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 Utikzo.

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:

"Matoom 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 Matoom 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."

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 Amakzoza, 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, Ungqeto, 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; all 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 Dame of yours?"—He replied, without a moment’s hesitation—"Ubaleni.”

I turned to Umombo, 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, Ugbana, 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 Onkulunkulu?”—He said—"Yes. Ours is Umdaku.”

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 Onkulunkulu are the objects of worship in their respective houses.

I observed, on another occasion, Umpenguela, a native Christian, standing by the side of three heathen natives. Their names are Udingesi, Ubulawa, and Umkonto. They are all probably more than sixty years old. I called Umpenguela 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 Udingesi, and hear what he will say. Do you ask him, and I will be silent. Ask him what the heads of generations are called.”

Udingesi came. Um Penguela put his question thus—"What is the name of your Ukulukulu (the unasalized 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 Ubula wa 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 Ubula wa answered—"Ukulunkulu."

I said—"Then Unkulunkulu and Unkulunkulu is one." They replied—"Yes. The Amalala say Unkulunkulu; the Amalala Ukulunkulu."

I asked—"Are you Amalala?"

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 Unkulunkulu have names?"

They replied—"Yes."

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

"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—"Uhlamini is the name of him who divided the tribes."?75

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:

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.

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 Unkulunkulu.

Dr. Bleek feels the need of a distinctive epithet, and says, the Unkulunkulu par excellence. 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 Unkuluku 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.

76 Usithlanu calls him “Unkulunkulu wamandulo,” The most ancient Unkulunkulu, see p. 89.
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;¹ 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.² 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."³

If the investigations of Moffat, Appleyard, Casalis, and others are correct, Kolb very much exaggerated the Hottentot notion respecting God, and substituted in 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

2 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.
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 Tikxwoa, 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."  

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. 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-ouns 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 Tsuchxoap, 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

4 Id., p. 104.
5 Comparative Grammar, p. 92.
name they used for God was Tikqwa. 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 Iqum'ın; 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: 6—"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 Kafira. 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 Tsui'knap was a notable warrior, of great physical strength; that in a desperate struggle with another chief-tain, 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 Tsui'knap (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

6 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 Tsukwoap (Schmelen's Tsoeikwap) or Tsuigsoap (Wallmann's Züigsoap) in the Name; and Tshukzoap in the Kgora dialect; Thuikzwe (Van der Kemp's Thuickwe) among the Eastern Hottentots; and Tikzwoa (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.

death itself; adding that he thought death, or the power causing death, was very sore indeed.8 And then he asks:—"May not the Tsuik'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?"9

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 Tsuik'kuap, which is equivalent to Utikzo. 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 "endemical 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."10

Shaw also says:—"The Kafir nations cannot be said to possess any religion."11 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."12

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

9 Id., p. 259.
10 Casalis. The Basutos, p. 238.
11 Story of My Mission, p. 444.
12 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."¹⁸

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 mokorn."¹⁴

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,¹⁶ and of Molimo as given by Casalis,¹⁸ is, like that given to the Bushmen's Ikqum'ni, "He that is in heaven." But, says Moffat, "Morimo, to those who knew any thing about it, had been represented as a malevolent solo or thing."¹⁷ 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."¹⁸

"There is," says Casalis, "an obvious contradiction between the language and the received ideas."¹⁹—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."²⁰

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 Setshuana at

¹⁷ Id., p. 261.
¹⁸ Id., p. 262.
¹⁹ P. 18.
least the word for ‘God’ has a similar reference to their ancestor worship as the Zulu Unkulunkulu. Thus in Se-suto Molimo means God, and me-limo gods, but mo-limo, ancestral spirits, plur. balimo.”

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.

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:—“Tshoelakoap is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived their Utikxo, 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 to 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; and hence, in process of


23 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.”

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 reverenced; for as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them.” 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.”

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-
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" of a contest between Heitsi Eibip and Gqaggorip 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."28

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

27 P. 77.

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 land-giving name of some ancient brave, is well worth considering. Among the Amazulu there is a word, clearly an isibongo, U-gukqa-badele, 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:—
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,

Ekukqaleni amakosi a e puma impi, a hlasele nayo; kepa ku ti, ngokukalipa kwezita, z' enze ikcobo lazo lokuti, "Ukuze laba bantu si ba ngoxe, a si bulala inkosi yabo le, ukuze ba pele amandla." 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 kwesinye zizwe; 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, "Likzlo 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 Likzlo. We heard from the Amakxosa that Likzlo is the Lord who is above.29

A t 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.

29 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 Likzlo and Unkulunkulu, p. 68.
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 lands 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.
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 everywhere 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 Pirksoma; the Mau or Ye-who 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 everyone 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:

Indaba ngenkosi yezulu a ku bonakali kakulu ókona ku tahiwoyo ngayo. Ngokuba lapa isulu li tshaye kona, ku tiwa, "Inkosi i tukutele." Ku tahiwo ngokutshaya ya kwalo. A kw ašilukaniswa kakulu ukuti e yona 'nkosi i tehayayo i i pi, noma unyazi, noma unyazi lu amandšila ayo. Ku tshiwo ngonyazi ku tiwe, "Inkosi i tahayile." Kepa maningi amakosi a tshiwo abantu, nezilwane amakosi, inhlatu nehubesi; kepalo loma ku tshiwo ku ya bulawa; ku ya bonakala ukutí a ku lingani nenkosi yezulu.

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.
The Lord of Heaven. 119

Ku kona inyoni yezulu; i ya bulawa nayo; y efa ngesikati sokutshaya kwonyazi, i sale pansi; a ku tshiwo futi ukuti i yona i inkosi; a kw shikile kakulu ngenkosi ukuba i i pi kunonyazi kunayo e sezulu. Si zwa ku tiwa ku kona abantu nje ezulu ni na pansi kwomlahaba futi. Kulunikuni ke ukwazi labo 'bantu aba ngapansi kwomlahaba ukuba ukuma kwabo ku njani na, na ngapenzulu futi a b'aziwa uma ba njani noku ma kwabo. Izwi lodwa eli tshoyo ukuti ba kona.

There is a bird of heaven; 80 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 lightening, 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, likapnunga 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-

80 "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, "Isulu likapunga nomageba nomjokwane," a ku vanywanga ukuba ku be kona into enkulule kunenkosi. Ubukulu bezulu kwa tiwa obukapunga, ye na e inkosi enkulule yakwazulu; ngokuba u nga bona ngaloku ukuba into yokukukumeza umuntu a birwe ngokutiswa nezulu elake.

Ku be ku ti uma ku kona umalola o vela pakati kwomuzi, w' enziwa inkosi. Njengaloku Utshaka wa ka wa fakaza igazi lenkomo esigodlweni ebusuku, e ti i kona e ya kubona uma ixinyanga zi kqinisile in i ngokunukwa abantu. Kepa a zi nukanga kahle; wa zi bulala zonke, kupela ya ba nge eya ti, "Kw enziwe izulu." Loko ke ukuti, "Ngi za 'kunuka izulu na'?" Kupela ke; abantu b' azi ukuba u taho izulu njalo, u taho Utshaka; ngokuba nezulu ku tiwa elake. Loko a ku 'siminya'; ukukuliswa kwenkosi nje. Ngokuba ku tshiwo ku tiwa, i ngangosintaba, ku tshiwo izintaba ezinkulu. Kepa ku be ku nge njalo, ngokuba uma

As regards the saying, "The heaven of Upunga and of Umgabha 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 kwa-leyo 'ntaba, 'emi noma e 'lezi, i nga m fika, a nga bonakali. Ukukuliswa kwomuntu nje.

Futi, leli 'zwi lokuti Ugukqaba-dele, a si lo igama likatsha noma Usensangakona. Loli 'lizwi li vele lapa ealungwini; 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 ngame a kome pezulu a ti, "I nga ngi tabata, a ngi kw azi loko." Izwi lokuti Ugukqabadele, ku taifiw o inkosi e pezulu. Kepa ukugukqaba isibonakaliso samandla, ngokuba ku tiwa uma indoda i funa ukuba i zipase impela, i tate amandla onka, i ya gukqaba nge-dolo, ukuze i nga suswa kuleyo 'ndawo; lowo 'mununtu o lwa nayo u ya 'ku i shiya. I lona ke izwi lokuti "ba-dele," ukuti, ba m shiya lapo e gukqaba 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 Usensangakona. 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 lezulu; uma li duma, kwa tiwa, “La duma izulu lenkosi.” Ku nga thiwo umninilo owa l'enza yo; ku tahiwo umuntu o inkosi nje; wa kuliswa ngokuti izulu elake. Abantu abaningi se be kuleka kwabanye ngokuti, “Wena waspakati, nezulu elako; konke okwako.”

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 taho njalo abakwiti kwabamölope.

Ku kona indaba pakati kwabantu abamnyama. Ku ti ngosuku lapa ku puma impi ngalo, lokupela inkosi se i Alanganise amabandla onke ayo, i kuluma nawo; nge mva kwaloko kw enziwe ihhubo eli vusa usikisiki lokuba izinhliziyo zi fudumale ngokunga impi i nga ba kona ngaleso 'sikati; lokupela izulu li kwebile, li pendule ngesi a omubi, ku tiwe, "Izulu lenkosio li y'ezwa ukuba inkosi ibu alungu." Ngaloko ke kwa kyiniswa ngokuti, "Izulu lenkosio," emakosini amakulu; ngokuba lapa i Alanganise impi yayo, nezulu li ya pendula, nomabili be li sila.

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 emhlabeni, 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.31

31 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 yokhlanga." (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 Wainu 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.32—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.

32 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-
THE LORD OF HEAVEN.

shipped under the name of Dauh, 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 Mpambi! 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 Mpambi!' (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.

Ba ti amatongo into a ba vela nayo kukqala ekuveleni kwabo. Ba vela se ku tiwa, "Ku kona amatongo;" kwa ba ukuba nabo b' a-zi ukuti ku kona amatongo. A ku nto a ba vela nje ba se be ya bona ukuti amatongo.

A si nto e velayo ngasemva kwokuvela 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 ngokuvela kwomuntu wokukqala; lapa

MEN say they possessed Amatongo as soon as they came into being.\(^1\) 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.

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\(^2\) after themselves. It is evident that we are not speaking of the origin of the first

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1 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.

2 Note the distinction between ngasemva and emva.
si ti ukuvela kwabantu si kulumu
ngemva kwake, ngokuba a kw-
ziwa ukuma kwowokukala. Si
tshe ke ukuti sa vela nawo tina
'la vele se ku tshiwo ukuti ama-
tongo, ku tshiwo alanamvili.

Kwa tsho abokukqala bonke ke;
kwa ba aba velayo ba se be vela se
be ba tshela wona amatongo, ba
w'azi ko ukuti a kona amatongo.
Kw azise futi ukuti kona kukuqala
ba ti be vela nje, ba be vela kanye
nezinyanga ezona za ba kaansiela
ukuti a kona. Ba ti ke, 'abiwa
umuntu wokukqala, owa ti, "Ku
kona amatongo a inyoka." Umun-
tu wokukqala Umvelinqangi,
Unkulunkulu. 'Aziwa ke iizwe
zonke. A kwa ba ko 'sizwe esa
ti, "Tina 'basekwini ka li ko kw-
ti itongo."

Iizizwe zonke za bonga amat-
ongo, 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 5 who taught them that
there are Amatongo. And so they
said that the Amatongo were cre-
ated 4 by the first man, who said,
"There are Amatongo who are
snakes." The first man is Umvel-
inqangi, Unkulunkulu. And
thus all nations knew of the Amat-
ongo. There was not a single
nation which said, "We people of
such a country have no Itongo."

All nations worshipped the
Amatongo, because Umvelinqangi

5 The izinyanga or doctors are thus represented as the appointed
teachers of the people. They are, no doubt, the relic of an ancient
priesthood.

4 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.
commanded them to do so, saying, "You see, then," I tell you about the Amatongo, that you may worship them. I tell you about divining Izinyanga, 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 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."

5 A mode of claiming attention, or commanding silence.

6 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 "'emiti, a doctor of medicines. Inyanga yensiambi, a smith, &c.

That is, one man among the Amatongo—one of the Amatongo.
Ba ti ukukqala kwabo, ba ti, "Amadâlozi akwiti mabi! Ini ukuba umuzi u pelele empini wonke na? Amadoda angaka na! Impi ukupela na i kgedwe impi na! Kangaka a be fulatele, kw enze njani? Into a be nga i taho si zwe uma kw'enza njani na? A ze a kqede umuzi na? u pele wonke na? Yena o kqabuke e sindiswa ubani lo, u be ye ngapi na? U be nga hambi ini pakati kwamaanye amadâlozi na?" Ba taho njalo abakalayo.

Na labo abafayo empini se be ya 'kuba a woma amadâlozi futi. Ba ti abasindileyo ab'amadâlozi akubo e ba bhekile, ba sinde, ba ti, "Si sindiswe amadâlozi akwiti." Ba fike ba buye, be vela empini, ba fike, ba wa gwazele izinkomo; ba bongo ukuba be ti a ba pilisile; ba zitele ngonyongo emzimbeni, be ti, "Ma kaakambe, a be mâlope, a nga bi mnyama," ukuze a ba pilise ngolunye usuku futi. Ba bongo ku be kuâle.

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 Amadâlozi 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 limyama. Ba zo b’enzele ukuze ba ti noko nga isokosolo yabo i ba pindelisa empinini, i ti ma ba âlaelele, amadâlozi akubo a nga soli ‘luto, ngokuba ba wa lungisile, ba wa kwakambisa; se be ya ‘kuti noko be fika kuyo impi se b’ azi ukuti, “Umakazi loku sa wa lungisa amadâlozi, a ya ‘kuti s’ ona ngani na!” Lapa se be bona impi a ba ya ‘kulwa nayo, ba kumbule amadâlozi, ba kwabang’ izinto a ba z’ enzayo, be wa kilola um’ a be maâle; ba ku bone loko enâliziyweni zabo, b’ az’ ukuti, sa wa lungisa amadâlozi akwiti; noko si fa, ka sa yi ‘kutsho ukuti i kona into a wa be e i ka lela.

Mbala ba tukutele ke, ba ti, “A ya ‘kuba a si fulatele nje.” Ngokuba uma be ya empini, ba ti, “Si hamba nawo amadâlozi akwiti,” ba lwe ke nenye impi. A ti um’ amadâlozi akubo enâlope, ‘ale ukuba ba fe, ku be i bona be bulala abantu nganâlanye, ba bone ke ukuti si be si hambe namadâlozi

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
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 Umvelingangi 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 Umvelingangi made a mistake when he said,
oduka 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 nenge ngani?" ba ti, "Ngoba kw amadhlozi" Si buze tina, si ti, "Ake ni si t-hele abantu abafa be nemila na?" Ba kolile lapa, ba nga si tsheli Si ti ke, "O, imi ukuba ni nga si tsheli amadhlozi a izinyoka na?" Ba tsho i jalo ke, ba kolilwa, ba nga si tsheli uma si zwe Si y' e pena uma be tsho amadhlozi enyokeni, ka si zwa uma inyol a i idblozi

"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 Idblozi"

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*Njengaloko lapo inkosi ya tsho, ya ti, "A ku be kona ukukanya," kwa ba kona njenokutsho kwayo inkosi, si ti, "Ku' alwa imi si ukukanya." Ku njalo ke abantu ba ti, "Alwa amatongo Umvelingangi," Ba ti futi, "Umuntu wokukqala w' aba amatongo, ukuti, wa wa veza." Ba ti, "Zonke izinto z' abwa umuntu w kukqala, Unkul nkulu, z' enziwauye, " ngokuba ku ya lin'ana ukwabiwa nokwenziw

Lapa tina ke, tina bantu velayo, si ti, "Ali nt' inba

Just as when the Lord said, "Let there be light," and there was light in accordance with the word of the Lor, we say, "The light was created [abawa] by the Lord." So the people say, "The Amatongo were created [abawa] by Umvelingangi." 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, th'j were na le by him," for ukwabiwa and ukwenziwa l's one man in.

We then, who are at the present time, now
“Black men are mistaken. Why do they say that they do not know Umvelingang? 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 Umvelingang; not knowing who was the father of Unkulunkulu.

Loku abelungu ba fika nje naba-fundisi, sa si li zwa igama lokuti, u kona Utikzo. Ku ya s'ahlula okutshiw0 abantu, uma ku nga bi ko umuntu o ti Unkulunkulu wa dabuka kukqala nje, umfazi wake kwa ku ubani, nendodana yake. Loku indodana katikzo si ya i zwa ngabafundisi ukuti Ujesu. Si y'ahluleka; tina si ti ba la'leka. 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, Umvelingang, (ukuti Umvelingangi nje, ngokuba a vela kukqala

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, Umvelingang. He is called Umvelingang 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, nesinjwe, nesinkomo, nezintete, nemiti, notshani.'" Kepa ke si ng' eze s' azi ezin'lisiyweni zetu uma si zwa be taho njalo, be ti izinto z' eziwe Unkulunkulu; si nga u zwa umfula owa be si dabulela kona iziswe a z' aba Unkulunkulu.

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

Si ti tina si zwa abelungu,—zona isindaba zenzosi zi sezinwadini. Si ti, "Nampa abakuluma ikg' iniso, be ti, 'Inkosile kona.'" Nani si si ti si vela kwa ku tiwa i kona inkosi; i sezulwini, ukuti Utikzo. Indaba immediately before men. 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,

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8 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 kqo-
ndeke kaAle; insumansumane nje.
Loku nama be ti, Unkulunkulu wa
tuma unwaba, wa ti, a lu yo-
kutu ezizweni zabantu, lu yokuti,
abantu ma ba nga fi; ba ti, kwa
ti ngasemva kwonwaba wa tuma
intulwa ngasemva kwonwaba, u-
waba se lu hambile ukuya 'kuti,
abantu ma ba nga fi; ya hamba
ngasemva 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 ba ti abantu, kgqele lu
memeze unwaba, lu tsho njalo, lu
ti, "Abantu ma ba nga fi," b' ala
abantu, ba ti, "Si bambe elentulo;
se u kuluma ise 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 hambi-
leyo. A si y azi leyo 'ndaba o i
tahoyo, lunwaba." Tina ke si ti
tke, mfundisi, si ti, izindaba zama-
nga; leyo 'ndaba i nge ko. Aban-
ntu b' enziwa inkosi. Unkulun-
kulu si ti kw azixi ngani ukutu-
mza izilwane ezihukquzela nge-
sisu pansi, a ti i zona z'emuka za
ya 'kukuluma kubantu indaba na!
Si ti, ba ko’dwa.

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, "Unkulun-
kulu 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 Umvelinqangi abantu a ba vezela kona, uma ba be kona nje. I ya s'ahlula nat'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 tabo 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 iziszwe. A b'ezwakali abanye Onkulunkulu ba lezo 'ziszwe a nga dabulanga Unkulunkulu wakubo. Tina se si ti uma si ba buza si ti, "Ake ni si thale Unkulunkulu, si swe," 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 ngebani na?" Ba ti ke lapo, "Si ya ko'lwaxa; ka s'azi." Si ti, "Unkulunkulu wa be into e ize nje. Ini uma si ng'ezwa izindaba zake Unkulunkulu uku zis'ahlula zona iziszwe a be z'enza Unkulunkulu na? Ku be i loku ni pika ngokuti kwa ku kona Unkulunkulu.

We do not know the place where Umvelinqangi 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 Unkulunkulu of those nations are not heard of, whom their own Unkulunkulu did not create. 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

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9 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." what relates to him? We do not believe."

**Umfenguza Mvunda.**

Abantu ba ti ku kona amadhlodzi abo. Ba ya kolwa kuloko, ngokuba ka b'azi ukuba umuntu u ya ngapi ekufeni kwake. Ba fuman ukuti ukupenduka inyoka ngoku-kcabanga 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 Alabisa izinkomo, ngokuba ba ti izinkomo futi ezalo, ba zi piwa ilo; futi ba ti, ba pila ngalo; ku ngaloko be li Alabisa izinkomo. Ba ti, uma be za 'ku li Alabisa, ba buyise izinkomo enâle, uma be se z' alukile; noma zi se sekaya, ba zi butela 'ndawo nye nomza zintatu nomza zime; ka ba zi buti zonke; ba leta lezo ezi neyakululthiswa itongo, ba zi ngenise esibayeni; ba gakze invalo esangweni, be se be zi kyo-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 discovered 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 cattle, for they say the cattle too belong 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-
 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 assegai and goes cautiously towards it, and stab 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 ngamaThla. Ku zinge ku Aholwa njalo umniniye lowo ’muntu osileyo. 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
lala, ukuze ku ti se be bona
ukuba lala li bunile ba dele,
b'azi a ku ko luto olu nga m ki-
pako, ngokuba u se bolile. Kepa
uma e furama inyoka ngepezu, a
taho uma e se buyile lowo 'munu
o be yolola, a ti, "O, ngi m fu-
mene zamala nje e tamele ilanga
ngepezu kweliba."

Ngaloko ke uma e nga buyi
ukuya ekaya, be nga m pupi, ku
ahlathwe inkomama imbuzi, ku
tiwe, u ya buyiswa enale ukuba
'ezo ekaya; ku ti uma be nga m
pupi noma ku njalo, ba alupeke
ngokuti, "Lo 'munu wa fa ka-
njani? a si m boni; itongo lake li
mnyama." Ku yiwe enyangeni
yobulawo uma ku umuntu womuza
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,\textsuperscript{10} if it is the chief man

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Ubulawo}, A class of medicines, used for cleansing and brighten-
ing. 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 dis-
liked; 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
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 damsel, 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.

Amatongo; 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-
peka, uma si nge ze sa ku bona, si ti, u si sola ngani na f loku izinkomo ezako zi mi nje; uma u bisa inyama, u nga teho zi Alatahe, ku ng' ali 'muntu.'

Y elape ke inyanga leyo yobulawo, i bu pele i m biza, bu bekwe emsamio. I taho ukuti, "Ngi ti u za 'ku m bona namâla nje, u kulume naye; noma kade u nga m boni, namâla nje u ya 'ulambuluka.

Ku njalo ke ukuyiswa kwesi-tuta, si buyiswa ngenkomo na ngeobulawo.

The people do not worship all Amatongo indifferently.

The 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 kumise nokuti, “U sa 'ku si pata kanjalo nomia e file. A s' azi uma u ya 'kubuye a bheke aobani ngapandle kwetu na; 'kupela u ya 'kubheka tina.”

Ku njalo ke nomia be kuleka kwamaningi amatongo akubo, b'enzwa ngange olukulu lwoku ba vikela; kepa uyise u d'lululisile ekupatweni kwanomatongo amanye. Uyise u igugu kakaniku kubantwana bake nomia e nga se ko. Ku ti labo a se be kulile be m azisisa kakaniku ukuba-mmene kwake nubukqawe bake. Ku ti uma ku kona ubulungu pakati kwonuzi, indodana enkulu i m bonge ngezibongo zake a zi zuza umlala e lwa empini, a wa weze ngamazibukwana enke; i m tetisa ngokuti, “Ku nge 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 'kudala 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.11 You will eat grasshoppers; you will no longer be invited to go any where, if you destroy your own village.”

11 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' iaibindi ngokuti, "U zwilu; u za 'kwelapa, izifo zi pume."

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."

Ku njalo ke ukutemba kwabantwana etongweni eli uyise.

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

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 'inkosikazi i itongo lokubonisa umuzi. Kepa kakulu uyise njalo o yena e indloko yomuzi.

Umpengula Mranda.

It is said that there is the Itongo,12 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

Ku tiwa ku kona itongo, inyoka. Ba pupe. Ba ti, ba nga pupe, 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 nga 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-

12 The Itongo,—a collective term meaning the inhabitants of the spirit-world, or abapansi.
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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 narrator from this point appears to relate something he as actually known, and not any hypothetical case.

13 The narrator from this point appears to relate something he as actually known, and not any hypothetical case.

14 Umhlabo, the earth, is a name given to the Amatongo, that is,
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."

the Abapansi, or Subterraneans. We find such expressions as these:

- "U guliswa umhlaba," The Itongo has made him ill. "U bizwa umlababa," He is summoned by the Itongo,-that is, he will die.
- "U petwe umhlaba," He has been seized by the Itongo. "U thaywe umlababa," 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, Iddlozi, 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 Zambezi 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 bhekwe Unyanya," I have been regarded by Unyanya. Among the Amalala, we meet with another word, Undhlalane, pl. Ondhlalane. Thus they say, "Undhlalane u ngi bhekile," Undhlalane has regarded me, that is, the Itongo. "Ondhlalane ba ngi bhekile," The Ondhlalane have 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.
The people who see him when he is ill say, "Au! Do you mean to say that the man 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?"

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

15 That is, he who is dead.

16 "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?"