nendodana yayo. Si ya kohlwa uma yena umuntu wokukqala wa be ubani; loku si zwa Unkulunkulu Umvelinqangi; si ng' azi uba yena Unkulunkulu lo wa zalwa ubani.

Loku abelungu ba fika nje naba-fundisi, sa si li zwa igama lokuti, u kona Utikxo. Ku ya s' ahlula okutshiwo abantu, uma ku nga bi ko umuntu o ti Unkulunkulu wa dabuka kukqala nje, umfazi wake kwa ku ubani, nendodana yake. Loku indodana katikxo si ya i zwa ngabafundisi ukuti Ujesu. Si y' ahluleka; tina si ti ba lahleka. Ini uma ba si tshele Unkulunkulu? Si zwe ukuti be ti wa dabula izizwe zonke ezimnyama; si nga i zwa indawo lap' e kona a zi dabulela kona.

Si kohlwe ke lapo kulabo 'bantu uma be ti s' enziwa Unkulunkulu, Umvelinqangi, (ukuti Umvelinqangi nje, ngokuba a vela kukqala

“Black men are mistaken. Why do they say that they do not know Umvelinqangi? The people who know are the missionaries, who speak of the commandments of the Lord. We hear His name, and that of His Son. We do not know who the first man was; this only we hear, that Unkulunkulu is one with Umvelinqangi; not knowing who was the father of Unkulunkulu.

But since the white men came and the missionaries we have heard it said that there is God. We cannot understand what the black men say, for there is no one who tells us that Unkulunkulu first came into being, and what was his wife's name, and that he had a son. But we hear the missionaries say that Jesus is the son of God. We do not understand what the black men say. We say, “They are mistaken. Why do they tell us about Unkulunkulu? We hear them say that he created all the black nations; but we do not hear of the place where he created them.”

So we do not understand what these people mean, when they say we were made by Unkulunkulu, Umvelinqangi. He is called Umvelinqangi for no other reason but because he came into being first

ngapambili kwabantu.) Ba ti ke, "Wa memeza, wa ti, 'Ma ku vele abantu, ku vele izinto zonke, nezinja, nezinkomo, nezintete, nemiti, notshani.'" Kepa ke si ng' eze s' azi ezin/liziyweni zetu uma si zwa be tsho njalo, be ti izinto z' enziwe Unkulunkulu; si nga u zwa umfula owa be zi dabulela kona izizwe a z' aba Unkulunkulu.

Si ti into e ize leyo kankulunkulu. B' eduka nobuula. A si i zwa into eyona y' enziwa Unkulunkulu. Tina si velayo si vela se be si tshela be ti s' enziwa Unkulunkulu. Si ti, "Into e ize. Ka i ko into yekqiniso lapo; ngoba a ba ko aba ti si y' azi lapa Unkulunkulu a dabulela kona abantu."

Si ti tina si zwa abelungu,—zonna izindaba zenkosi zi sezincwadini. Si ti, "Nampa abakuluma ikqiniso, be ti, 'Inkosi i kona.'" Na manje inkosi i kona. Nati si ti si vela kwa ku tiwa i kona inkosi; i sezulwini, ukuti Utikzo. Indaba

immediately before men.<sup>8</sup> So they say, "He shouted saying, 'Let men come forth; let all things come forth,—both dogs and cattle, and grasshoppers, and trees and grass.'" But we could never understand in our hearts when we heard them say that all things were made by Unkulunkulu; and did not hear the name of the river where Unkulunkulu broke off the nations which he created [aba].

We say this matter about Unkulunkulu is a vain thing. They wandered with folly as a companion. We do not know a single thing that was created by Unkulunkulu. As soon as we were born they told us we were made by Unkulunkulu. We say, it is a vain thing. There is no truth in it; for there are none who say, they know the place where Unkulunkulu broke off the people.

We say we understand the white men,—the true accounts of the Lord which are in books. We say, "Behold the men who speak the truth, when they say, 'The Lord is.'" And even now the Lord is. And we too say that from our birth it was said, the Lord is; He is in heaven; that is,

<sup>8</sup> Note again the force of *nga* before *pambili*: *pambili*, before—any indefinite time before; *ngapambili*, just before, immediately or a short time before.

kankulunkulu a si y azi ; a i kgo-  
 ndeki ka/le ; insumansumane nje.  
 Loku noma be ti, Unkulunkulu  
 wa tuma unwaba, wa ti, a lu yo-  
 kuti ezizweni zabantu, lu yokuti,  
 abantu ma ba nga fi ; ba ti, kwa  
 ti ngasemva kwonwaba wa tuma  
 intulwa ngasemva kwonwaba, u-  
 nwaba se lu hambile ukuya 'kuti,  
 abantu ma ba nga fi ; ya hamba  
 ngasemuva intulo ukuya 'kuti, ma  
 ba fe. Kwa za kwa fika intulo  
 kukqala ; ya fika, ya ti intulo,  
 abantu ma ba fe. Kanti unwaba  
 lu libele ubukwebezane, ya za ya  
 buya intulwa ; kanti unwaba olu  
 tunywa ukukqala, ka lu ka fiki, lu  
 libele ubukwebezane. Lu te se lu  
 ya 'kufika kubantu, se lu fika lu  
 ti, " Ku tiwa, abantu ma ba nga  
 fi." Ba se be ti abantu, kqede lu  
 memeze unwaba, lu tsho njalo, lu  
 ti, " Abantu ma ba nga fi," b' ala  
 abantu, ba ti, " Si bambe elentulo ;  
 se u kuluma ize wena ; izwi e si li  
 hambileyo, si bambe elentulo, yona  
 i fike ya ti, ' Ku tiwa, Abantu ma  
 ba fe.' Nant' igama e si li bambi-  
 leyo. A si y azi leyo 'ndaba o i  
 tshoyo, lunwaba." Tina ke si ti  
 ke, mfundisi, si ti, izindaba zama-  
 nga ; leyo 'ndaba i nge ko. Aba-  
 ntu b' enziwa inkosi. Unkulu-  
 nkulu si ti wa kw azi ngani uku-  
 tuma izilwane ezihukquzela nge-  
 sisu pansu, a ti i zona z' emuka za  
 ya 'kukuluma kubantu indaba na ?  
 Si ti, ba ko/lwa.

God. We do not understand the  
 account of Unkulunkulu ; it is  
 not easily understood ; it is a mere  
 fable. For although they say,  
 Unkulunkulu sent a chameleon  
 to go and tell the nations of men  
 that men were not to die ; and  
 that after the chameleon he sent a  
 lizard to tell men that they were  
 to die ; and the lizard arrived first  
 and said that men must die. The  
 chameleon forsooth loitered at a  
 bush of ubukwebezane, until the  
 lizard came back again, and the  
 chameleon which was sent first  
 had not yet arrived, stopping to  
 eat the ubukwebezane. And when  
 it came to men it said, " Unkulu-  
 nkulu says that men are not to  
 die." And when the chameleon  
 had made this proclamation, men  
 refused to listen, and said, " We  
 have received the word of the  
 lizard ; what you now say is vain ;  
 the word which we have received  
 is that of the lizard, which came  
 and said, ' Unkulunkulu says,  
 Man must die.' That is the word  
 which we have accepted. We do  
 not understand the matter, Cha-  
 meleon, of which you speak." We  
 thus say, Teacher, that these are  
 false accounts ; the tale is not real.  
 Men were made by the Lord.  
 We ask how could Unkulunkulu  
 send animals which creep on their  
 bellies, to take a message to man ?  
 We say they are deceived.

A si y azi indawo lapo Umvelingangi abantu a ba vezela kona, uma ba be kona nje. I ya s' abulula nati le'ndaba; nabadala abafayo ba fa be nga l' azi lelo 'zwe lapa Unkulunkulu a dabulela kona abantu uma ba be kona; nabadala abasala kwabafayo ka ba tsho ukuti, si ya l' azi lelo 'zwe lapa Unkulunkulu a dabulela abantu; nabo ba ya dinga nje ukuba nabo b' ezwe ngendaba ukuti, Unkulunkulu wa dabula izizwe. A b' ezwakali abanye Onkulunkulu balezwe 'zizwe a nga dabulanga Unkulunkulu wakubo. Tina se si ti uma si ba buza si ti, "Ake ni si tshela Unkulunkulu, si zwe," ba ti, "Ka s' azi." Si ti, "N' ezwa kanjani na ukuti kwa ku kona Unkulunkulu na?" Ba ti, "S' ezwa ngabantu abadala aba ngapambili kwetu." Si ti, "Labo aba be ngapambili kwenu b' ezwa ngobani na?" Ba ti ke lapo, "Si ya kohlwa; ka s' azi." Si ti, "Unkulunkulu wa be into e ize nje. Ini uma si ng' ezwa izindaba zake Unkulunkulu uku zi tshela zona izizwe a be z' enza Unkulunkulu na? Ku be i loku ni pika ngokuti kwa ku kona Unkulunkulu

We do not know the place where Umvelingangi gave men being, that they might have life. Neither can we any more than our fathers understand this matter; and the ancients who are dead died without knowing the country where Unkulunkulu created men that they might have life; and the old people who are still living do not say they know the country where Unkulunkulu created men; and they too want to be told about the creation of the nations by Unkulunkulu. Other Onkulunkulu of those nations are not heard of, whom their own Unkulunkulu did not create.<sup>9</sup> And if we say to them, "Just tell us about Unkulunkulu, that we may understand," they reply, "We do not know." We say, "How did you hear that there was Unkulunkulu?" They reply, "We heard it of old men who were before us." We ask, "Of whom did those who were before you hear?" They say, "We cannot tell. We do not know." We say, "Unkulunkulu was a mere vanity. Why do you not understand the accounts of Unkulunkulu, which he told the nations which he made? Since you only assert continually that Unkulunkulu was, how can we understand

<sup>9</sup> He means that there is one supreme Unkulunkulu, from whom all other Onkulunkulu sprang.

njalo na? Si nga zi zwa izindaba  
zake na? Ka si kolwa."

UMPENGULA MRANDA.

what relates to him? We do not  
believe."

ABANTU ba ti ku kona amadhlolzi  
abo. Ba ya kolwa kuloko, ngo-  
kuba ka b'azi ukuba umuntu u ya  
ngapi ekufeni kwake. Ba fumana  
ukuti ukupenduka inyoka ngoku-  
kcbanga kwabo. Ba ti umuntu  
u ya fa; ngemva kwaloku, uma e  
se file, a buye a penduke inyoka;  
ba ti ibizo lenyoka, ba ti, itongo;  
ba kuleka kulo ngoku li /labisa  
izinkomo, ngokuba ba ti izinkomo  
futi ezalo, ba zi piwa ilo; futi ba  
ti, ba pila ngalo; ku ngaloko be li  
/labisa izinkomo. Ba ti, uma be  
za 'ku li /labisa, ba buyise izinko-  
mo en/le, uma be se z' alukile;  
noma zi se sekaya, ba zi butela  
'ndawo nye noma zintatu noma zi-  
ne; ka ba zi buti zonke; ba leta  
lezo ezi neyaku/latshiswa itongo,  
ba zi ngenise esibayeni; ba gakze  
imvalo esangweni, be se be zi kgo-  
kqela. Umnikaziyo e se kuleka  
ematongweni, e ti, "Nansi inkomo  
yenu, nina 'bakwiti;" e se kuleka,  
e ba balisa oyise noninakulu a se

THE people say their Amadhlozi  
exist. They believe in that, for  
they do not know where men go  
when they die. When they  
thought of the matter they dis-  
covered that they turned into  
snakes. They say a man dies,  
and when he is dead, he turns  
into a snake; and they gave that  
snake the name of Itongo, and  
they worship it by sacrificing cat-  
tle, for they say the cattle too be-  
long to it; it is it that gives them  
cattle; and they say it is by it  
they live; therefore they sacrifice  
cattle to it. When they are going  
to sacrifice, they bring home the  
cattle, if they have been driven  
out to pasture; or if they are still  
at home, they drive three or four  
together; they do not collect them  
all; they select those which are  
with the one they are about to  
sacrifice to the Itongo, and drive  
them into the pen; they close the  
gateway with poles, and then drive  
the cattle together in one place.  
The owner of the bullock having  
prayed to the Amatongo, saying,  
"There is your bullock, ye spirits  
of our people;" and as he prays  
naming grandfathers and grand-



ba fa, e ti, "Naku ukudlala kwe-  
nu; ngi ya kcela umzimba omna-  
ndi, ukuba ngi hambe ka/le; na-  
we, banibani, u ngi pate ka/le;  
nawe, banibani," e tsho njalo, e  
balisa ngabo bonke bakwabo a se  
ba fa. Emva kwaloko e be e se  
tata umkonto omunye o za 'ku i  
/laba, e se nyonyoba, e se i gwaza  
em/labankomo, ukuti elu/langoti-  
ni; i be se i kala, i ti, "Eh;" e  
be e se ti umniniyo, "Kala, nko-  
mo yamad/lozi." E se pinda e  
balisa futi ngaloko, ngokuba e ti  
ba m nikela abakubo ukuba a  
hambe ka/le ngaloko 'kukala  
kwenkomo. I be se i /linzwa, se  
i pelile, umniniyo e be e se ka ig-  
zana elincinyane, e se sika um-  
/lwe/le futi, e se u tshisela nga-  
sese negazana, e se li beke ngase-  
futi, e se tata impepo e se basa  
yona, e se beka um/le/wana  
pezu kwempepo, e ti, u pa aba-  
kubo usi olumnandi. Emva  
kwaloko ba be se be i d/la ke  
inyama. Ku pela.

mothers who are dead, saying,  
"There is your food; I pray for a  
healthy body, that I may live  
comfortably; and thou, So-and-so,  
treat me with mercy; and thou  
So-and-so," mentioning by name  
all of their family who are dead;  
and then the one who is going to  
kill the bullock takes an assagai  
and goes cautiously towards it,  
and stabs it in the place where the  
ox is usually stabbed, that is, in  
its side; and then the ox bellows,  
and the owner says, "Cry, ox of  
the Amadhlozi." And then he  
again mentions the Amatongo by  
name, because he thinks they have  
given him health, because of the  
cry of his ox. It is then skinned.  
When the skinning is completed,  
the owner takes a little blood, and  
cuts off a portion of the caul, and  
burns it in a secret place with the  
blood, which also he places in a  
secret place; and he takes incense  
and burns it, having placed the  
caul on the incense, thinking, he  
is giving the spirits of their people  
a sweet savour. After that they  
eat the flesh. That is the end.

Ku ti uma ku fe umuntu kubantu  
abamnyama a fulelwe ngama/la/la.  
Ku zinge ku /lolwa njalo umnini-  
ye lowo 'muntu ofileyo. Noma

WHEN a man dies among black  
men the grave is covered over  
with branches. The person to  
whom the dead man belongs  
watches the grave continually. If

ku fe indodana uyise a linde njalo i/la/la, ukuze ku ti se be bona ukuba i/la/la li bunile ba dele, b' azi a ku ko 'luto olu nga m ki-pako, ngokuba u se bolile. Kepa uma e fumana inyoka ngapezulu, a tsho uma e se buyile lowo 'muntu o be yo/lola, a ti, "O, ngi m fumene nam/la nje e tamele ilanga ngapezulu kweliba."

Ngaloko ke uma e nga buyi ukuya ekaya, be nga m pupi, ku /latshwe inkomo noma imbuzi, ku tiwe, u ya buyiswa en/le ukuba 'eze ekaya; ku ti uma be nga m pupi noma ku njalo, ba /lupeke ngokuti, "Lo 'muntu wa fa ka-njani? a si m honi; itongo lake li mnyama." Ku yiwe enyangeni yobulawo uma ku umuntu womuzi

a son has died, his father watches the branches constantly, that when they see that the branches are rotten they may be satisfied, knowing that nothing can now disturb the remains, for they are rotten. And if he observe a snake on the grave, the man who went to look at the grave says on his return, "O, I have seen him to-day basking in the sun on the top of the grave."

So then if the snake does not come home, or if they do not dream of the dead, they sacrifice an ox or a goat, and it is said he is brought back from the open country to his home. And if they do not dream of him, though the snake has come home, they are troubled and ask, "How did this man die? we do not see him; his Itongo is dark." They go to a doctor of ubulawo,<sup>10</sup> if it is the chief man

<sup>10</sup> *Ubulawo*, A class of medicines, used for cleansing and brightening. Medicines used with the view of removing from the system something that causes dislike, and introducing into it something that will cause love.

There are two kinds used in each case—black ubulawo and white ubulawo; the black "washes," the white "wipes;" the black takes away the "blackness"—"the evil,"—which causes a man to be disliked; the white makes him "white"—causes him to be "bright"—gives him a "beauty,"—which causes him to become an object of love and admiration.

Both black and white ubulawo are roots of plants.

The black is first used. The roots are bruised, mixed with water, and "churned:" when a great deal of froth has been produced by the churning process, it is drunk and the body is washed with it. It is used for about a month. The first time of using it, the medicines are taken to some place where the aloe is abundant; there a large fire is kindled of aloe; and the medicine being prepared is drunk in large quantities; it is emetic, and the contents of the stomach are ejected

omkulu ; ai, a ku tshiwo ngabantu kazana nje. Inyanga i fike i pe/le ubulawo, ku /latshwe imbuzi, yona i nomsindo nokukala ; imvu a i /latshwa ngokuba ku tiwa itongo li ya 'kuba mnyama, ngokuba imvu i isiula, a i namsindo ; a ku vamile ukuba ku /latshiswe itongo ngemvu ; itongo li /latshiswa ngembuzi, yona ku ti umuntu e sa i ti kahu ngosungulo, i be se i bangalasa, ba tokoze ke kakulu, ba ti, " Kala, nkomo kabani, owa ti, wa ti, wa ti " (be tsho izenzo zake). Ba ti, " Si ti, Buya u ze 'kaya, si ku bone nam/la nje. Si ya /lu-

of a large village ; but nothing is done as to the poor. The doctor comes and mixes ubulawo, and a goat is killed, it being an animal which makes a great noise and cries ; but a sheep is not killed, because it is said it will cause the Itongo to be dark ; for a sheep is foolish and makes no noise, and therefore it is not usual to sacrifice a sheep to the Itongo. The Itongo has a goat sacrificed to it ; when a man pricks it with a needle, it at once makes a great noise ; and so they rejoice greatly and say, " Cry, beast of So-and-so, who did such and such and such things " (mentioning the things he did). " We say, Come home again, that we may now see you. We are trou-

into the fire so as to quench it ; the object being that the " badness," which is cast off, may be burnt up and utterly consumed. On subsequent occasions the contents of the stomach are ejected on pathways, that others may walk over it, and take away the " insila " or filth that is the cause of offence which has been cast out.

When the treatment by the black ubulawo has been continued for the proper period, the white is used much in the same way. The roots are bruised, mixed with water, and churned. If the man is using it because he has been rejected by some damsol, he adds to the medicine something belonging to her which has been worn next her skin, especially beads ; whilst churning the medicines he praises the Amatongo, and prays for success. When the froth is produced and rises high above the mouth of the pot, he allows it to subside ; and then takes some of the froth and puts it on his head and sprinkles it over his body ; and then drinks the contents of the pot. It has an emetic effect. But the contents of the stomach are ejected in the cattle-pen. This place is selected because the white ubulawo is a " blessing."

The special circumstances under which such medicines are used are when a youth has been rejected ; or when a man wishes to obtain a favour from a chief or great man ; or when he has been summoned by the chief to answer a charge brought against him ; or under the circumstances narrated in the text. But in the case of " bringing home " the Itongo, the white ubulawo only is used.

peka, uma si nge ze sa ku bona, si ti, u si sola ngani na? loku izinkomo ezako zi mi nje; uma u biza inyama, u nga tsho zi hlatahwe, ku ng' ali 'muntu."

Y elape ke inyanga leyo yobulawo, i bu pehle i m biza, bu bekwewe emsamo. I tsho ukuti, "Ngi ti u za 'ku m bona namhla nje, u kulume naye; noma kade u nga m boni, namhla nje u ya 'uhlambuluka.

Ku njalo ke ukuyiswa kwesituta, si buyiswa ngenkomo na ngobulawo.

bled if we never see you, and ask, why you are angry with us? for all the cattle are still yours; if you wish for meat, you can say so, and the cattle be slaughtered, without any one denying you."

So the doctor of ubulawo practises his art; he mixes the ubulawo, calling the dead man by name, and puts the ubulawo in the upper part of the hut, and says, "I say, you will see him to-day, and talk with him; although you have not seen him for a long time, to-day he will be clear."

Such then is the means employed to bring back a ghost; it is brought back by sacrifice and ubulawo.

*The people do not worship all Amatongo indifferently.*

ABANTU abamnyama a ba kuleki ematongweni onke, abantu abafayo bakubo; kakulu ku kulekwa enhlokweni yalowo 'muzi kulabo 'bantwana balowo 'muzi; ngokuba abadala abafako a ba b' azi nezibongo zabo uma kwa ko obani na. Kepa uyise a ba m aziko u inhloko yokuba ba kgale ngaye, ba gcine ngaye ekukulekeni, ngokuba ba ya m azi yena kakulu, na ngoku ba tanda kwake abantwana bake; ba ya kumbula uku ba pata kwake e se kona, ba linganise loko 'ku ba

BLACK people do not worship all Amatongo indifferently, that is, all the dead of their tribe. Speaking generally, the head of each house is worshipped by the children of that house; for they do not know the ancients who are dead, nor their laud-giving names, nor their names. But their father whom they knew is the head by whom they begin and end in their prayer, for they know him best, and his love for his children; they remember his kindness to them whilst he was living; they compare his

pata kwake e se kona, ba ku mise nokuti, "U sa 'ku si pata kanjalo noma e file. A s' azi uma u ya 'kubuye a bheke aobani ngapandhle kwetu na; 'kupela u ya 'kubheka tina."

Ku njalo ke noma be kuleka kwamaningi amatongo akubo, b' enza ugange olukulu lwoku ba vikelala; kepa uyise u dhlulisisile ekupatweni kwamatongo amanye. Uyise u igugu kakulu kubantwana bake noma e nga se ko. Ku ti labo a se be kulile be m azisisa kakulu ukuba-mnene kwake nobukgawe bake. Ku ti uma ku kona ubu/lungu pakati kwonuzi, indodana enkulu i m bongwe ngezibongo zake a zi zusa um/la e lwa empini, a wa weze ngamazibukwana onke; i m tetisa ngokuti, "Ku nga ze ku fe tina nje. U se u bheke 'bani? A si fe si pele, si bone uma u ya 'ungena pi na? U ya 'kud/la izintete; ku sa yi 'kubizwa 'ndawo uma u bulale owako umuzi."

treatment of them whilst he was living, support themselves by it, and say, "He will still treat us in the same way now he is dead. We do not know why he should regard others besides us; he will regard us only."

So it is then although they worship the many Amatongo of their tribe, making a great fence around them for their protection; yet their father is far before all others when they worship the Amatongo. Their father is a great treasure to them even when he is dead. And those of his children who are already grown up know him thoroughly, his gentleness, and his bravery. And if there is illness in the village, the eldest son lauds him with the laud-giving names which he gained when fighting with the enemy, and at the same time lauds all the other Amatongo; the son reproves the father, saying, "We for our parts may just die. Who are you looking after? Let us die all of us, that we may see into whose house you will enter.<sup>11</sup> You will eat grasshoppers; you will no longer be invited to go any where, if you destroy your own village."

<sup>11</sup> That is, they suggest to the Itongo, by whose ill-will or want of care they are afflicted, that if they should all die in consequence, and thus his worshippers come to an end, he would have none to worship him; and therefore for his own sake, as well as for theirs, he had better preserve his people, that there may be a village for him to enter, and meat of the sacrifices for him to eat.

Ngemva kwaloko ke ngoku m bonga kwabo, b' em' isibindi ngokuti, "U zwile; u za 'kwelapa, izifo zi pume."

Ku njalo ke ukutemba kwabantwana etongweni eli uyise.

Futi uma ku kona inkosikazi yomuzi eyona i zala abantu, noma indoda i nga file, itongo layo li ya patwa kakulu indoda yayo nabantwana bonke. Leyo 'nkosikazi i itongo lokubonisa umuzi. Kepa kakulu uyise njalo o yena e inlloko yomuzi.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

After that, because they have worshipped him, they take courage saying, "He has heard; he will come and treat our diseases, and they will cease."

Such, then, is the faith which children have in the Itongo which is their father.

And if there is a chief wife of a village, who has given birth to children, and if her husband is not dead, her Itongo is much revered by her husband and all the children. And that chief wife becomes an Itongo which takes great care of the village. But it is the father especially that is the head of the village.

KU tiwa ku kona itongo, inyoka. Ba pupe. Ba ti, ba nga pupa, a be se u ya gula; a ti, "Ngi gula nje, ngi pupile." Ba buze abanye, ba ti, "U pupe ni na?" A ti, "Ngi pupe umuntu." Uma kwa bubu umfo wabo, a ti, "Ngi bone umfo wetu." Ba buze, ba ti, "U be e ti ni na?" A ti, "Ngi m pupe e ngi tshaya, e ti, 'Kwa be u sa ng' azi na ukuti ngi kona na?" A ti, "Ngi m pendulile, nga ti, 'Uma ngi ya kw azi, nga u bona, ng' enze njani na? Ngi ya kw a-

It is said that there is the Itongo,<sup>12</sup> which is a snake. Men dream. A man dreams perhaps, and is then ill; he says, "I am ill for no other reason than because I have dreamed." Others ask him what he has dreamed. He tells them he has dreamed of a man. If his brother has died, he says, "I have seen my brother." They ask what he said. He says, "I dreamed that he was beating me, and saying, 'How is it that you do no longer know that I am?' I answered him, saying, 'When I do know you, what can I do that you may see I know you? I know that you

<sup>12</sup> The *Itongo*,—a collective term meaning the inhabitants of the spirit-world, or abapansi.

ti, uma umfo wetu.' Wa ngi pendula, kgedede ngi tsho njalo, wa ti, 'U ti uma u hlaba inkomo, u ngi ngi pati ini na?' Nga ti, 'Ngi ya ku pata, ngi ku bongwe ngezibongo zako.' Nga ti, 'Ake u ngi tshole inkomo e ngi i hlaba, a ngi ku pata. Loku ngi i hlaba inkabi, ngi ku pata; ngi i hlaba inyumbakazi, ngi ku pata.' Wa pendula, wa ti, 'Ngi ya i tanda inyama.' Nga m pikisa, ngi ti, 'Kga, mfo wetu, a ngi nankomo; u ya zi bona ini esibayeni na?' Wa ti, 'Neyodwa, ngi ya i biza.' U ti, nga ba se ngi ya papama, kwa se kubu/hlungu esikaleni; ngi ngi yati ma ngi pefumule, kw'ala; kwa ngamuka umoya; ngi ngi yati ma ngi kulume, kw'ala; kwa ngamuka umoya."

Wa kqinisela, ka vuma uku i hlaba inkomo. Wa gula kakulu. Wa ti, "Kona ngi gula nje, ngi ra si bona isifo esi ngi gulisayo." Ba ti abantu, "U si bona njalo, ku i lungisi na? Umuntu a ng' enza ngamabomu isifo esi mu gulisayo; si bona, a tande ukuze a fe na? Lok' umhlaba, uma se u tukutelele umuntu, u ya mu tshonisa na?"

are my brother.' He answered me as soon as I said this, and asked, 'When you sacrifice a bullock, why do you not call upon me?' I replied, 'I do call on you, and laud you by your laud-giving names. Just tell me the bullock which I have killed without calling on you. For I killed an ox, I called on you; I killed a barren cow, I called on you.' He answered, saying, 'I wish for meat.' I refused him, saying, 'No, my brother, I have no bullock; do you see any in the cattle-pen?' He replied, 'Though there be but one, I demand it.' When I awoke I had a pain in my side; when I tried to breathe, I could not; my breath was short; when I tried to speak, I could not; my breath was short."

The man<sup>13</sup> was obstinate, and would not agree to kill a bullock. He was very ill. He said, "I am really ill, and I know the disease with which I am affected." The people said, "If you know it, why do you not get rid of it? Can a man purposely cause the disease which affects him; when he knows what it is, does he wish to die? For when the Itongo<sup>14</sup> is angry with a man, it destroys him."

<sup>13</sup> The narrator from this point appears to relate something he has actually known, and not any hypothetical case.

<sup>14</sup> *Umhlaba*, the earth, is a name given to the Amatongo, that is,

<p>A ti, "Amanga, madoda ; ngi njenje ; ng' enziwa umuntu. Ngi ya m bona ebutongweai, ngi lele ; u ti, ngokuba u tanda inyama, u ngi kwele ngamakcebo ; u ti, ngi be ngi sa hlaba inkomo, ngi nga mu pati. Ngi ya mangala ke mina, loku izinkomo ngi zi hlaba kangaka ; a ku ko inkomo e nga i hlaba, a nga za nga m pata ; zonke izinkomo e ngi zi hlabayoy, ngi ya mu pata ; noma ngi hlaba imbuzi, ngi ya m pata ; ngi be ngi ya hlaba imvu, ngi m pate. Ngi ti kodwa mina, u y' ona ; a nga ti, uma e zibizela inyama, a ngi tshele nje, a ti, 'Mfo wetu, ngi tanda inyama.' A ti kumina, a ngi ze ngi nga m bonga. Mina ngi tukutele, ngi ti, u tanda uku ngi bulala nje."</p>	<p>He replied, "Not so, Sirs ; I am thus ill ; I have been made ill by a man. I see him in sleep, when I am lying down ; because he wishes for meat, he has acted towards me with tricks, and says that when I kill cattle, I do not call on him. So I am much surprised for my part, for I have killed so many cattle, and there is not one that I killed without calling on him ; I always called on him when I killed a bullock. And if I kill a goat, I call on him. And whenever I kill a sheep, I call on him. But I say, he is guilty of an offence ; if he wished for meat, he might just tell me, saying, 'My brother, I wish for meat.' But he says to me that I never laud him. I am angry, and say he just wants to kill me."</p>
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the Abapansi, or Subterraneans. We find such expressions as these :—"U guliswa umhlaba," The Itongo has made him ill. "U bizwa umhlaba," He is summoned by the Itongo,—that is, he will die. "U petwe umhlaba," He has been seized by the Itongo. "U tshaywe umhlaba," He has been smitten by the Itongo. "U nomhlaba,"—"U netongo," An Itongo has entered into him and is causing disease.

*Umhlaba* is said to be an *ukuhlonipa* word. The following words are also applied to the Ancestral Spirit :—Itongo, Id/lozi, Isituta. We also have *Izinkomo zomzimu*. Among the Amazulu, *Umzimu* is a word used only in this connection, and appears to be a collective term for the Amatongo. But on the Zambesi, *Azimo* or *Bazimo* is used for the good spirits of the departed. (*The Zambesi and its Tributaries*. Livingstone, p. 520.) Compare also Note above, p. 93. There is also another word, *Unyanya*, which is used in the same way as *Itongo*. Thus a man who has been fortunate says, "Ngi bhokwe Unyanya," I have been regarded by *Unyanya*. Among the Amalala, we meet with another word, *Undhlalane*, pl. *Ondhlalane*. Thus they say, "Undhlalane u ngi bhokile," *Undhlalane* has regarded me, that is, the *Itongo*. "Ondhlalane ba ngi bhokile," The *Ondhlalane* has regarded me.—These words are probably the names of some great ancestors, who, though now forgotten, were formerly especially remembered and worshipped for their great and good deeds whilst living.



Ba ti abantu aba m bonayo lapa e gulayo, ba ti, "Au! Lo 'muntu, u ti, u sa ku kqonda ini ukukuluma na? Si kuluma nawe nje ke; u pi na, kona nati ugapana si m buza na? Loku nati ku se u /laba izinkomo; lapa u bonga, si kona u bonge, u m bonge, u m pate ngezibongo zake zobukgawe; nati si zwe. U ti, uma ku be, wena kabani na, uma ku be umfo wenu lona na, noma umuntu u fa kgede, a buye a vuke, nga si nga m buzi na, ukuti, 'U tsho ngani na?—loku Ubani u /leze e /laba izinkomo izikati zonke, ku se e ku bonga, a ku bonge ngezibongo zako zobudoda; nati si zwe.'"

A ti "Ehe!" o gulayo; "a ti u gabe ngokuba e ti umfo wetu omkulu; ngokuba mfina ngi muncinyane. Ngii ya mangala uma u ti, ma ngi kgede izinkomo nje. Yena wa fa e nge nazo ini na?"

Ba ti, "Au, umuntu wa fa, wena kabani. Tina si ti, uma si kuluma nawe nje, amehlo ako e sa

The people who see him when he is ill say, "Au! Do you mean to say that the man<sup>15</sup> still understands how to speak? We speak with you now; where is he, that we too might take him to task? For we too were present at all times when you slaughtered cattle; and when you lauded, you lauded him, and called upon him by the laud-giving names which he received for his bravery; and we heard. And, Son of So-and-so, if it could really be that that brother of yours, or any other man who is already dead, should rise again, could we not take him to task, and ask, 'Why do you say so?—since So-and-so is continually killing cattle, and lauds you with the laud-giving names which you received for your manliness; and we too heard.'"

The sick man replies, "Eh! My brother acts in this boastful way because he says he is oldest; for I am younger than he. I wonder when he tells me just to destroy all the cattle. Did he die and leave none behind?"<sup>16</sup>

They say, "Au, the man died, Son of So-and-so. For our parts we say, when we are really speaking with you, and your eyes are

<sup>15</sup> That is, he who is dead.

<sup>16</sup> "Did he die and leave no cattle behind?"—Since he did not sacrifice all his cattle to the Amatongo, but left some when he died, why should he be so unreasonable now he is an Itongo as to demand that I should sacrifice all mine?