

أنكولوونكولو

الزولو بين مطرقة الحسني وسندان ديدات - صوت الجنوب

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انكولنكولو

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The Religious System of the Amazulu

Henry Callaway

The Religious System of the Amazulu.

PART I.

UNKULUNKULU ;

OR,

THE TRADITION OF CREATION

AS EXISTING AMONG

THE AMAZULU AND OTHER TRIBES
OF SOUTH AFRICA,

IN THEIR OWN WORDS,

WITH

A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH,

AND NOTES.

BY

THE REV. CANON CALLAWAY, M.D.



"I cannot but admire the incuriousness of so many travellers who have visited Dahome and have described its customs without an attempt to master, or at least to explain, the faith that underlies them."—BURTON.



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1868.

TO THE READER.

IN this First Part on the Religious System of the Amazulu, I have brought together all the information I have been able to collect from natives and others, on the tradition of a supreme being which exists among them, and other people of South Africa. The next Part will be devoted to their Ancestor Worship; and the Third Part, which it is expected will complete the Volume, to their Diviners and other Doctors. An introductory Essay on the whole subject will be given with the Third Part.

H. C.

*Springvale, Natal,
October, 1868.*

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H. Sum. J. I. West.
28 ml

The Religious System of the Amazulu.

PART II.

AMATONGO;

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ANCESTOR WORSHIP,

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1869.

TO THE READER.

THE information in this Part has been derived from a comparatively small number of natives, it being difficult to get the heathen to speak on the subject of the Amatongo in a connected manner, so as to commit what they say to writing. But it is perfectly reliable, although probably not exhaustive.

H. C.

*Springvale, Natal,
July, 1869.*

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H. g. hum. 28^{ml}

The Religious System of the Amazulu.

PART III.

IZINYANGA ZOKUBULA ;

OR,

DIVINATION,

AS EXISTING AMONG

THE AMAZULU,

IN THEIR OWN WORDS,

WITH

A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH,

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BY

THE REV. CANON CALLAWAY, M.D.,

Loc. Sec. A.S.L.

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1870.

TO THE READER.

IT was intended to conclude this Volume with the Part now issued ; but it appeared that the subject would be incomplete without adding a Part on Medical Magic, and Witchcraft ; which, accordingly, will form the subject of Part IV.

Whether I shall be able to do more than complete this Volume, or even to complete it, must depend on the interest taken in the work by others. If they do not exert themselves to increase its circulation, it must be discontinued, as it is probable the Government grant will be withdrawn during or at the end of the year.

H. C.

*Springvale, Natal,
March, 1869.*



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UNKULUNKULU ;

OR,

THE TRADITION OF CREATION

AS EXISTING AMONG

THE AMAZULU AND OTHER TRIBES

OF

SOUTH AFRICA.



UNKULUNKULU a s' aziwa. | UNKULUNKULU is no longer
 Yena umuntu wokukgala; wa | known.¹ It is he who was the
 dabuka ekukgaleni. Umfazi wa- | first man ;² he broke off³ in the be-

¹ *A s' aziwa* = *ka s' aziwa*, is no longer known, that is, to us ; or as it is said in other accounts, "A si sa m azi," We no longer know him. There no longer exists amongst us any knowledge about him. The same expression is used when speaking of the man from whom the *isibongo* (surname) of a house or tribe is derived, *ka s' aziwa*. He is lost to memory, nothing is known of him or his deeds.

² This is the constant statement in the traditions of Unkulunkulu. It has been said that by *umuntu* we are to understand simply a *person*. But *umuntu* means a *human being*. And it is more in accordance with the religious system of the natives to give it that meaning here. They are ancestor-worshippers, and believe that their first ancestor—the first man—was the creator. Unkulunkulu means the old-old-one, the most ancient man. In like manner Arjuna addresses Krishna as, "Thou first of the gods, the most ancient person." (*Hardwick. Christ and other Masters. Vol. I., p. 242.*) And the king Satravata addresses "Hari, the preserver of the universe," thus, "O first male; the lord of creation, of preservation, of destruction !" (*Id., p. 314.*)

³ *Dabuka*, to separate, or to spring or break off, from something by fissure or division. Thus the swarming of bees is an *ukudabuka*. The division of small tribes from larger ones—as the small tribes of

ke a si m azi ; nabadala abantu a | ginning.⁴ We do not know his
 ba si tsheli ukuti wa be e nomfazi. | wife ; and the ancients do not tell
 us that he had a wife.⁵

Si zwa ukuba ku tiwa Unkulu- | We hear it said, that Unkulu-
 nkulu wa dabula izizwe ohlangeni. | nkulu broke off⁶ the nations from
 Uthlanga.⁷

Umahhaule and Unjan from the Abambo, the large tribe of Usingela ; or as the Americans from the English—is spoken of as an *ukudabuka*. So if a village has become large, and the eldest son leaves the paternal kraal, and commences a new centre, that too is an *ukudabuka*. So the different kind of cattle, English, Dutch, and Zulu, are said respectively to have sprung from (*dabuka*) the English, Dutch, or Zulu. It is also said of trees. So of the Reformation it would be said that the Reformed Churches sprang from (*dabuka*) that of Rome ; and Dissenting Churches from that of England. Or what is perhaps more to the point, the mode in which Minerva was produced from Jupiter's head was an *ukudabuka*. As we shall see below, according to the Hindu mythology, primitive man was produced by a division (*ukudabuka*) of the substance of Brahma. The use of the word necessarily implies the pre-existence of something from which the division took place. When it is said therefore that Unkulunkulu broke off in the beginning, we must understand either that he broke off from an eternal or at least pre-existent spiritual being, or from an eternal or at least pre-existent material being. When it is said, *wa dabuka eluhlangeni* (he broke off from uthlanga), we may have the intimation of an eternal spiritual being, a belief in whom formed a part of the creed of the ancestors of the Amazulu ; and when it is said, *wa dabuka emhlabeni* (he broke off from the earth), it cannot be doubted that we are to understand it as intimating a belief in the eternity—at least in the pre-existence—of the world.

⁴ *Ekuqaleni*. In the beginning. There is the same obscurity in the Zulu use of this phrase as in our own. We must understand it here as meaning, *in the beginning of the present order of things*, and not, from all eternity.

⁵ But, as it will be presently seen, a first woman is by many associated with the first man, that is, Unkulunkulu is said to have had a wife.

⁶ *Dabula*.—My native interpreter maintains that although above it is said that Unkulunkulu is not known to have had a wife, yet that this phrase implies it. But this is scarcely borne out by the fact that in other accounts he is said to break off cattle, &c., from Uthlanga. It seems rather that we are to understand that at first Unkulunkulu broke off, and having broken off, became the means of breaking off all other things.

⁷ *Ohlangeni*.—*Uthlanga* is a reed, strictly speaking, one which is capable of “stooling,” throwing out offsets. It thus comes, metaphori-

Ku tiwa wa tuma unwaba ; wa ti, "Hamba, lunwaba, u ye u yokuti, Abantu ma ba nga fi." Lwa hamba unwaba, lwa hamba kancinane, lwa libala end/leleni ; lwa hamba lwa d/la umuti, o igama lawo ku ubukwebezane.⁹

Wa za Unkulunkulu wa tuma intulo ngasemva kwonwaba, se lu hambile ngesikati esipambili unwaba. Ya hamba intulo, ya gijima, ya tshetsha kakulu, ngokuba Unkulunkulu e tize, "Ntulo, u fike u ti, Abantu a ba fe." Ya hamba ke intulo, ya ti, "Ngi ti, Ku tiwa, Abantu ma ba fe." Ya buya intulo, ya fika kunkulunkulu ; lwa ba unwaba lu nga ka fiki, lona lwa tunywa kukgala ; lona lwa tunywa ku tiwa, ma lu yokuti, "Abantu ma ba nga fi."

It is said he sent a chameleon ; he said to it, "Go, Chameleon, go and say, Let not men die." The chameleon set out ; it went slowly ;⁸ it loitered in the way ; and as it went, it ate of the fruit of a tree, which is called Ubukwebezane.

At length Unkulunkulu sent a lizard¹⁰ after the chameleon, when it had already set out for some time. The lizard went ; it ran and made great haste, for Unkulunkulu had said, "Lizard, when you have arrived, say, Let men die." So the lizard went, and said, "I tell you, It is said, Let men die." The lizard came back again to Unkulunkulu, before the chameleon had reached his destination, the chameleon which was sent first ; which was sent, and told to go and say, "Let not men die."

cally, to mean a source of being. A father is the *uthlanga* of his children, from which they broke off. Whatever notions the ignorant of the present day among the natives may have of the meaning of this tradition, it may be concluded that originally it was not intended to teach by it, that men sprang from a reed. It cannot be doubted that the word alone has come down to the people, whilst the meaning has been lost. Comp. M. Casalis' account of the religious notions of the Basutos, p. 240.

⁸ Hence their saying, "Ukuhambisa kwonwaba," To go like a chameleon, i. e., to go slowly. They say also *ukunwabuzela*.

⁹ *Ubukwebezane*.—A shrub which bears clusters of berries of a purplish colour and sweet taste. This fruit is much liked by children.

¹⁰ *Intulo* = *intulwa*, the Amalala *inulwa*. The tradition lives among the natives to the present time, and is manifested by the dislike they entertain for the chameleon. It is frequently killed. But it is used as a medicine ; among other uses it is mixed with other things to doctor their gardens, that the birds may not destroy the corn ; it is employed because it went slowly, and therefore will prevent the birds

Lwa za lwa fika, lwa memeza, lwa ti, "Ku tiwa, Abantu ma ba nga fi!" Ba ti abantu ba ti, "O! si bambe izwi lentulo; yona i si tshelile, ya ti, 'Ku tiwa, Abantu ma ba fe.' A si sa li zwa elako. Ngezwi lentulo abantu b' eza 'ku-fa."

At length it arrived and shouted, saying, "It is said, Let not men die!" But men answered, "O! we have heard the word of the lizard; it has told us the word, 'It is said, Let men die.' We cannot hear your word. Through the word of the lizard, men will die."¹¹

from hastily entering the gardens! But the lizard is an object of much greater hatred, and is invariably killed if the person who sees it is able to kill it; but it is very cunning, and, as they say, "escapes only by its cunning." As they kill it they say, "Yiya! i sona lesi 'silimane esa gijima kukqala sa ya 'kuti, 'Abantu a ba fe.'" Let be! This is the very piece of deformity which ran in the beginning to say that men should die.

¹¹ This tradition of the origin of death has a strong resemblance to the Hottentot account. But there it is the Moon—a Hottentot god, according to Kolb, (*The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, (Medley,) Volume I., page 95*)—which sends an insect to man with the message:—"Go thou to men, and tell them, 'As I die, and dying live, so ye shall also die, and dying live.'" The insect, meeting with the hare, entrusts the message to him; but when he reaches man, he says, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die, and dying perish, in the same manner ye shall also die, and come wholly to an end.'" (*Bleek's Hottentot Fables, p. 69.*)

This account is, however, a promise of renovation through death.

The New Zealand legend again may be compared, where we meet with rather a foreshadowing of redemption through One destroying death by passing through it, than an account of the cause of death entering into the world. Maui is made liable to death by some accidental omission of a part of the baptismal ritual,—a cause as trivial as the delay of the chameleon, or the false message of the hare.

Maui was an abortion; he was born as his mother was passing along by the sea-shore. She cut off the long tresses of her hair, and bound him up in them, and threw him into the foam of the sea, and after that he was found by his ancestor Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi, and by his care developed into a man. As yet there was no death. But Maui's father, "from mistake, hurriedly skipped over part of the prayers of the baptismal service, and of the services to purify Maui; he knew that the gods would be certain to punish this fault, by causing Maui to die, and his alarm and anxiety were therefore great." Maui having transformed by enchantments Irawaru, his sister Hinauri's husband, into a dog, and Hinauri having girded herself with an enchanted girdle had cast herself into the sea, and been swept away by the tide, he was obliged to quit the village where Irawaru had lived,

Wa ti Unkulunkulu wa ba nika abantu amatongo ; wa ba nika izinyanga zokwelapa nezokubula ; wa ba nika nemiti yokwelapa itongo. Wa ti Unkulunkulu, "Uma umuntu e gula e netongo, e banjwe itongo, wo Alaba inkomo, ni bongwe itongo ; umuntu u ya 'kupila, m' esuka e banjwe itongo."

Unkulunkulu gave men Amatongo ;¹² he gave them doctors for treating disease, and diviners ; he gave them medicines to treat diseases occasioned by the Itongo.¹³ Unkulunkulu said, "If a man is ill, he being affected by the Itongo, you shall kill a bullock and laud the Itongo ; the man will get well if he has been affected by the Itongo."

and so returned to his parents. His father said, "Oh my son, I have heard from your mother and others that you are very valiant, and that you have succeeded in all feats that you have undertaken in your own country, whether they are small or great ; but now that you have arrived in your father's country, you will perhaps at last be overcome." On asking "what he could be vanquished by?" his father replied, "By your great ancestress Hine-nui-te-po." But he answered, "Lay aside such idle thoughts, and let us both fearlessly seek whether men are to die or live for ever." Maui pleads that he had subdued Tamani-te-Ra (the sun), and had rescued much land by drawing it up from the sea. His father admits the truth, and bids him go boldly to visit "his great ancestress," who, he knew, would be the cause of his death. Maui set out on his journey, taking "every kind of little bird" as his companions. Maui and his companions found Hine-nui-te-po asleep. Maui told them that he was about to creep into the old chieftainess, and warned them not to laugh until they saw him "just coming out of her mouth ; then they might shout with laughter if they pleased." When he entered the old chieftainess, "the little birds screwed up their tiny cheeks, trying to suppress laughter ; at last, the little Tiwakawaka laughed out loud with its merry cheerful note," and the old woman awoke, and killed Maui. This was the cause of the introduction of death into the world. Hine-nui-te-po being the goddess of death, had Maui passed safely through her, then no more human beings would have died, but death itself would have been destroyed. (*Grey. Polynesian Mythology, p. 16—58.*)

¹² *Itongo*, p. *Amatongo*.—An *itongo* is properly the spirit of the dead,—a disembodied spirit. The notion that it is in the form of a snake, or becomes converted into a snake, is probably something superadded to the original tradition. But all these questions will be discussed when we come to the *AMATONGO*."

¹³ *Ukwelapa itongo*, lit., to treat an itongo, that is, diseases which are occasioned by the itongo, as *uthlabo*, which appears from the description to be pleurodynia ; one case I was called to see was pleurisy.

Wa ti, "Ni ya 'kubona futi na sebusuku, ni ya 'kupupa; itongo li ya 'ku ni tshela into e li i tshoko." Wa ti, "Li ya 'ku ni tshela nenkomo."

Itongo li hlala kumuntu omkulu; o yena o li pupayo ku 'munumuzana; li ti, "Ni nga hlaba inkomo, u ya 'kusinda umuntu." I hlatshe inkomo e tshiwo itongo; a ti loku umuntu ku be se ku tiwa, "U za 'kufa," a sinde; ku bonakale ke ukuti lo 'muntu u be e banjwe itongo. I ya kitshwa inyongo ngapakati enkomweni,¹⁴ a telwe ngayo inyongo; ku bongwe, ku tiwe, "Uma si bone ukuti itongo, a si bone ukuba a pile namhla nje; ku ya sa kusasa nje u se i dhlala inyama; si ya 'kubona ke ukuti itongo. Okunye loku, a si yi 'kuvuma enhliziyweni zetu ukuti itongo; si ya 'kuti, i 'kufa nje; a li ko itongo kuyena emzimbeni wake. Uma si bone ukuti ku kona itongo, si ya 'kubona ngokuba a pile, si bongwe ke. I kona si ya 'kuhlaba inkomo eziningi, si bongwe ke etongweni, si bone ukuti itongo lakwiti li lungile."

UGUAISE MDUNGA (an Ilala).

He said, "You will see also by night, you will dream; the Itongo will tell you what it is it wishes." He said, "It will also tell you the bullock it would have killed."

The Itongo dwells with the great man; he who dreams is the chief of the village; it says, "Should you kill a bullock, the man will get well." The bullock which the Itongo mentions is killed; and although people were thinking that the man would die, he gets well; and so it is clear that the man was affected by the Itongo. The gall-bladder is taken from the bullock, and the man has the gall poured on him; they give praise and say, "In order that we may see that it is the Itongo, let us see him get well this very day; and at the very dawn of tomorrow eat meat; so we shall see that it is the Itongo. On the other hand, we shall not admit in our hearts that it is the Itongo; we shall say, it is disease only; there is no Itongo in his body. If we see that it is the Itongo, we shall see it by his getting well, and so we shall give thanks. Then we will kill many cattle, and laud the Itongo, and see that the Itongo of our house is good."

¹⁴ *Enkomweni*.—I preserve this word because it is formed regularly. The Amazulu say *enkomeni*; the Amalala *eyomweni*.

ABADALA ba ti Unkulunkulu u ng' Umvelinqangi, ngokuba be ti wa vela kukqala; be ti u uhlanga lwabantu lapa kwa dabuka abantu kulo. Ku tsho abadala ukuti u kona Unkulunkulu; w' enza abantu bokukqala, abadala bendulo; ba fa abadala bendulo, kwa sala abanye aba zalwa i bo, amadodana, e si zwa ngabo ukuti kwa be ku kona abadala bendulo ab' azi ukudabuka kwezwe. Ka ba m azi

THE old men say that Unkulunkulu is Umvelinqangi,¹⁵ for they say he came out first; they say he is the Uthlanga from which all men broke off.¹⁶ The old men say that Unkulunkulu is;¹⁷ he made the first men, the ancients of long ago;¹⁸ the ancients of long ago died; there remained those who had been begotten by them, sons, by whom we hear that there were ancients of long ago who knew the breaking off of the world.¹⁹ They

¹⁵ *Umvelinqangi*, the first out-comer.

¹⁶ Let the reader note that here three names are applied to the first man, Unkulunkulu, Umvelinqangi, and Uthlanga. *Unkulunkulu* expresses antiquity, age, lit., the old-old one, as we use great in great-great-grandfather. *Umvelinqangi* expresses priority; the first out-comer. *Uthlanga*, potential source of being. Neither must this be regarded as a contradiction to the statement lower down, "Wa vela lapa abantu ba dabuka kona ohlangeni," He came out where men broke off from Uthlanga. For Unkulunkulu, the first man, sprang from—came out of—broke off from—a previously existing *uthlanga* or source of being, the nature of which is quite beyond the native philosophy; and having come out, he became the *uthlanga* or source of being of entire humanity.

¹⁷ *U kona*, is. We must not, however, understand this as a declaration of the ancients that Unkulunkulu has a present existence. But they mean to say, "Unkulunkulu was a *reality*; that which we say of him is not a fable, but a fact. Unkulunkulu is a reality; he made us, and is, as it were, in us his work. We exist because he existed." That this is the meaning we gather not only from the interpretation of it by natives, and from other accounts of the same tradition, but from the statement made below, "B' ezwa ngokutshiwo ukuti Unkulunkulu wa be kona," They heard it said that Unkulunkulu was, or used to be; the tense necessarily implying that he exists no longer.

¹⁸ *Abadala bendulo*, the ancients of long ago,—not merely ancients, but the ancients of primitive times; those who formed the first races of mankind.

¹⁹ The natives profess to be unable to give any account of the origin of things; but refer to a period when the ancients understood the history of creation.

Unkulunkulu ; a ba m bonanga ngame/lo ; b' ezwa ngokutshiwo ukuti Unkulunkulu wa be kona. Wa vela lapa abantu ba dabuka kona o/langeni. Wa zala abantu bendulo ; ba fa, ba shiya abantwana babo ; ba zala abanye, amadandan' abo, ba fa ; ba zala abanye, ukuba tina si ze si zwe ngonkulunkulu. Okoko betu aba si tshelayo izindaba zikankulunkulu nezendulo.

Ngi tshele uma ngesikati samanje ku kona abantu aba kuleka kuye Unkulunkulu na ?

Ka ba ko. Ba ya kcela ematongweni ; ba wa dumise ukuba a ze a ba sindise.

Amatongo a ng' obani na ?

Amadhlozi, abantu ab' esuke be file ; ba fe kqede, ba buye ba gukuke ba be amatongo, ba hhuluzele ngesisu, ba se be ti abantu abadala, "Itongo." Igama lalo li inyoka ; inyandezulu igama layo inyoka.

Ku be se ku gula umuntu, ku se ku yiwa enyangeni, ku yiwa 'kubulwa ; ku be se ku tiwa, "Amatongo a ze 'kukcela izinko-

did not know Unkulunkulu ; they did not see him with their eyes ; they heard it said that Unkulunkulu was. He came out where men broke off from Uthlanga. He begat the ancients of long ago ; they died and left their children ; they begat others, their sons, they died ; they begat others ; thus we at length have heard about Unkulunkulu. It was our ancestors who told us the accounts of Unkulunkulu and of the ancients of long ago.

Tell me if at the present time there are any who pray to Unkulunkulu ?

There are none. They pray to the Amatongo ; they honour them that they may come and save them.

Who are the Amatongo ?

The Amadhlozi, men who have died ; when they have died, they change again and become Amatongo, and crawl on their belly, and so the old men call a dead man so changed an Itongo. It is called a snake ; Inyandezulu²⁰ is the name of the snake.

When a man is ill, they go to a doctor to divine ; and it is said, "The Amatongo have come to ask for cattle, that a bullock should be

²⁰ A large, green, harmless snake, which for the most part is observed in trees. It frequently enters the native huts.

mo, ukuze ku hlathwe inkomo." I b' i s' i nqwatsbelwa endhlini, ukuba a i d/le; se ku vulwa umnyango, ba nga i d/le ngalesi 'sikati, ba i d/le ngolunye usuku. Kusi/hiwa ku lale abafana endhlini, ba i linde inyama. Ku ya sa kusasa i s' i ya pekwa, ku butane abantu, ba ze ba i d/le, ba ze 'ku i d/la in/loko. Be se ba ya hlakazeka ba ye emizini yabo; ku be se ku sala abasekaya. Ku be se ku pekwa isifuba esi za 'kud/hiwa amakosikazi nabantu bonke basekaya.

Se ku butwa amatambo onke enkomo, umnikazinkomo e se wa tshisa, ukuba abatakati ba nga wa tati, ba ye 'ku w' elapa, ba m bulale, a buye a gule futi.

killed." The flesh of the slaughtered bullock is put together in a hut, that the Amatongo may eat; the door is shut, and the people do not eat the meat at the time, but on the morrow. In the evening boys sleep in the hut and watch the meat. In the morning the flesh is boiled, and men assemble to eat the head. They then separate and go to their own villages; and those of the family where the bullock has been killed remain. Then the breast is boiled, which will be eaten by the chieftainesses and by the people of the family.

All the bones of the bullock are collected, and the owner of the cattle burns them, that wizards may not take them, and apply medicines to them and injure the man who was sick, and he become ill again.²¹

KWA ku tiwa ekukqaleni, abafundisi be nga ka bi ko, uma si buza tina, si ti, "Amatshe 'enziwe ini na?" ku tiwe, "'Enziwe Umvelinqangi." Ku tiwa tina bantu si pume emhlangeni lapa sa

It was said at first before the arrival of missionaries, if we asked, "By what were the stones made?"—"They were made by Umvelinqangi." It is said that we men came out of a bed of reeds,²² where we had our origin.²³

²¹ This account was given by a refugee recently arrived from Zululand, whose name I do not know.

²² *Umhlanga* is a bed of reeds. We must not confound *umhlanga* with *uhlanga*. *Umhlanga* is the place where they broke off—or out-came—from *Uhlanga*.

²³ *Vela*, had our origin,—*out-came*, equivalent to "were created." It does not mean merely appearing.

vela kona. Si buze, si ti, "Ilanga l' enziwa ini na?" ba ti, "L' enziwa Umvelinqangi." Ngokuba tina be si buza, si bancinyane, si ti, abadala ba ya z' azi izinto zonke ezi semhlabeni; kanti ka ba z' azi; kodwa si nga ba pikisi, ngokuba si ng' azi nati.

Kwa ti se si semabuneni Amabunu a wa si tshelanga ukuti, "Inkosi i kona pezulu;" kodwa wona e tsho e ti, tin' abantu abamnyama si ya 'kutsha; kodwa a e tsho e ti, tin' abantu abamnyama a si nawo umoya, si fana nenja, yona e nge nawo umoya.

Ba be tsho abadala, abafundisi be nga ka bi ko, ba ti, "Izinto zonke z' enziwa Umvelinqangi, zonke." Kodwa a ba m azi una ubani na. Kodwa ba hlala ngokubonga izinyoka; na manje ba ya bonga zona; a ba k' ezwa; na

When we asked, "By what was the sun made?" they said, "By Umvelinqangi." For we used to ask when we were little, thinking that the old men knew all things which are on the earth; yet forsooth they do not know; but we do not contradict them, for neither do we know.

When we were with the Dutch they did not tell us that there is a Lord above; but they said that we black people should be burnt; and that we have no spirit,²⁴ but are like a dog, which has no spirit.

The ancients used to say before the arrival of the missionaries, that all things were made by Umvelinqangi; but they were not acquainted with his name.²⁵ But they lived by worshipping²⁶ snakes; and they still worship them; they do not yet hear; and even now

²⁴ *Umoya*, spirit. The native who related this tale, though not a Christian, had lived with whitemen from his childhood, and for some years with a missionary. The untaught native would not use *umoya* (wind, air) in the sense of spirit, as this man uses it. They would apply it to the air we breathe, but not to the spirit or soul of man. Neither do they use *itongo*, *idhlozi*, *isituta* (ghost), or *isitunzi* (shade), of any power animating the body, but only of something,—a new or distinct existence,—which comes out of the body when dead.

²⁵ Many misunderstandings of native traditions have arisen from the enquiry, "Unkulunkulu ubani na?" meaning who or what is Unkulunkulu. It really means, "What is his *name*?" The native cannot tell you his *name*, except it be Umvelinqangi.

²⁶ *Bonga*, worship. It is necessary to give *bonga* this full meaning here, and not to restrict it to the offices of *praising* or *thanking*. It is equivalent to *pata*, which is used for all and every kind of adoration and worship.

manje lapa abafundisi be kulumayo, ba ti, "Insumansumane; into nje ngokudhlala." A ba tsho ukuti, ku kulunywa izindaba ezi kqinisileyo.

Lapa ku hlatshwa, ku ya bongwa inyoka kukqala, anduba ku hlatshwe inkomo. I ti se i hlatshiwe ya hlinzwa; ku tabatwe inyama encinyane enonileyo, i ye 'kubekwa endhlini, emsamo ngodengezi; ku bekwe umlilo pezu kwodengezi. Uma ku tshe inyama yenkomo, ku dhle amatongo (uma 'eze a ze 'kudhla inyama yenkomo). I tutwe inyama yenkomo, i bekwe endhlini. Lapo ku kona inyama ku hlale umuntu a be munye, ngokuba ku tiwa ku za 'ku fika amadhlozi, a ze 'kudhla inyama. Ku ti kusasa a si boni lapa amadhlozi e dhile kona; si bona izito zenkomo zi pelele zonke, nenyama e b' i sodengezini a i dhliwanga 'luto; i sa hlezi njengaloku i be i njalo; a si boni 'luto olu dhliweyo.

Kodwa si buza si ti, "Amadhlozi a dhla ni na? loku inyama ku sa si sa i bona yonke," ba ti abadala, "Amatongo a ya i kota." Si nga bi namandhla oku ba pikisa, si tula, ngokuba ba be badala ngapambili kwetu, be si tshela izinto zonke, si zi lalele; ngokuba si tshelwa zonke, si zi vume, si zi

when the missionaries speak, they say, "It is a fable; a plaything." They do not admit that what is spoken is the truth.

When they slaughter cattle, they first praise the snake, and then the bullock is killed. When it is killed they skin it; and a little of the fat²⁷ is taken, and put in the upper part of the hut on a sherd; and fire is placed on it. When the flesh of the bullock burns, the Amatongo eat (if they do come to eat the flesh of a bullock). The flesh of the bullock is taken and put in a house. One man stays in the house where the flesh is put, for it is said the Amatongo will come and eat flesh. But in the morning we do not see where the Amadhlozi have eaten; we see the limbs of the bullock all there, and the meat that was on the sherd has not been eaten by any thing; it remains just as it was; we do not see any that has been eaten.

But when we ask, "What do the Amadhlozi eat? for in the morning we still see all the meat," the old men say, "The Amatongo lick it." And we are unable to contradict them; but are silent, for they are older than we, and tell us all things, and we listen; for we are told all things,

²⁷ The fat of the cawl or omentum is used with incense.

vume kodwa, si nga boni kahlle ukuba ba kqinisile ini na.

Uma ku ya ngena inyoka endhlini a i bulawa; ku tiwa, "Idhlozi likabani," ku tshiwo igama lomuntu owa fayó; ku tiwe le 'nyoka i pume kuye ekufeni kwake. I yekwe, i hlale njalo endhlini. Ku tatwe imbuzi, ku hlatshwe yona, ku hlatshiswa inyoka. A i bonwa umuntu lapa i se i muka.

Abantu abamnyama lapa be hambayo ba ya dumisa inyoka. Lapa umuntu e limala wa sinda, a gwaze inkomo, ngokuba e bong a idhlozi, e ti li m sindisile. Lapa umuntu e zuza nezinkomo, a bong e inyoka, a ti, i yona e m nikileyo izinkomo eziningi.

A ti o nga se nayise, a ti, lapa e za 'ku/lab a inkomo, a bong e uyise, a ti, uyise a ka m bheke njalo, a mu pe konke a ku tanda-yo, a mu pe izinkomo namabele,—konke.

Ukuma umuntu e gula ku bulwe ezinyangeni; inyanga i fike i ti, ma ba dhle inkomo. Ba i dhle inkomo, i ti inyanga umuntu u ya 'kusinda. Ba ti se be i dhle inkomo, a nga sindi, a fe, ku tiwe, "U ya bizwa abapansi." Ku

and assent without seeing clearly whether they are true or not.

When a snake comes into a house it is not killed; they say, "It is the Idhlozi of So-and-so," mentioning the name of a man who is dead; it is said the snake came out of him at his death. It is left, and remains always in the house. They take a goat and sacrifice it, sacrificing to the snake. No one sees it when it goes away.

When black men are on a journey they honour the snake. When a man is injured and gets well, he kills a bullock, for he thanks the Idhlozi, thinking that it has saved him. When a man obtains cattle also, he thanks the snake, thinking it is the snake which has given him many cattle.

A man whose father is dead, when he is about to kill a bullock, worships his father, praying him to look on him continually, and give him all that he wishes, and give him cattle and corn,—every thing.

When a man is ill, they enquire of diviners; the diviner comes and tells them to eat a bullock. And they eat a bullock, the diviner saying that the man will get well. If when they have eaten the bullock he does not get well, but dies, they say, "He is summoned by those who are beneath."²⁸ They

²⁸ *Abapansi*, i. e., the Amatongo, they who are beneath. Some

tiwe, "U bulewe amadhlozi ngokuba e tanda um' 'eze 'kuhlala kuwona."

Uma kubantu abamnyama ku fe umuntu, ku ya kalwa kakulu, kw enziwe umsindo omkulu. Ku ti e se lahliwe, ku tatwe izinto zake zonke, zi baselwe umlilo omkulu, ku nga bi ko na lodwa uto lwake a be lu binca emzimbeni wake olu salayo ; zi tshiswe zonke, ngokuba ku y' esatshwa ukubinca impahla yomuntu ofileyo.

UFULATELA SITOLE.

Ku tiwa ekukulumeni kwabantu abamnyama, uma umuntu w enza indaba emangalisayo abantu a ba nge namandhla oku y enza, noma uku i kgeda uma imbi, ba tsho ke, "Au ! yeka ! abantu bansondo b' enza nje."

Noma izulu li ya na kakulu imivimbi eminingi, li veza ukumangalisa, ku tshiwo ngokuti, "La na izulu lansondo !" njalo futi.

Na ngomhlaba futi uma u lukuni ekulimeni, ku ya tshiwo ku tiwe, "Au ! wa ba lukuni, umhlaba wansondo !"

say, "He has been killed by the Amadhlozi because they wish the man to go and dwell with them."

When any one dies among black men, they lament very much and make a great noise. And when he is buried, all his things are taken, and a large fire kindled to burn them ; not a single thing which he wore on his body is left ; all is burnt, for they are afraid to wear the property of a dead man.

In the speech of black men, when a man does a wonderful thing which other men cannot do, or brings a bad matter to a good issue, men say, "Au ! go to ! the people of Unsondo²⁹ do thus."

Or if the heaven rains excessively great torrents, and causes wonder, it is also constantly said, "How the heaven of Unsondo rains !"

And of the earth also, if it is hard to dig, it is said, "Au ! how hard it is, the earth of Unsondo !"

natives say, so called, because they have been *buried beneath the earth*. But we cannot avoid believing that we have an intimation of an old faith in a Hades or Tartarus, which has become lost and is no longer understood. *Subterraneans* is an exact translation of *abapansi*, and as we proceed we shall find that similar characteristics and actions are ascribed to the Amatongo as to the Subterraneans in the mythology of other people.

²⁹ *Abantu bansondo*, or it is sometimes said, *bakansondo*.

Okunye futi, uma u kona umuntu omu/le impela, abantu ba tanda ukumangala ngaye, ba ti, "Au! wa ba mu/le, umuntu wansondo."

Futi, uma ku puma impi, i ya 'ku/lasela enye inkosi, ku ya tshivo ngamakosi, ku tiwe, "Au! Ai! amakosi ansondo wona, ngokuba na ngesikati sokwin/la a ya kipa impi, na ngesobusika a ya kipa impi."

Okunye, ku tiwa abantu ngabafazi, ngokuba abafazi ba nokuma kwabo, a tsho amadoda a ti, "Au! Ai! Abafazi bansondo."

Ku njalo ke ekupeleni si zwa kungati Unsondo lo umuntu ngezwi lokuti, "Unsondo wa fa e yaleza e ti, 'Nampa abantu ngokuti na ngokuti.'" Si ti ke nga-

Besides also, if there is a very handsome man, whom people like to make a wonder, they say, "Au! how beautiful he is, a man of Unsondo."³⁰

Again, if an army goes out to invade another king, it is said of kings, "Au! No! they are kings of Unsondo, for in the time of firstfruits and in the time of winter they lead out their army."

Again, men say it of women, for women have their characteristics, and the men say, "Au! No! Women of Unsondo."

So finally we hear that Unsondo is, as it were, a man by the saying which is used, "Unsondo died uttering this his last word, 'Those are men because they are so and so.'³¹ Therefore we say that this

³⁰ *Uthlanga* is also used to express beauty. "Si tshele ni u/langa olu/le lapa lwentombi," Tell us which is the prettiest girl here. They also say, "Inkosi yo/langa," that is, a chief who refers his descent to Uthlanga, that is, to him whom they regard as the creator or source of all things. We may compare this with *διογενης βασιλευς* of Homer.

³¹ By this we are to understand that at his death Unsondo uttered a prophecy of the future of his children, telling them by what kind of conduct, good and bad, they would be characterised. Thus it is said not only of a good man, "Wa mu/le! umuntu wansondo!" How good he is! a man of Unsondo! to express the perfection of goodness, but also of the wicked, "Au! wa mubi! umuntu wansondo!" O! how wicked he is! a man of Unsondo! to express utter wickedness. We may compare this with the Hebrew idiom, which without being identical is remarkably similar; that of designating any thing of surpassing excellence as God's, e.g. "A very great trembling," lit. a trembling of God (1 Sam. xiv. 15); and in Gen. xxxv. 5, "The terror of God (that is, an exceeding great terror) was upon the cities." (See Gesenius.)

loko Unsondo lo Unkulunkulu lowo, e si ti wa fa; ngokuba lelo 'lizwi lokuti, "Unsondo wa fa e yaleza," si ti ku u yena lowo, a ku ko mumba.

Kepa abanye abantu ba ti Unsondo izwi nje lokupela kwen-daba; a ku 'siminya; kepa lona ngokuma kwalo li ya ku shiya loko 'kutsho kwabo, li veze ukqobo.

Ngi li shiyile futi izwi eli tshiyoyo Unsondo; a si namandhla okuti la vela esizweni esitile; li izwi e si vele li kona njalo; a li litsha, lidala kakulu; a si b' azi ubudala balo.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

In illustration and confirmation of the above I insert the following. Returning from the Umzimkulu with a young Ibakca for my guide, I availed myself of the opportunity to discover whether there existed among the Amabakca the same traditions as among the Amazulu. I therefore requested him to tell me what he knew about the tradition of the chameleon. He told me the ordinary tale, but instead of saying it was sent by Unkulunkulu, he said, "Kwa tunywa unwaba," There was sent a chameleon. I enquired by whom it was sent. He replied, "By Unsondo."—"And who was he?"—"He was he who came out first at the breaking off of all things (ekudabukeni kwezinto zonke)."—"Explain what you mean by ekudabukeni."—"When this earth and all things broke off from Uthlanga."—"What is Uthlanga?"—"He who begat (zala) Unsondo."—"You do not mean then a reed, such as those in that bed of reeds in the valley?"—"No; but Uthlanga who begat Unsondo."—"Where is he now?"

"O, ka se ko. Njengaloku ubaba-mkulu ka se ko, naye ka se ko; wa fa. Wa fa, kwa vela oku-

Unsondo is the same as Unkulunkulu, who, we say, died; on account of that saying, "Unsondo died uttering his last word," it is he indeed, and not another.

But some say that Unsondo is nothing more than the last word of a matter; it has no allusion to a fact; but the use of this saying sets at naught that word of theirs, and brings out a person.

But I have omitted one thing about this word Unsondo; we cannot say it had its origin in a particular tribe; it is a word which was in constant use when we were born; it is not a new word; it is very old; we do not know its age.

"O, he exists no longer. As my grandfather no longer exists, he too no longer exists; he died.

nye oku bizwa ngokunye. Uthlanga wa zala Unsondo; Unsondo wa zala okoko; okoko ba zala okulu; okulu ba zala obabamkulu; nobabamkulu ba zala obaba; nobaba ba si zala tina."

When he died, there arose others, who were called by other names. Uthlanga begat Unsondo; Unsondo begat the ancestors; the ancestors begat the great grandfathers; the great grandfathers begat the grandfathers; and the grandfathers begat our fathers; and our fathers begat us."³²

"Are there any who are called Uthlanga now?"—"Yes."—"Are you married?"—"Yes."—"And have children?"—"Yebo. U mina e ngi uthlanga." (Yes. It is I myself who am an uthlanga.)—"Because you have become the father of children?"—"Yes; I am an uthlanga on that account." As he said this he tapped himself on his breast.

Kodwa mina ngi ti labo ba kqinisile ngokuti Unkulunkulu Umvelinqangi. Kepa le 'ndawo a ba i tshoyo ngokuti wa e nomfazi, a ngi i zwanga. Loko e nga ku zwayo ukuti abantu ba vela kunkulunkulu, njengokuba wa b'enza ngokuba-ko kwake; a ku tshiwongo ukuti Unkulunkulu wa e nomfazi. I loku e si kw aziyo.

BUT for my part I say they speak truly³³ who say that Unkulunkulu is named Umvelinqangi. But as for what they say respecting his having a wife, I have not heard of it. What I have heard is this, that men sprang from Unkulunkulu, as if he made them because he existed (before them);³⁴ it was not said that Unkulunkulu had a wife. This is what we know.

Kepa ukubongwa, ba kqinisile labo aba tshoyo ukuti, ka bongwa-

And as regards worship, they speak truly who say, he was not

³² This portion I wrote at his dictation in my study; the rest from memory.

³³ The native thus begins his statement because I had previously read to him what other natives had said on the subject.

³⁴ He means by this that he had heard that Unkulunkulu was the first that existed, and that existing he made others. But we shall see by and by that this man is mistaken. Unkulunkulu is supposed to have a wife.

nga ; nami ngi ya ba vumela. A si ko ukubonga loko, uma abantu be bona izinto, noma imvula, noma ukudhla amabele, be be tsho abantu ukuti, "Yebo, lezi 'zinto z' enziwe Unkulunkulu." Kepa a banga nalo izwi lake lokuti, "Ngin' enzele lezi 'zinto ukuze ni ng' a-zi ngazo." Wa z' enza ukuba abantu ba dhle, ba bone nje. Ngemva kwaloko ba ba nako uku zi pendula, zi be ezamadhlozi. Ba m amuka Unkulunkulu lezi 'zinto.

Kukqala sa bona ukuba s' enziwa Unkulunkulu. Kepa lapo si gulayo a sa m pata, a sa kcela 'luto kuyena. Sa pata labo e si ba bonile ngamehlo, ukufa kwabo nokuhlala kwabo nati. Ngaloko ke izinto zonke sa kqala uku zi kcela emadhlozini, noma amabele,

worshipped ;³⁵ and I agree with them. For it is not worship, when people see things, as rain, or food, such as corn, and say, "Yes, these things were made by Unkulunkulu." But no such word has come to them from him as this, "I have made for you these things that you might know me by them." He made them that men might eat and see them and nothing more. Afterwards they had power to change those things, that they might become the Amatongo's. They took them away from Unkulunkulu.³⁶

At first we saw that we were made by Unkulunkulu. But when we were ill we did not worship him, nor ask any thing of him. We worshipped those whom we had seen with our eyes, their death and their life amongst us. So then we began to ask all things of the Amadhlozi, whether corn,

³⁵ A mistake has no doubt often arisen on the question of whether Unkulunkulu is worshipped by the natives or not, from the failure to recognise the fact that there are many Onkulunkulu ; and the statements of natives have been wrongly supposed to be contradictory. The Unkulunkulu *par excellence*, the first man, is no where worshipped. No *isibongo* of his is known. The worship, therefore, of him according to native worship is no longer possible. But the Onkulunkulu of tribes and houses, whose *isibongo* are still known, are worshipped, each by his respective descendents.

³⁶ He means by this that he is not sure whether in the beginning they worshipped him or not ; but they no longer worship him, but the Amatongo, and thank the Amatongo for the things which they believe were created by Unkulunkulu.

noma abantwana, noma izinkomo, noma ukupila. Kwa kqala ngaloko ukuba ku bonakale ukuba Unkulunkulu ka se nayo indodana yake e nga m dumisako; kwa sweleka ukubuyela emva, ngokuba abantu b'anda, ba hlakazeka, ba bambana ngezindulu zabo; ka ba ko o ti, "Mina ngi se i leyo 'ndulu yakwankulunkulu."

Unkulunkulu kutina bantu abanyama u njengohlanga lombila. Lona lu nga veza isikwebu, si kiwe, lu shiywe lona; lu sale lu bola kuleyo 'ndawo; iziulamvu zaleso 'sikwebu zi Onkulunkulu bezindulu e se zi ya bongana zodwa njengokulandelana kwokumila kwazo esikwebini. Ku njalo ke ukula/leka kwezibongo zikankulunkulu.

or children, or cattle, or health. By that it began to be evident that Unkulunkulu had no longer a son³⁷ who could worship him; there was no going back to the beginning, for people increased, and were scattered abroad, and each house had its own connections; there was no one who said, "For my part I am of the house of Unkulunkulu."

To us black men Unkulunkulu is as a stalk of maize. It may produce the ear, it be plucked, and the stalk be left, and decay in the place where it grew; the grains of the cob are Onkulunkulu of houses, which now worship those only of their own family according to the order of their growth on the cob.³⁸ It is on this account that the praise-giving names of Unkulunkulu are lost.

³⁷ This implies that he had a son; but the *isibongo* or praise-giving name of Unkulunkulu is lost; by the process of time and many wanderings, other names have been taken up, each house having its own *isibongo*.

³⁸ He here uses a metaphor comparing men, or their houses, to the grains on an ear of maize; Unkulunkulu is the stalk, which having done its work dies; the seeds are the men, who sprang from him and became centres of families, each having its distinct family name or *isibongo*, and the children of successive generations worship those who preceded them. But the native adds as I am making this note, "Lelo 'zwi lokuti iziulamvu zi bongana zodwa loko ukuti i leyo 'n/ulamvu endulini yayo se i unkulunkulu enzalweni yayo, leyo na leyo njalo," As for the saying, Each grain worships those which belong to itself, it means that each grain in its own house is an unkulunkulu to its offspring, each to its own offspring throughout.— Thus although the First Out-comer, Unkulunkulu, is not worshipped, other Onkulunkulu are worshipped, that is, their names are known and used in acts of adoration. But we shall see this more clearly by and by.

Futi le 'nkosi e pezulu a si i zwanga ngabelungu. Ku be ku ti ngesikati sehlobo, uma izulu li ya duma, ku tiwe, "I ya dhlala inkosi." Ku ti uma ku kona ow esabayo, ku tiwe abakulu, "W esaba nje. U dhle ni yenkosi na?" I loko ke e ngi tshoyo ngako ukuti le 'nkosi e si i zwangani ukuba i kona, sa si i zwile pambili.

Kepa i nge njengonkulunkulu lowo, e si ti w' enza izinto zonke. Kepa yona si ya i biza ngokuti inkosi, ngokuba si ti, yona i pezulu. Unkulunkulu u pansi ; izinto lezi ezi pansi z' enziwe u ye. Si nga tsho 'luto ngaleyo inkosi e pezulu, 'kupela loko e si ku tshoyo kumuntu ow esabayo, ukuti, "W one ni yenkosi?" S' azi loko ukuba o y onileyo u ya tshaywa i

And the King which is above³⁹ we did not hear of him [first] from whitemen. In summer time, when it thunders, we say, "The king is playing."⁴⁰ And if there is one who is afraid, the elder people say to him, "It is nothing but fear. What thing belonging to the king have you eaten?" This is why I say, that the Lord of whom we hear through you, we had already heard of before you came.

But he is not like that Unkulunkulu who, we say, made all things. But the former we call a king, for we say, he is above. Unkulunkulu is beneath ; the things which are beneath were made by him. We said nothing about that king which is above but that which we say to a man who is afraid, "What have you injured which belongs to the king?" We know that he who has sinned against him is struck by him ;⁴¹

³⁹ *Inkosi* may be translated king, lord, chief, &c. And we may either say, the king, lord, chief, &c., which is above,—or the king of heaven,—or the heavenly king.

⁴⁰ Is playing, or sporting, not angry. He is enjoying himself, as their chiefs do on great festivals, when it is said, "Inkosi i dhlala umkosi," The chief is playing a festival.

It is worth noting that So or Khevioso is the thunder god of the West African natives ; and, says Capt. Burton, "according to Barbot, on the Gold Coast, (I have heard the same everywhere from that place to the Camaroons,) 'when it thunders they say the Deity—with reverence be it spoken—is diverting himself with his wives.'" (*Burton. A Mission to the King of Dahome. Vol. II., p. 142.*)

⁴¹ That is, by lightning.

yo ; kepa si ng' azi 'luto olu nga si sindisa ekutshayweni. Si nga boni nakcala e lona s' ona ngalo kuyo na kunkulunkulu. Si ti, "Si lungile, loko e si kw enzayo konke si ku nikwe Unkulunkulu."

Kepa leyo 'nkosi e pezulu e sa y azi ngokuba izulu li duma, si ti, "I ya dhlala inkosi," a si tsho nokuba i vela kunkulunkulu. Unkulunkulu si ya tsho yena ukuti u ukukgala ; yona a si kw azi okwayo. Kwa hlala ilizwi kodwa lezulu lelo ; a s' azi ukuhamba kwayo nemibuso yayo. Ukutshaya loko e sa kw aziyo, ngokuti kumuntu ow esabayo, "Ini ukuba w esabe lapa inkosi i zidhlalela ? W one ni kuyo na ?" Kupela. A ku hlangani loko 'kwazi kwetu nokukankulunkulu nokwayo. Ngokuba okukankulunkulu, si nga ku landalanda ; okwayo si nge ku lande kakulu, ku nga ba kancane nje. S' azisa

but we know nothing that can save us from being smitten. Neither do we see in what respect we have sinned either in his sight or in that of Unkulunkulu. We say, "We are righteous, for all that we do we were permitted to do by Unkulunkulu."⁴²

And as regards that heavenly king whom we knew because the heaven thundered, saying, "The king is playing," we do not say also that he springs from Unkulunkulu. We say that Unkulunkulu was first ; we do not know what belongs to that king. There remained⁴³ that word only about the heaven ; we know nothing of his mode of life, nor of the principles of his government. His smiting is the only thing we knew, because we said to a man who was afraid, "Why are you afraid when the king is playing for his own pleasure ? What sin have you done in his sight ?" That is all. There is no connection between our knowledge of Unkulunkulu and of him. For we can give some account of what belongs to Unkulunkulu ; we can scarcely give any account of what belongs to the heavenly king. We know

⁴² That is, we live in accordance with the laws and conditions of our nature.

⁴³ This implies that there might have been once other words which are now lost.

okukankulunkulu, ngokuba yena wa be kona kulo 'mhlaba, izindaba zake si nga zi landa. Ilanga nenyanga sa ku nika Unkulunkulu lapa, nezulu li kona sa li nika Unkulunkulu. Kodwa leyo 'nkosi, noma i hlezi kulo, a si tshongo ukuti elayo; ngokuba sa ti konke kw enziwe Unkulunkulu.

Ku nge ti ngokuba namhla si zwa si tshelwa i ni ngale 'nkosi e pezulu, si kgale ukuba si ti konke okwayo; loko okwalabo aba si tshelayo; tina sa si nga tsho ukuba y' enza konke, sa si ti Unkulunkulu kupela. Kepa tina bantu, noma abanye abafundisi ba si tshela ngokuti le 'nkosi u ye Unkulunkulu lowo, tina a si tshongo ukuba Unkulunkulu u pezulu; sa ti, wa ba, wa fa; kupela okwetu.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

much of what belongs to Unkulunkulu, for he was on this earth, and we can give an account of matters concerning him. The sun and moon we referred to Unkulunkulu together with the things of this world; and yonder heaven we referred to Unkulunkulu. But we did not say that the heaven belonged to this king, although he dwells there; for we said all was made by Unkulunkulu.

It is not proper, because we now hear from you about that king of heaven, that we should begin to say all is his [as though that belonged to our original opinions];⁴⁴ that knowledge is theirs who tell us; for our parts, we used not to say that the king of heaven made all things, we said that Unkulunkulu alone made them. And we black men, although some missionaries tell us that this king and that Unkulunkulu is the same, did not say that Unkulunkulu was in heaven; we said, he came to be,⁴⁵ and died; that is all we said.

⁴⁴ He means to say, It would not be right because you have told us what we did not before know about a heavenly Lord, that we should claim to have known more than we really did before you came. We knew nothing about him, but that he dwelt above, and presided over the thunder.

⁴⁵ This is the exact meaning of *wa ba*. He came to be, that is, came into being.

LOKU 'kutsho kwabantu abamnyama ukuti Unkulunkulu, noma Uthlanga, noma Umenzi, lelo 'zwi linye. Kepa loku 'kutsho kwabo a ku nanhloko; ku amanqindi nje. Ngokuba izindaba zonke ezi ngaye Unkulunkulu, kubantu abamnyama a ku ko 'muntu kubo, noma amakosi wona, e namandla okuveza indaba, ukuba nabantu ba i kqonde ukuma kwayo uma i mi kanjani na. Kepa ukwazi kwetu a ku si kqubi ukuba si ku bone izimpande zako lapa ku mila kona; a si lingi uku zi bona; uma ku kona o keabangayo, ku be kuncinyane nje, a yeke, a dlulele kw a ku bona ngamehlo; na loko a ku bona ngamehlo ka kqondi 'kuma kwako uma ku mi kanjani na. Ku njalo ke ukuma kwaleyo 'ndaba kankulunkulu e si i tshoyo. Si ti si ya kwazi e si ku bona ngamehlo; kepa uma ku kona aba bona ngenhliziyo, ba nga si kupa masinyane kuloko e si ti si ya ku bona noku ku kqonda futi.

Ukuma kwetu kwokukqala na lezo 'zindaba zikankulunkulu si nge zi hlanganise naloku 'kuhamba kwetu e sa ba nako ngemuva kwa-

WHEN black men say Unkulunkulu or Uthlanga or the Creator they mean one and the same thing. But what they say has no point; it is altogether blunt.⁴⁶ For there is not one among black men, not even the chiefs themselves, who can so interpret such accounts as those about Unkulunkulu as to bring out the truth, that others too may understand what the truth of the matter really is. But our knowledge does not urge us to search out the roots of it; we do not try to see them; if any one thinks ever so little, he soon gives it up, and passes on to what he sees with his eyes; and he does not understand the real state of even what he sees. Such then is the real facts as regards what we know about Unkulunkulu, of which we speak. We say we know what we see with our eyes; but if there are any who see with their hearts, they can at once make manifest our ignorance of that which we say we see with our eyes and understand too.

As to our primitive condition and what was done by Unkulunkulu we cannot connect them with the course of life on which we entered when he ceased to be.

⁴⁶ It is altogether blunt. The natives not only use our saying that a thing is without point, but also the opposite, it is blunt,—that is, it does not enter into the understanding; it is unintelligible.

ke. Indlela yake Unkulunkulu ngokweduka kwetu ku njengokuba a i zi kitina ; i ya le lapo si ng' a-ziko.

Kepa ngi ti mina, uma ku kona umuntu o ti u namandla okwazi izindaba zikankulunkulu, ngi nga ti u ya z' azi njengokuba si mw a-zi, ukuba wa si pa konke. Kepa loku 'ku si pa kwake a ku nandlela kitina yalezi 'zinto e si nazo. Ngaloko ke uma e ti umuntu u ya z' azi indaba zake, e tsho ngaloko e si ku bonayo, ngi nga ti ku nga ba kule uku mw azi kwake ukuba a ngene kuleyo 'ndlela lapa nati si tshoyo ukuti Unkulunkulu, Umvelinqangi, wa si pa izinto zonke, e si pa ngokuba e ti kakulu u si pa nje, nokuba si be abantu, 'enzela ukuze si be nento e yona a s' enzela yona.

Ku ngaloko ngi ti mina ka ko 'muntu pakati kwetu o nga ti u ya z' azi izindaba zikankulunkulu ;

The path of Unkulunkulu, through our wandering, has not, as it were, come to us ; it goes yonder whither we know not.

But for my part I should say, if there be any one who says he can understand the matters about Unkulunkulu, that he knows them just as we know him, to wit, that he gave us all things. But so far as we see, there is no connection between his gift and the things we now possess. So then if any one says he knows all about Unkulunkulu, meaning that he knows them by means of what we see, I should say it would be well for him to begin where we begin, and travel by the path we know until he comes to us ; for we say, Unkulunkulu, the First Out-comer, gave us all things, and that he gave them to us and also made us men, in order that we should possess the things which he made for us.⁴⁷

I say then that there is not one amongst us who can say that he knows all about Unkulunkulu ;

⁴⁷ This is a most difficult piece of Zulu, which has been necessarily translated with great freedom ; a literal translation would be wholly unintelligible to the English reader. I have produced the above translation under the immediate direction of the native who first dictated it to me. What he means to say is this, that they really know nothing more about Unkulunkulu than that he made all things, and gave them to mankind ; having made men proper for the things, and the things proper for the men ; but that there is not known to be any connection between the present state of things and the primitive gift of the creator.

ngokuba si tsho ngaloku ukuti, "Impela se s' azi igama lodwa lake ; indlela yake a yona e s' enzele ukuze si hambe ngayo, a si sa i boni ; se ku mi ukukcabanga kodwa ngezinto e si zi tandayo ; kulukuni ukuza hlukanisa nazo, se si m enza ikxoki, ngokuba ububi lobo si bu tanda ngokwetu si ya namatela kakulu kubo ngokuzikqinisa." Uma ku kona izwi eli ti, "Le 'nto a i fanele ukuba u nga y enza ; uma u y enza, u ya 'kuba u ya zihlaza ;" kepa si y enze ngokuti, "Loku y' enziwa Unkulunkulu le into na, ububi bwayo bu ngapi na ?"

Njengaloku sa zeka abafazi abaningi ngokuti, "Wau ! si nge zicitshe kuloku 'kudhla okungaka Unkulunkulu a si pe kona ; a si zenzele nje." Kepa lelo 'zwi lokuba uma si tanda ukungena eubini si ngena ngaye, si be njengabantu aba sa pete ukutsho kwake ; kanti se si tula si zenzele kodwa, s' enza ngaye ; kepa a si s' azani naye Unkulunkulu, na loko a tanda ukuba si kw enze ngoku s' enza kwake.

for we say, "Truly we know nothing but his name ; but we no longer see his path which he made for us to walk in,⁴⁸ all that remains is mere thought about the things which we like ;⁴⁹ it is difficult to separate ourselves from these things, and we make him a liar, for that evil which we like of our own accord, we adhere to with the utmost tenacity." If any one says, "It is not proper for you to do that ; if you do it you will disgrace yourself ;" yet we do it, saying, "Since it was made by Unkulunkulu, where is the evil of it ?"

Just as we married many wives saying, "Hau ! we cannot deny ourselves as regards the abundance⁵⁰ which Unkulunkulu has given us : let us do just what we like." And if we wish to enter into sin, we enter into it in his name, and are like people who are still in possession of his word ; but we do not really possess it, but do our own will only, doing it in his name ; but we have no union with Unkulunkulu, nor with that which he wished we should do by creating us.

⁴⁸ That is, we are not acquainted with any laws which he left us for the regulation of our lives.

⁴⁹ That is, we do not trouble ourselves to ask what he willed or what was his purpose in creating us, but simply do just what pleases us, and make our own wills the measure and determiner of our actions.

⁵⁰ Lit., abundance of food.

A si banga nako, tina bantu abamnyama, ukuba si bone ubukulu bukukulunkulu, nokuba wa si tanda ngokuba wa s' enza. Kepa yena si ya m bonga ngezwi lokuba uma si ya dila si y' esuta, noma si ya dakwa, noma si ya zenzela loko e si tanda ukuzenzela; si se njengabantwana be shiyiwe uyise nonina; bona se be ya 'kuzenzela loko a be be nga yi 'ku kw enza, uma uyise u se kona nonina; kepa ba se be kw enza, ngokuba be ti, ilane, a ba bonwa 'muntu.

Uku m bonga kwetu Unkulunkulu i loku, ukuba uma ku kona umuntu o funa uku si sola ngokuti, loku si kw enza ngani na, si ya 'kuti kuye masinyane, "Kepa, loku wena u ti, a ku fanele uma kw enziwe; kepa okubi Unkulunkulu wa ku veza ngani?" A yeke omunye. Ku njalo ke uku m bonga kwetu. A si m bongi ngokuba si ti Unkulunkulu ka si londe njalo endileleni yake ukuba si nga ko/lwa i yo; se si m bonga ngokudakwa na ngokwesuta lezo 'zinto e si z' enza ngobubi.

We black men could not see the greatness of Unkulunkulu, nor that he loved us by creating us. And we worship⁵¹ him when we eat and are filled, or when we get drunk, or do our own will in matters in which we love to have our own will; and are now like children who have no father or mother, who have their own wills about things which they would not do, if their father and mother were still living; but they do it, for they imagine they are in a wilderness where no one can see them.

This is the way in which we worship Unkulunkulu. When any one would find fault with us, asking us why we do so-and-so, we should say to him at once, "But since you say it is not proper that this thing should be done, why did Unkulunkulu create what is evil?" And the other is silent. That is how we worship him. We do not worship him by praying Unkulunkulu to keep us ever in his path, that we might never forget it; but we now worship him by drunkenness and a greedy pursuit of those things which we do by our own wickedness.⁵²

⁵¹ This is said ironically in contradiction of statements which are sometimes made that Unkulunkulu is an object of worship.

⁵² All this is intended to show that the name of Unkulunkulu is only used as an excuse for evil, and never as an incentive to do good.

Kepa a ku ko 'zibongo e si m bonga ngazo njengaloku amadhlolzi si wa bonga ngezibongo zokuti nokuti nokuti. Ku njalo ke ngi ti mina, uma ku kona o tshoyo ukuti, "Yebo, uma u funa indhlela kankulunkulu, ngi se nayo," ngi nga ti, "O, indaba kanti i sa hlelekile, si se za 'uke si bone lapo s' ahlukana kona nankulunkulu; si bone nokutsho kwetu ngokuti, 'Unkulunkulu lezi 'zinto wa z' enza nje, ngokuba zin'hle.'"

Ngi ti mina Unkulunkulu ka se njengomenzi, ngokuba si y' ona ngaye, si mw enza o yena a s' enzele ububi bonke; kanti a ku njalo, ku se ku njalo ngokuba lezo 'zinto se kulukuni ukuzahlukanisa nazo, si sizakale ngokuti, "O, a ku 'kcala noma ku tiwa ng' enze kabi; kepa mina ngi ti Unkulunkulu wa e nge 'kuvezi okubi, noma be tsho, ku'hle nje."

I loko ke ukutsho kwami e ngi tsho ngako uma umuntu e ti, "Ngi se nonkulunkulu, izindaba zake." Ngi ti bonke abantu ba nga tanda ukuba lowo 'muntu o tsho njalo, 'ke b' eze 'ku m bona noku mu zwa; loku tina se si ze si bonga amadhlolzi nje, ngokuba si

But there are no praise-giving names with which we praise him similar to the great number of them, with which we praise the Amadhlozi. For my part, then, if any one says, "Yes, if you seek the path of Unkulunkulu, I am still acquainted with it," I should say, "O, the matter, forsooth, is now set in order, now we shall see where we separated from Unkulunkulu; and perceive too what we meant by saying, 'Unkulunkulu made these things because they are good.'"

For my part I say that Unkulunkulu is no longer like the Creator, for we sin in his name, and maintain that he made all evil for us; but it is not so, but it now appears to be so, because it is now difficult to separate ourselves from those things, and we are helped by saying, "O, it is no matter, although they say I have done wrong; but I say Unkulunkulu was unable to create what is evil, and although they say it is evil, it is really good."

This, then, is what I maintain, if any one says he understands all about Unkulunkulu. I say all men would be glad to go to the man who says this to see him and to hear him; for in process of time we have come to worship the Amadhlozi only, because we knew

ko/lwe ukuba si nga ti ni ngonkulunkulu ; loku si nga s' azi nokwa-
 /lukana kwetu naye, nezwi a si
 shiya nalo. I ngaloko si zifunela
 amadhlozi, ukuze si libale si nga
 /lali si kcamanga ngonkulunkulu,
 ukuti, "Unkulunkulu wa si shi-
 ya ;" nokuti, "U s' enzele ni na?"

Sa zenzela ke amadhlozi etu,
 nabanye awabo, nabanye awabo.
 Se si fulatlene abanye nabanye ;
 a ku se ko o ti, "Dhlozi lakwa-
 bani." Bonke se be ti, "Dhlozi
 lakwiti, ekutinini, u ngi bheke.'
 Ku njalo ke ukuma kwetu.

Na kulawo 'madhlozi a si nasi-
 minya ; ngoba na labo 'bantu e si
 ba bongayo, si bonga abantu aba
 te nabo b' emuka kulo 'm/laba, ba
 be nga vumi ukumuka, ba b' ala
 kakulu, be si kataza ngokuti a si
 ba funele izinyanga zoku b' elapa,
 se si tanda ukuba ba tshone. Na
 kulezo 'zinyanga si ya ya kuzona
 si nyakeme ngamazwi a ba si /laba
 ngawo. Kepa uma e se e file si
 kqale ukukala nokuzitshaya pans,

not what to say about Unkulu-
 nkulu ; for we do not even know
 where we separated from him, nor
 the word which he left with us.
 It is on that account then that we
 seek out for ourselves the Ama-
 dhlozi, that we may not always be
 thinking about Unkulunkulu, say-
 ing, "Unkulunkulu has left us ;"
 or, "What has he done for us ?"

So we made for ourselves our
 own Amadhlozi, and others made
 theirs for themselves, and others
 theirs for themselves. And now
 we have turned the back one on
 the other ; and no one says,
 "Spirit of such a family." But
 all now say, "Spirit of our family,
 of such a tribe, look on me." Such
 then is our condition.

And as regards the Amadhlozi
 we do not possess the truth ; for
 as regards the men we worship,
 we worship men who, when they
 too were departing from the world,
 did not wish to depart, but were
 very unwilling to depart, worrying
 us excessively, telling us to go and
 seek doctors for them, and that we
 wished them to die. And we go
 to the doctors with sorrowful
 countenances on account of the
 words with which they have pier-
 ced our hearts. And when one
 has died we begin to weep and to
 throw ourselves on the ground to

ukubonakalisa ukuba si dabukile ; si be si nga tandi ukuba a si shiye ; naye e be nga tandi ukuba a si shiye. Kepa s' ahlukaniswe ukufa.

Ku ti ngangomso loku izolo si be si kala, ku vele isikcana somlloyana, si ti, "Ake si ye 'kuzwa uma loku ku vele nje, ku vela ngani, loku izolo si lahle Ubani." Kepa ku tiwe izazi, "O, Ubani lowo e ni m lahlileyo izolo, u ti, u ti." Kepa si kgale ukuba si m bonge, loku izolo si kalile, a si ku bonanga ukuba u ye 'kuhlangana nabanye abafileyo, ukuba ba s' e-nzele ugange olukqinileyo olu nga yi 'kufohlwa na ukufa. Lokupela wona amadhlozi si ti ukufa ku kwo ; uma e nga vumi, ku nge ngene. Kepa na loko si ku tsho nje ; a si ku bonisisi ; uma si funa ukuba si ku kqonde kahle, si y' ahluleka, ngokuba laba 'bantu e si

show that we are sorrowful ; we do not wish him to leave us ; neither did he wish to leave us. But we have been separated by death.

And on the morrow after the day of our funeral lamentation, if there arise some little omen,⁵³ we say, "Just let us go to the diviner and hear of him, since this thing has happened, for yesterday we buried So-and-so."⁵⁴ And it is said by the knowing ones, "O, that So-and-so, whom you buried yesterday, says so-and-so." And we begin to worship him, although the day before we wept and did not see⁵⁵ that he had gone to unite with the rest of the dead, that they might make a strong rampart around us which shall not be penetrated even by death. For we say that death is in the power of the Amadhlozi, and if they do not wish, it cannot enter. And that too we say merely ; we do not thoroughly understand it ; if we seek thoroughly to comprehend it, we do not succeed, for the men

⁵³ Such as a dog mounting on a hut, or a snake coming and taking up its abode in it. We shall hereafter give an account of their "OMENS."

⁵⁴ They suppose the omen is sent to warn them of something respecting the dead, either that he has been killed by witchcraft, or that he has sent it to comfort them by the assurance of his continued regard for them, he being one of the spirits.

⁵⁵ Yesterday they saw death only and the loss of their friend ; now an omen makes them believe in his continued existence, and that he has united with other spirits to be the rampart of his people.

ti ba si mele, b' ahlulwa isifo ; kepa si tsho kubantu nabo ab' e-muke kulo 'mhlaba, be nga tandi uku u shiya ; ba donswa ngamandhla okufa ; a ba tshongo nokuti, " Ni nga si kaleli, lokupela tina si ya 'ku n' enzela ugange ukuze ni nga fi." Ba fa nabo be nga tandi ukufa.

Kepa uma si ba hlabisa, si ti, " Ukufa okutile a ku pele," ku nga peli, si kqale ukupikisana nabo noku ba pika, ukuti, " A wa ko amadhlozi ; noma abanye be ti a ko, kepa mina ngi ti awakiti a fa njalo ; a ku kona na linye ; si ya zihambela nje ; a si sizwa 'dhllozi."

Kepa na namhla nje ku se njalo ; si ya wa vuma, si wa pika ; si sa hamba emkatini waloko ; a ku ka bi ko okonakona ; si z' enza izigabavu njalonjalo ; uma si nenhlanhla si ti, " A kona ;" uma si nezinsizi si ti, " A wa ko. Si zipilela nje ; a si sizwa 'dhllozi."

whom we say are our defenders were conquered by disease ; and we say they are our rampart to protect us from death, who have themselves left the world, not wishing to leave it ; they were dragged away by the power of death ; and they did not tell us not to weep for them, because they were about to make a rampart around us to preserve us from death. They too died against their wish.

But when we sacrifice to them and pray that a certain disease may cease, and it does not cease, then we begin to quarrel with them, and to deny their existence. And the man who has sacrificed exclaims, " There are no Amadhlozi ; although others say there are ; but for my part I say that the Amadhlozi of our house died for ever ; there is not even one left ; we just take care of ourselves ; there is not a single Idhlozi who helps us."

And it is thus to the present time ; we acknowledge them and deny their existence ; we still walk between the two opinions ; there is not as yet any certainty ; we are constantly making fruitless efforts ; when we are prosperous we say, " There are Amadhlozi ;" if we are in trouble we say, " There are not. We owe life to ourselves alone ; we are not helped by the Idhlozi."

Ku njalo ke na nam/la nje. Kwaba pakati kwobunzima uma u buza u ti, "Bani, nam/la nga ku fumana u nje, lokupela nina ni ti ni namadhlozi?" a nga ti uku ku pendula, "O, wena kabani, ngi yeke nje; a nalabo aba nawo; mina a ngi nalo. Ngi ya bona manje li kona idhlozi eli ko eli tanda uma umuntu a ze a be mpo-fu, a kgede izinto zake." Kepa ku tiwe lapo ku kona idhlozi a ku ko 'dhlozi.

Uma u dhlulela ngapambili kwaba se nen/lan/la, u ti um/la-umbe u za 'kuzwa izwi li linye nalo; kepa uma u kuluma nabo ngedhlozi, u nga ba u ba tunukile, ukuba ba ku tshele ubu/le bedhlozi, noku ba siza kwalo. U fike

So it is to the present time. If you ask of those who are in trouble, "So-and-so, how is it that I find you in this state, since you say you have Amadhlozi?" he may say in answer, "O, Son of So-and-so, just leave me alone; the Amadhlozi dwell with those who have them; as for me, I have no Idhlozi. I now see that there is a kind of Idhlozi that wishes a man to become poor, and make an end of his property."⁵⁶ Thus it is said by those who believe in the Idhlozi, that it has no existence.⁵⁷

If you pass onward to those who are in prosperity, you think perhaps that you shall hear one and the same word there too; but when you speak with them about the Idhlozi, you bring up old thoughts,⁵⁸ and they speak to you about the excellence of the Idhlozi, and the assistance it has given them. You have come to a place

⁵⁶ That is, by sacrificing to the Amadhlozi, and by paying the diviners and doctors.

⁵⁷ Even those who really believe in the Amadhlozi, irreverently deny their existence in time of trouble. Compare with this the following extract from the French ballad, *Lénoire*:—

—"O ma fille! invoquons le Createur suprême;
Ce qu'il fait est bien fait; il nous garde et nous aime.—
—Et pourtant son courroux nous accable aujourd'hui,
A quoi sert d' implorer ses bontés souveraines?
A quoi sert de prier? les prières sont vaines,
Et ne montent pas jusqu' à lui."

⁵⁸ Lit., You perhaps open an old sore; as we say, We have opened his satirical vein, &c.,—that is, have set off on a subject on which they are fond of speaking.

lapo idhlozi li kona kakulu, u kqale ukubona ukuti, "O, kanti okonakona a ku ka fiki; loku ku se ukwesuta ukuti li kona; na loku ukuti a li ko ku vela ngezinsizi."

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

where there is great faith in the Idhlozi, and you begin to see that the people do not yet possess the very truth of the matter; for it is fulness which declares that the Itongo exists; whilst affliction says, it does not exist.⁵⁹

ABANTU abadala ba ti, "Kwa vela Unkulunkulu, wa veza abantu. Wa vela emhlangeni; wa dabuka emhlangeni." Si ti tina bantwana, "Umhlanga u pi na owa vela Unkulunkulu na? Lo ni ti, 'U kona umhlanga,' u kulipi ilizwe na? Loku abantu se be li hamba lonke 'lizwe, u kulipi ilizwe, umhlanga owa dabuka Unkulunkulu u kulipi ilizwe na?" Ba ti ukupendula kwabadala, ba ti, "A si w azi nati; ba kona abadala futi aba tsho umhlanga nabo a ba w azi njalo, umhlanga owa dabula Unkulunkulu." Ba ti ba kginisile

THE old men say, "Unkulunkulu came into being,⁶⁰ and gave being to man. He came out of a bed of reeds; he broke off from a bed of reeds." We children ask, "Where is the bed of reeds out of which Unkulunkulu came? Since you say there is a bed of reeds, in what country is it? For men have now gone into every country; in which of them is the bed of reeds from which Unkulunkulu broke off?" They say in answer, "Neither do we know; and there were other old men before us who said that neither did they know the bed of reeds which broke off⁶¹ Unkulunkulu." They say they speak the

⁵⁹ The reader should note that this is an account derived from an educated, intelligent, Christian native.

⁶⁰ Came into being,—sprang up,—appeared,—had an origin; with a slight shade of difference in meaning *vela* is used in the same way as *dabula*.

⁶¹ Here my MS. says *dabula*, which makes Umhlanga the active agent in the origin of Unkulunkulu, just as Uthlanga is constantly represented in other forms of the tradition. But the native teacher thinks it a mistake for *dabuka*, a repetition of what is said just above.

u kona umhlanga; ba ti ba kqini-sile bona ukuti u kona; kodwa tina si ti, "A u ko; loku ilizwe eli nawo si nga l'azi a ba nga li tsho ukuti li sekutini." Ku tiwa Unkulunkulu wa vela, wa zala abantu; wa veza abantu, wa ba zala.

Si ya kuleka kunkulunkulu, si ti, "Ka ngi bheke njalo Unkulunkulu wetu," owa zala aukulu, ukuti obaba-mkulu. Ngokuba owa zala ubaba-mkulu ukoko wami; owa zala ubaba-mkulu kababa Unkulunkulu kambe o pambili.

Kepa lapa a ngi sa kulumi ngalowo 'nkulunkulu owa vela emhlangeni; ngi ya kuluma ngonkulunkulu ow' elamana nokoko wami. Ngokuba izindhlu zonke zi nokoko bazo ngokwelamana kwazo, nabo onkulunkulu bazo.

Abadala ba ti, "Umhlanga u kona." Kepa upi na umhlanga na? A ba tsho ukuti Unkulunkulu, owa vela emhlangeni, u kona.

truth in saying, there is a bed of reeds; but we say, there is not; for we do not know the land in which it is, of which they can say, it is in such and such a country. It is said, Unkulunkulu came into being, and begat men; he gave them being; he begat them.

We pray to Unkulunkulu, saying, "May our Unkulunkulu ever look upon us." [The Unkulunkulu] who begat our grandfathers. For he who begat my grandfather, is my great-great-grandfather; and he who begat my father's grandfather is Unkulunkulu, the first of our family.⁶²

But here I am no longer speaking of that Unkulunkulu who came out of the bed of reeds; I am speaking of the Unkulunkulu who belonged to the generation preceding my great-great-grandfather. For all families have their orders of succession, and their Onkulunkulu.

The old men say, "The bed of reeds still exists." But where is that bed of reeds? They do not say that Unkulunkulu, who sprang from the bed of reeds, still exists.

⁶² I have hitherto given the several forms of the tradition in the order of time in which they were written, with the exception of the account given by the young Ibakca, p. 15. This (1860) was the first intimation I received that there are many Onkulunkulu, that each house has its own, and is an object of worship, his name being the chief *isibongo* or surname, by which the Spirits or Amatongo of his family are addressed.

Ba ti, "Ka se ko Unkulunkulu, owa vela emlangeni." Ba ti, "A si m azi uma u pi na."

Utshange isibongo sakwiti ; yena a kqala abantu bakwiti, unkulunkulu wetu, owa kqala indlu yakwiti. Si kuleka kuyena, si ti, "Matshange ! Nina bakwatshange !" Si kuleka kuye uma si tanda luto e si lu funayo ; si kuleka nabakwiti kwatshange. Si ti uma si tanda inkomo, si ti, "Nina bakwiti." U tole inkomo. "Nina bakwiti, bakwatshange, bakwadumakade !"

UNGQETO WAKWATSHANGE.

They say that Unkulunkulu, who sprang from the bed of reeds, is dead. They say, "We do not know where he is."

Utshange is the praise-giving name of our house ; he was the first man of our family,—our Unkulunkulu, who founded our house. We pray to him, saying, "Matshange!⁶³ Ye people of the house of Utshange !" We pray to him for anything we wish to have ; we and all of the family of Utshange pray to him. If we wish to have cattle, we say, "Ye people of our house."⁶⁴ [And if you pray thus] you will get cattle. We say, "Ye people of our house, people of the house of Utshange, people of the house of Udumakade !"

UMFEZI, a native living in the neighbourhood, called on me. I had never spoken to him on the subject of Unkulunkulu ; I availed myself of the opportunity for gaining information. It was very difficult to write anything *seriatim* ; I was therefore obliged to content myself by writing what I could, and remembering what I could.

He said, "Unkulunkulu wa vela emlangeni." Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds.

But he did not know where the bed of reeds was. But, "Wavel' enzansi," that is, by the sea ; that is, the bed of reeds from which he sprang was by the sea-side. He also said, "Kwa dabuka abantu,

⁶³ Matshange ! that is, a plural of Utshange, meaning all his people.

⁶⁴ The prayer is either in this simple form of adoration, the suppliant taking it for granted that the Amatongo will know what he wants ; or the thing he wants is also mentioned, as "Ye people of our house ! cattle."

be datshulwa Unkulunkulu." Men broke off, being broken off by Unkulunkulu. He added,

<p>Abany' abantu ba ti, ba bohlwa inkomo. Abanye ba ti ba dabuka etsheni ela kqekezeka kabili, ba puma. Unkulunkulu wa ba kqezula etsheni.</p>	<p>Some men say that they were belched up by a cow.⁶⁵ Others that they sprang from a stone⁶⁶ which split in two and they came out. Unkulunkulu split them out of a stone.</p>
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When asked if they prayed to Unkulunkulu, he replied,

<p>Ka ba ko aba kcela kunkulu-kulu. Ba kcela kubakubo nje.</p>	<p>There are none who pray to Unkulunkulu. They pray to their own people only.</p>
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I enquired what they said about thunder; he said,

<p>Si ti, "O nkosi, si dhle ni? S' one ni? A s' oni 'luto."</p>	<p>We say, "O Lord, what have we destroyed? What sin have we done? We have done no sin."</p>
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He also related the following legend of the manner in which Amabele (native corn) was introduced as an article of food:—

The first woman that Unkulunkulu produced had a child before any of the rest. There was another woman who was jealous when she saw her with a child, and hated her and wished to poison her. She looked about her to find some plant possessed of poisonous properties; she saw the Amabele, which at that time was not cultivated, but grew like the grass. She plucked the seeds, and gave them to the woman. She watched, expecting to see her die; but she did not die, as she had hoped, but grew plump, and better-looking than ever. At length she asked her if the Amabele was nice. She replied, "Nice indeed!" And from that time the women cultivated Amabele, and it became an article of food.

⁶⁵ We are not to understand this as a tradition of the origin of men. It is a saying among the natives when they see an exquisitely handsome man, or when they wish to flatter a chief, to say, "Ka zalwanga; wa bohlwa inkomo nje," He was not born; he was belched up by a cow; that is, he did not go through the ordinary and tedious and painful process of being born, but came into being already a perfected man.

⁶⁶ Compare this with the Jewish simile, "Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn," that is, to Abraham, their father. (Isaiah li. 1, 2.) Here again we have the notion of Unkulunkulu being the means of helping the human race into being.

THE next legend gives an account of the mode in which men first became acquainted with food, and of two female Onkulunkulu ; the two following give—the first an account of the origin of medicines, and the second of two male Onkulunkulu.

MINA nolala, kwa ti lapa ngi se umfana omncinane kakulu, ng' ezwa indaba ngendoda yakwiti endala. Unokqoza wa ti :

Kwa ku kona ekukqaleni abafazi be babili emhlangeni ; omunye wa zala umuntu omhlope, nomunye wa zala omnyama. Labo 'bafazi bobabili ku tiwa i bona be Unkulunkulu wamandulo. Kepa umhlanga lowo sa u buza ; ka tsho ukuti u sekutini ; wa ti, "Nami ngi u zwe ngabadala ; a ku ko 'muntu o y aziyo indawo yalo 'mhlangu." Futi tina bantwana aba zalwa abadala si be si nge nje ngabanamhla nje ; bona be zikataza ngokufunisisa ukwazi : tina si be si nga buzi kumuntu omkulu ; uma e si tshela indaba, si be si zwa nje ngokuba sa si iziula ; si ya bona manje loko e nga sa si ku buza, a sa ku buza ngobuula betu.

Kepa labo 'bafazi ba zala aba-

I, UNOLALA,⁶⁷ [say] that when I was still a very little child, I heard numerous old tales of our people. Unokqoza said :

There were at first two women in a bed of reeds ; one gave birth to a white man, and one to a black man. It is said that these two women were the Unkulunkulu⁶⁸ of the primitive men. And as regards that bed of reeds, we enquired of him, but he did not say, it is in such a place ; but he said, "I too heard it of the old men ; no man knows the situation of that bed of reeds." Further, we children who are the offspring of men of old were not like those of the present time, who worry themselves with finding out knowledge : for our parts we used not to question a great man ; when he told us a tale we used just to listen because we were fools ; we now see that which we ought to have enquired about, but about which we did not enquire because of our folly.

And those women gave birth to

⁶⁷ A common mode of commencing a narrative.

⁶⁸ He here speaks of the two women as being *one unkulunkulu* of primitive men. So in conversation with another heathen native, he spoke of the first man and first woman, together, as *one unkulunkulu*.

ntwana, ku nge ko 'kudhla okudhliwayo. Ba bona amabele nombila namatanga, ku vutiwe. Umfazi wa ka itanga, wa li peka, wa funza umntwana, e nga tsho ukuba ukudhla, e ti ubuti, kumbe a nga fa masinyane, a nga zinge e m kataza ngokukala, e kalela ukudhla. Kepa lelo 'tanga la m kulupalisa umntwana; wa kqabuka umfazi nomunye ukuti, "O, kanti si ti ukufa nje, kanti ukudhla." Kw' aziwa ke amabele nombila namatanga ukuba ukudhla kanti. Ba wa dhla, ba kulupala. Ba wa vuna, ba wa londoloza, ba sizakala.

UNOLALA ZONDI.

children, there being no food which was eaten. They saw corn, and maize, and pumpkins; they were all ripe. One of the women took a pumpkin and boiled it, and gave her child a mouthful, not regarding it as food, but poison, and thinking perhaps he would die at once, and no longer worry her without ceasing by his crying, when he was crying for food. But the pumpkin fattened the child; and the other woman looked and said, "O, forsooth, we thought it was nothing but poison, and in fact it was food." Thus then it became known that corn and maize and pumpkins are food. They ate them and became fat. They harvested them and hoarded them and were helped.

EKUKQALENI kwa tiwa, "Insimu y' esuka, i sukela pezulu."⁶⁹ Kepa ke wa ti omunye umfazi, wa ti, "Ma si muke, si yosika umhlanga." Wa fika wa t' omunye, wa ti ukuba ba u sike umhlanga, "I ni le na?" wa ti, "Nendhlela eyani na?" Wa vela umuntu, wa ti, "Eyetu." Wa tsho e se sesizibeni emanzini. Wa ti omunye, "U si buza nje: a u s' azi ini na?" Wa ti, "Si hlezi lapa nje, si hlezi emzini wetu." Kwa tiwa, "Ni ng' abakwabani nina na?" Wa ti, "Si

ONCE on a time in the beginning, a woman said, "Let us go and cut reeds." Another said when they were cutting reeds, "What is this? And of what is this the path?" A man appeared and said, "It is ours." He said this, he being still in the pool, in the water. Another said, "You ask of us: do you not know us? We are just living here in our kraal." They asked, "Of what nation are you?" He replied, "We are the people of

⁶⁹ A mode of beginning a fiction.

ng' abakwazimase." "Inkosi yenu ng' ubani?" "Usango-lingenzansi." "Kupuka ke. Po, ni hlalele ni ngapansi, abantu se be ngapezulu nje na?" Ba ti, "Si hlezi nemiti yetu." "N' enza ni ngayo na?" "S' elap' amakosi." B' emuka ke abafazi, ba ya 'kutshela inkosi. Ba ti, "Nampa 'bantu. Be ti, ng' abakazimase. Ba ti, b' elapa amakosi. Ba ti, umuntu o ng' eza 'ku ba tata, a ng' eza nenoni, a fike a li tshise ngapezu kwesiziba. Uzimase ka yi 'kukupuka nemiti nza ku nga tshiswa inoni."

Ya fika ke leyo 'nkosi, ya ba nenkomo, ya hlatselwa kona, kwa tshiswa inoni. Wa kupuka ke Uzimase nemiti yake, w' elapa ke emakosini.

Wa ti ke nza e ya 'kumba imiti, wa binca isikaka, 'esaba uba ku vele amapambili esifazeneni. Kepa ke ba ti ukuvela, abakubo ababe puma kukqala ba ti, "U ya u fikile ke lesi 'sikakana." Ba ti abakwiti, "U ya se ba hlezi ngapezulu ke la 'malembana." Se ku

Uzimase." "Who is your king?" "Usango-lingenzansi."⁷⁰ "Come up then. But why are you living underground, since people are now living above?" They said, "We are living here with our medicines." "What do you do with them?" "We administer medicines to kings." So the women went away to tell the king. They said, "Behold, there are men. They say they are the people of Uzimase. They say they administer medicines to kings. They say the man who goes to fetch them must take fat, and burn it on the bank of the pool. Uzimase will not come up with his medicines if fat is not burnt."

So the king went with an ox, and it was slaughtered at that place, and the fat was burnt. And so Uzimase came up with his medicines, and administered medicines among kings.

When he went to dig up medicines, he put on a petticoat, fearing to expose himself to women. But on his appearance, the people who came up first said, "This little petticoat has at length come." Our people said in reply, "These little picks are living above."⁷¹ So

⁷⁰ Lower-gate-man.

⁷¹ This shows that the natives believe in a succession of emigrations from below of different tribes of men, each having its own Unkulunkulu.

bangwa imiti ke nabakupuka ngapansi naba ngapezulu. Ba ti kwabakwiti, "Abakwasikakana." Ba ti ke kwabakubo, "Abakwalemba."

Ba be zalwa indoda nje ; indoda leyo Umbala. B' ahluka ke ; abanye ba hamba kwenye, nabanye ba hamba kwenye.

Ngi ti ke Uzimase Unkulunkulu wakwiti. A ngi m azi omunye Unkulunkulu wabantu. Kodwa nowakwiti w' ahluka ohangeni o kw' ahluka kulo abantu bonke. Abanye ba ti uma si buza, "Lwa lu 'mibala 'miningi ;" ba ti, "Ngenzenyelwa lum/lope, ngenzenye lumnyama, ngenzenye lunama/lati." Si ti ke tina, "Nga ba be bona ubuhwanqa lobu, be ti i/lati njalo." Ba ti abantu laba naye wa ba veza ngoku ba zala.

USHUNGUIWANE ZIMASE.

there was a dispute about medicines between those who came up from below and those who were already above. Our people were called, "People of the little petticoat." And they called them, "People of the pick."

They were begotten by a man ; that man was Umbala. They separated from each other ; and some went in one direction, and some in another.

I say, then, that Uzimase is the Unkulunkulu of our tribe. I do not know another⁷² Unkulunkulu of all men. But the Unkulunkulu of our tribe was derived from Uthlanga, from whence all people were derived. Some say in answer to our enquiries, Uthlanga was of many colours ; they say, "He was white on one side, on the other black ; and on another side he was covered with bush." So we say, "Perhaps they spoke of the hairiness of his body, and so called it bush."⁷³ And people say that he too gave them existence by begetting them.

⁷² That is, his name.

⁷³ Compare this with the fabulous monster Ugungu-kubantwana (*Nursery Tales*, p. 176), or Usilosimapundu (*Id.*, p. 185).

ABANYE ba ti omunye Unkulunkulu wa vela pansu ; omunye w' e^hla nenkungu pezulu. A ba m kqondanga lowo ow' e^hla nenkungu. Ba ti, um^hlope ukupela kwake. Ba ti, "Kw' e^hla Ungalokwelitshe." Ba ti, labo abapansi ba m etuka. Wa ti yena, "Ni ng' etuka ni, loku nami ngi umuntu, ngi fana nani nje na?" Ba ti, kwa tatwa izinkomo lapa 'e^hlele kona ; wa ^hlatshiswa ; ba ti kodwa, ka zi d^hla ; wa d^hl' okwake a fike nako. Wa ^hlala, wa ^hlala, wa ^hlala, wa ^hlala lapo ke. Kwa buya kwa vela inkungu, wa nyamalala, a ba be be sa m bona.

Nga ngi zwa le 'ndaba kumadigane, uyise-mkulu kamdutshane, inkosi enkulu yamabakca. Nga ng' isikcaka sake esikulu.

USHUNGUIWANE ZIMASE.

SOME say, one Unkulunkulu came from beneath ; and another descended from above in a fog. They did not understand him who came down in a fog. They say he was altogether white. They say, "There descended Ungalokwelitshe."⁷⁴ They say, those who were beneath started on seeing him. He said, "Why do you start at me, since I too am a man, and resemble you?" They say, cattle were taken at the place where he descended, and they slaughtered them for him ; but they say he did not eat them ; he ate that which he brought with him. He stayed there a long time. Another fog came, and he disappeared, and they saw him no more.

I heard this tale from Umadigane, Umdutshane's grandfather, the great chief of the Amabakca. I used to be his chief servant.

Two natives, perfect strangers to us both, came up as I was asking Umpengula some questions on the subject of the previous statements. They overheard what I was saying, and asked, "Are you talking about the origin of men?" I replied that was the subject of our conversation, and asked if they could tell us any thing about it. The elder of them replied, "Ba vela em^hlangeni," They sprang from a bed of reeds.

I asked what he knew of Unkulunkulu ; he replied,

⁷⁴ That is, He-who-came-from-the-other-side-of-the-rock.

Wa ba veza abantu, naye e veziwe emhlangeni.

He gave origin to men, he too having had an origin given⁷⁵ him from a bed of reeds.

I asked, "Wa vezwa ubani na?" "Who gave him an origin? He said he did not know; and added,

Unkulunkulu wa tshela abantu wa ti, "Nami ngi vela emhlangeni."

Unkulunkulu told men saying, "I too sprang from a bed of reeds."⁷⁶

I asked how men were produced, and got for a reply only a repetition of the statement that they sprang from a bed of reeds.—I asked if he had heard anything of a woman; he replied,

Unkulunkulu wa vela emhlangeni, nomfazi wa vela emhlangeni emva kwake. Ba'bizo linye ukuti Unkulunkulu.

Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds, and a woman (a wife) sprang from the bed of reeds after him. They had one name, viz., Unkulunkulu.⁷⁷

I then took him to my study, and wrote the following at his dictation:—

S' EZWA ku tiwa Unkulunkulu wa vela emhlangeni. Kwa vela indoda kukqala; ya landelwa umfazi. Ku tiwa Unkulunkulu bo-

WE heard it said Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds. There first appeared a man, who was followed by a woman. Both are

⁷⁵ This is the nearest rendering we can give to *veziwe*; it is equivalent to *created*. It is passive, and necessarily implies an agent by which he had an origin given to him. No native would hear such a phrase as "Naye e veziwe," He too having had an origin given him, without putting the question, By whom?

⁷⁶ Unkulunkulu was an unbegotten though a created man. He was the first man; by this statement he is to be understood as deprecating the ascription to himself of something higher and more exalted. He is, as it were, telling his children the history of creation as he had witnessed it. They appear to be desirous of making him the creator; but he replies, "No; I too sprang from the bed of reeds."

⁷⁷ This is very precise. The first man and woman sprang, the man first and then the woman, from the bed of reeds; and both are called by one name, Unkulunkulu; that is, Great-great-grandparent. According to Moses, the male and female were both called Adam. (Gen. v. 3.)

babili. Ya ti, "Ni si bona nje si vela em/langeni," i tsho kubantu aba vela ngemva. Abantu bonke, ku tiwa, abantu bonke ba vela kunkulunkulu, yena owa vela ku-kqala.

Ku tiwa Unkulunkulu wa vela emfundeni, lapo kwa ku kona um/llanga em/llabatini lapa. Abantu ba vela kunkulunkulu ngokuzalwa.

Umvelinqangi u yena Unkulunkulu. Um/laba wa u kona ku-kqala, e nga ka bi ko Unkulunkulu. Wa vela kuwo em/langeni.

Izinto zonke za vela naye Unkulunkulu em/langeni; konke, nezinyamazane namabele, konke ku vela naye Unkulunkulu.

Wa li bona ilanga se li bumbeke, wa ti, "Nant' ubakqa olu za 'ku ni kanyisela uba ni bone." Wa bona inkomo, wa ti, "Nanzi inkomo. Dabuka ni, ni bone inkomo, zi be ukud/la kwenu, ni d/le inyama namasi." Wa bona inyamazane, wa ti, "Inyamazane

named Unkulunkulu. The man said, "You see us because we sprang from the bed of reeds," speaking to the people who came into being after him. It is said all men sprang from Unkulunkulu, the one who sprang up first.⁷⁸

It is said Unkulunkulu had his origin in a valley where there was a bed of reeds in this world. And men sprang from Unkulunkulu by generation.

Umvelinqangi is the same as Unkulunkulu. The earth was in existence first, before Unkulunkulu as yet existed. He had his origin from the earth in a bed of reeds.

All things as well as Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds, —every thing, both animals and corn, every thing, coming into being with Unkulunkulu.

He looked on the sun when it was finished,⁷⁹ and said, "There is a torch which will give you light, that you may see." He looked on the cattle and said, "These are cattle. Be ye broken off,⁸⁰ and see the cattle; and let them be your food; eat their flesh and their milk." He looked on wild animals and said, "That is such an

⁷⁸ He is called "he who sprang up at first" to distinguish him from the many other Onkulunkulu who in the progress of generation sprang up after him.

⁷⁹ Lit., worked into form as a potter works clay.

⁸⁰ The simile here is that men were existing as young bulbs ready to separate from the parent bulb.

yokuti." Wa ti, "Indhlovu leya." Wa ti, "Inqumba leya." Wa u bona umlilo, wa ti, "U base ni, ni peke, n' ote, ni dhle ngawo inyama." Wa ku bona konke, wa ti, "Ukuti nokuti konke."

animal. That is an elephant. That is a buffalo." He looked on the fire and said, "Kindle it, and cook, and warm yourself; and eat meat when it has been dressed by the fire." He looked on all things and said, "So-and-so is the name of every thing."

KWA vela indoda, kwa vela umfazi. Kwa tiwa Unkulunkulu bobabili igama labo. Ba vela eluhlangueni, uhlanga lolu olu kemanzini.⁸¹ Uhlanga lw'enziwa Umvelinqangi. Umvelinqangi wa milisa utshani, wa veza imiti, wa veza zonke izilwane nenkomo, nenyamazane, nenyoka, nenyoni, namanzi, nentaba.

W' enza uhlanga; uhlanga lwa

THERE sprang up a man and a woman. The name of both was Unkulunkulu. They sprang from a reed, the reed which is in the water. The reed was made by Umvelinqangi. Umvelinqangi caused grass and trees to grow; he created all wild animals, and cattle, and game, and snakes, and birds, and water, and mountains.

He made a reed;⁸² the reed

⁸¹ *Olu kemanzini*.—The *k* is used among some tribes, as the Amakuza, the Amalala, &c., instead of *s*, as among the Amazulu.

⁸² The account here given of Uthlanga is peculiar. The native who gave it, clearly understood by it a reed. Yet one cannot avoid believing that he did not understand the import of the tradition. It is said that Umvelinqangi made the reed, and that the reed gave origin to Unkulunkulu and his wife. It is said also that Umvelinqangi begat them with a reed (*nohlanga*); and from a reed (*eluhlangueni*). Both these forms are used of the female in generation. A child is begotten from the woman, or with her. And it is the belief of the native teacher that the real meaning of this tradition is that Umvelinqangi made Uthlanga, a female, and with her became the parent of the human race. Uthlanga, therefore, in this form of the tradition, has a feminine import; whilst in others it has a masculine. Yet the same men in speaking of the origin of Umvelinqangi (pronounced by this tribe Umvelikqangi) said he sprang from Uthlanga.—There is really no contradiction in such statements. For the term Uthlanga is applied not only to the Primal Source of Being, but to any other

veza Unkulunkulu nomfazi wake. | gave origin to Unkulunkulu and

source of being, as a father, or to a mother, as in the following sentence :—

<p>Uthlanga lwendhlu yakwabani ubani? Ku tshiwo igama lendoda e in/loko yaleyo 'ndhlu. A i 'lu- thlanga yodwa; inye nowesifazana; ngokuba a ku ko 'luhlanga lwendoda yodwa e nge ko wesifazana.</p>	<p>Who is the Uthlanga of such a family? They answer by giving the name of the man, who is the head of that house. But he is not the Uthlanga by himself; he is the Uthlanga in conjunction with the female; for there is not a man who is an Uthlanga by himself, there being no female.</p>
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Compare this with the following legends of the Hindus, where Brahma corresponds with Umvelinqangi; and where there is the same confusion between Brahma, the Creator,—the First Man,—“and the male half of his individuality.” Umvelinqangi is both the Primal Source of Being and the First Man; he is the creator of the first woman and her husband. And Satarupa, “the great universal mother,” is equivalent to Uthlanga, the female Unkulunkulu,—the great-great mother of the human race :—

“According to one view, Brahma, the God of Creation, converted himself into two persons, the first man, or the Manu Swayambhuva, and the first woman, or Satarupa: this division into halves expressing, it would seem, the general distinction of corporeal substance into two sexes, and Satarupa, as hinted by the etymology of the word itself, denoting the great universal mother, the one parent of ‘a hundred forms.’” (*Hardwick. Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 297.*)

“As the old traditions of their ancestors were gradually distorted, the Hindus appear to have identified the first man (Manu Swayambhuva) with Brahma himself, of whom, as of the primary cause, he was the brightest emanation; while Satarupa, the wife and counterpart of Manu, was similarly converted into the bride of the creative principle itself. Brahma, in other words, was ‘confounded with the male half of his individuality.’” (*Id., p. 305.*)

A similar apparent contradiction to that which runs throughout these Zulu legends is also found in the Myth of Prometheus, who though a man—the son of Japetus—is said to be the creator of the human race :—

“Sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo :
Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.
Quam satus Iapeto, mistam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta decorum.”

(*Ovid.*)

Unkulunkulu wa zala abantu bendulo. Unkulunkulu wa ti, "Mina 'nkulunkulu nomfazi wami si ng' abakamvelinqangi. Umvelinqangi wa si zala nohlanga lu semanzini." Wa ti ekuveleni kwake, "Si ya 'kulw' impi, si gwazane ngemikonto, ku bonakale abanamandhla, ow ahlulayo omunye; a z' a ti ow ahlula omunye a be u yena o inkosi enkulu; ow ahluliwe a be umfokazi. Bonke abantu ba ya 'kuya kwo inkosi ow' ahlula omunye."

Umvelinqangi wa e umuntu owa zala Unkulunkulu eluhlange-ni lu semanzini, owa zala umfazi wake.

UNSUKUZONKE MEMELA.

ABADALA a ba tshongo ukuba i kona inkosi pezulu. Unkulunkulu a si m azi Unkulunkulu ukuba u nezwi lake. Si pata amatongo. Unkulunkulu izwi lake e sa li patayo elokuti a kona amatongo.

his wife. Unkulunkulu begat primitive men. Unkulunkulu said, "I, Unkulunkulu, and my wife are the offspring of Umvelinqangi; he begat us with a reed, it being in the water.⁸³ At his origin he said, "We will fight and stab each other with spears, that the strongest may be manifest who overcomes the other; and he who overcomes the other shall be the great king; and he who is overcome shall be the dependent. And all people shall wait upon him who is the king who overcomes the other."

Umvelinqangi was a man who begat Unkulunkulu by a reed whilst it was in the water, and who begat his wife.

THE ancients did not say there is a Lord in heaven. As for Unkulunkulu, we do not know that he left any word for man. We worship the Amatongo. The word of Unkulunkulu which we reverence is that which says there are Amatongo.

⁸³ *It being in the water.*—That is, according to the notion of the narrator, the reed which Umvelinqangi made and by which he begat the first parents of the human race, was in the water. It is probably only another way of saying men sprang from a bed of reeds. But some forms of the tradition represent tribes at least, if not the human race, as being born in or derived from the water. See p. 36.

Si nga sa vela elu/langeneni ; a s' azi lapa sa bunjwa kona. Tina bantu 'bamnyama sa vela kunye nani 'belungu. Kodwa tina 'bantu 'bamnyama ukuvela kwetu sa vela sa nikwa izinkomo namagejo okulima ngemikono nezikali zokulwa. Kwa tiwa ke, " Okuningi ; se ni ya 'kuzenzela." S' emuka ke, s' eza neno. Nina 'belungu na sala nezinto zouke ezin/le nemiteto futi e si nga banga nayo tina.

Sa si va uma si i zekelwa bobaba, be ti nabo ba i va, ba ti, kwa kqala kwa vela umuntu o indoda ; kwa vela emuva umfazi. Kwa ti ngemva kwa vela inkomo ; ya vela i kamba nenkunzi ; kwa ti emva injakazana, kwa ti emva kwa velainja e induna ; kwa ti ngemva zonke ke izilwanyane ezincinane lezi, nezind/lovu, zi vela ngambili njalo.

Kwa ti ngemva kwa vela 'libele ; li ti 'libele uba li vele li ti nya, wa ti lo 'muntu kumfazi, " Ku 'nto o ku bona nje ke, mfazi ndini, e si za 'ku ku d/la. Si za 'ud/la. Nanti 'libele."

It is as though we sprang from Uthlanga ; we do not know where we were made. We black men had the same origin as you, white-men. But we black men at our origin were given cattle, and picks for digging with the arms, and weapons of war. It was said, "It is enough ; you shall now shift for yourselves." So we departed, and came in this direction. You whitemen staid behind with all good things and with laws also which we did not possess.

We used to hear it said by our fathers, they too having heard of others, that a man first came into being ; and then a woman after him. After that a cow came into being ; it appeared walking with a bull. After that a female dog, and after her a dog,⁸⁴ and after that all the little animals, and elephants ; all came into being in pairs.

After that corn came into being. When the corn had come to perfection, the man said to the woman, "That which you now see, true⁸⁵ woman, is something for us to eat. We shall eat at once. Behold corn."

⁸⁴ It is worth notice that the female of animals is represented as preceding the male.

⁸⁵ *Ndini*, here translated *true*, is a word rarely met with ; it is used as an appendage to a vocative ; it ascribes reality or speciality to the name to which it is appended. "Mfazi ndini," Thou who art my wife indeed,—*very* wife. Should a bridegroom address the bride thus, it would be an insult, and imply a loss of virtue, and if not founded in truth, would be resented probably by absolute refusal to marry.

Wa buza umfazi, wa ti, "Li ya 'wenziwa njani ukudhliwa kwalo na?" Ya ti indoda, "Lok' u li bona li mile nje ke, ma li yokusi-kwa. Tat' intonga, u li bule; funa 'litshe, funa elinye li be imbo-kondo."

Ya ti ke, "Tata, nanku umhlabu, u u bumbe, u z' 'utela 'manzi."

Wa se yena ke e gaula umtana, uluzi; wa se e pehla umlilo ke. Wa ti ke, "Basa ke; se ku za 'u-pekwa ke." Be se kw' epulwa ke, se ku telwa esitsheni. Ba ya dhla ke bona ke; ba ti ke, "A si zoze sa fa uma si dhle lo 'muti."

Wa ti ke inkomo ke wa zi tshenisa ukuti zi za 'udhla ingca. Wa zi tshenisa izinyamazane lezi e zi kombisa yona ingca. Wa ti, ma zi nga hlali ekaya lapa.

Ku te mhlenikweni ku dabuka umuntu, wa ti ukwenza emhlangeni apa, wa ti, a ba ku bonanga ukudabuka kwabo; ba bona se be kqokqubele nje emhlangeni, be nga boni 'muntu owa ba veza.

Umhlanga lo ku tiwa ukwenza

The woman asked, saying, "In what way shall it be eaten?" The man replied, "Since you see it growing thus, let it be cut. Take a rod, and thrash it; find a stone, and then find a second that it may be an upper stone."⁸⁶

He said, "There is clay; take it and mould it, and pour water into the vessel."

For his work, he cut down a small tree, the uluzi; and obtained fire by friction. He said, "Make a fire; we can now cook." The food when cooked was taken out of the pot, and put into a vessel. And so they ate, and said, "We shall never die if we eat this corn."

He told the cattle to eat grass; and he told game the same, pointing out to them the same grass. And he told them not to remain all at home.⁸⁷

On the day the first man was created he said, as to what happened to them in the bed of reeds, that they did not see their own creation. When he and his wife first saw, they found themselves crouching in a bed of reeds, and saw no one who had created them.

As regards the bed of reeds, on

⁸⁶ Viz., for grinding.

⁸⁷ Viz., that all were not to be domestic animals.

kwawo um/la ba vela wa kquma ; the day they came into being, it
 wa t' u dabukile, kwa se ku puma swelled,⁸⁸ and when it had burst
 bona ke. Kwa se ku dabuka they came out. After that there
 lwenkomo ke nazo zonke izilwane. broke off the uthlanga⁸⁹ of cattle
 UGXUMELA. and of all other animals.

UKOTO, a very old Izulu, one of the Isilangeni tribe, whose father's sister, Unandi, was the mother of Utshaka, gave me the following accounts:—

<p>NGI ti mina, Unkulunkulu s' azi yena o zala Utshaka ; Usenzangakona o zala Utshaka. Ngasemva kukasenzangakona kambe se ku yena Utshaka. Utshaka ka zalanga yena ; ka bonanga e ba nabantwana Utshaka. Kwa buya kwa bekwa Udingane. Kwa buya ba bulala Udingane, ba beka Umpande nam/la nje, e nga zalanga omabili lawo 'makosi Utshaka nodingane.</p>	<p>I SAY for my part that the Unkulunkulu whom we know is he who was the father of Utshaka ; Usenzangakona was Utshaka's father. After Usenzangakona comes Utshaka. Utshaka had no children. After him Udingane was made king. After that they killed Udingane, and made Umpande king to this day, those two kings, Utshaka and Udingane, having no children.</p>
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⁸⁸ This makes it perfectly clear what the natives understand by Unkulunkulu coming out of the earth. The earth is the mother of Unkulunkulu, the first man, as of every other creature. Compare Milton:—

“The Earth obeyed, and straight
 Opening her fertile womb, teemed at a birth
 Innumerable living creatures, perfect forms
 Limbed and full grown.”

Compare also *Ovid. Met.*, B. I., l. 416—421.—This, too, corresponds with the Scripture account of Creation ; Gen. i. 20, 24. It is also philosophically correct to refer the origin of things secondarily to the earth. The material organisms of all living things consist of elements derived from the earth. The poetic imagination, to which time and space impose no limits, represents as occurring at a point in time what, it may be, took myriads of years for its production in accordance with laws imposed on the Universe by the fiat of the Creator.

⁸⁹ Lwenkomo, i. e., uthlanga. This is worth noting, the uthlanga of cattle,—that is, either the reed—primal source—from which they came ; or it may mean, the first pair from which all others sprang.

Ujama kambe o zala Usenza- | Ujama was the father of Use-
 ngakona, uyise waotshaka, u yena | nzangakona, the father of the
 o Unkulunkulu. Ba kona Omve- | Utshakas; it is he who is Unku-
 lunkulu.⁹⁰ There are Omvelinga-

⁹⁰ As the question has been raised whether the natives do not call the First Man, or Being, Unkulunkulu, and an Ancestor Ukulukulu, in order to prevent all misunderstanding I asked him if he was not speaking of Ukulukulu. He replied Ukulukulu and Unkulunkulu is one and the same word; the Amazulu say Unkulunkulu; other tribes Ukulukulu; but the word is one. I enquired what he meant by Unkulunkulu; he answered,

Si bambisise elikakulu o zala | We have employed the word
 ubaba; kepa si ti ukulu ke lowo. | great [father] to designate the
 Kepa a be kona Unkulunkulu | father of our father; and we call
 yena o pambili. | that man great [father]. And
 there was a great-great [father], to
 wit, one who was before him.

A si kulumi ngamandhla ukuti | We do not speak of power when
 Unkulunkulu; si kuluma ngobu- | we say Unkulunkulu, but espe-
 dala kakulu. Ngokuba leli 'lizwi | cially of age. For the word great
 lokuti ukulu a li tsho ukuti mu- | does not say he was old by twice,
 dala kabili, li ti mudala kanye; | but he is old by once; and if the
 kepa uma indhlu yalowo i pinda i | children of that man has children,
 zale amadodana, a se ya 'kuti nge- | they will speak by the reduplicated
 lobubili igama, a hlanganise neli- | name, and unite their father's
 kayise nelalowo, a ti unkulunkulu, | name with his, and say Unku-
 ukuti omdala kakulu. | nkulu, that is, one who is very
 old.

What has been said above, then, together with what is here stated, is sufficient to settle all doubt on the subject. I shall not therefore give all the similar statements derived from a great number of different natives to confirm the fact, that by Unkulunkulu or Ukulukulu they mean a great-great-grandfather, and hence a very ancient man much further removed from the present generation than a great-great-grandfather. Hence it is applied to the founders of dynasties, tribes, and families. The order is as follows:—

Ubaba, my father	Uname, my mother
Ubaba-mkulu, or Ukulu	Umame-mkulu, or Ukulu
Ukoko	Ukoko
Unkulunkulu	Unkulunkulu

Ukoko is a general term for Ancestor who preceded the grandfathers. And Unkulunkulu is a general term for Ancient Men, who "were first" among tribes, families, or kings. See Appendix.

lingangi. Si be si zwa Undaba | ngi.⁹¹ We used to hear of Unda-
wakakubayeni. Abona aba zala | ba,⁹² the son of Ukubayeni. They
Ujama. | were the ancestors of Ujama.

As it was quite clear that he understood my question on the sub-
ject of Unkulunkulu to have reference to the names of the immediate
ancestors of the Amazulu, I asked him if he knew anything about the
first man. He replied :—

<p>Kwa tiwa kwa puma abantu ababili o/langeni. Kwa puma indoda, kwa puma umfazi. Be ti kwa puma yonke imisebenzi le e si i bonayo, neyezinkomo neyoku- d/la,—konke ukud/la loko e si ku d/layo.</p>	<p>It was said that two people came out of a reed.⁹³ There came out a man and a woman. At their word⁹⁴ there came out all those works which we see, both those of cattle and of food,—all the food which we eat.</p>
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⁹¹ Let us note this plural of Umvelingangi ; and that the Omve-
lingangi are the fathers of the generation preceding that of the Onku-
lunkulu ; that is, they are the fathers of the Onkulunkulu ; that is,
the great-great-grandfathers.

Usobekase, a petty chief over a portion of the Amabele, when
speaking of the origin of things, said they were made by Umvelinga-
ngi ; that there was a first man and a first woman ; they were Aba-
velingangi, and that men sprang from them by generation. He did
not use the word Unkulunkulu at all.—Umqumbela, also, a very old
man of the Amangwane, spoke of the Omvelingangi in the
plural, and used the word as strictly synonymous with Unkulu-
nkulu, and, like that word, applicable not only to the first man, but
to the founder of families, dynasties, tribes, &c.

⁹² The origin of Undaba is thus given by Uncinjana, an
Ibele :—

<p>Undaba wa dabuka kupunga, wa zala Usenzangakona. Usenza- ngakona wa dabuka kundaba, wa zala Utshaka. Undaba Unkulu- nkulu.</p>	<p>Undaba sprang from Upunga, and was the father of Usenzanga- kona. Usenzangakona sprang from Undaba, and was the father of Utshaka. Undaba is the Unkulunkulu.</p>
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The attention of the Zulu scholar is directed to the use of *dabuka*
in this statement.

Whilst travelling lately among a wholly uncultivated tribe, on
asking what they meant by the *ukudabuka* of men from Unkulunkulu,
they replied, “Ba dabuka esiswini sake,” They broke off from her
bowels ; that is, of the first female Unkulunkulu.

⁹³ Or, from Uthlanga.

⁹⁴ In this remarkable sentence the origin of things is ascribed to
the joint word of the man and woman.

He said he did not know their names.—I asked what the natives said of a Creator. He answered :—

Si vele ku tshiwo ku tiwa, “Inkosi i pezulu.” Be si zwa ku njalo ke ekuveleni kwetu ; inkosi ya be i konjwa pezulu ; a si li zwanga ibizo layo ; si zwa kodwa ku tiwa inkosi i pezulu. Si zwa ku tiwa umdabuko wezwe kwa tiwa inkosi e pezulu. Ngi te ngi mila kwa ku tiwa umdabuko wezwe u pezulu ; abantu be komba pezulu njalo.

UKOTO MHLONGO.

When we were children it was said, “The Lord is in heaven.” We used constantly to hear this when we were children ; they used to point to the Lord on high ; we did not hear his name ; we heard only that the Lord is on high. We heard it said that the creator of the world⁹⁵ is the Lord which is above. When I was growing up it used to be said, the creator of the world is above ; people used always to point towards heaven.

⁹⁵ This and two or three other statements are the only instances I have met with of the word Umdabuko for the source of creation, but its meaning is evident. It is equivalent to Umdayi of the Amakwabe, the Umdali of the Amakzosa, and the Umenzi of the Amazulu.

Umdabuko, however, is derived from *ukulabuka*, to be broken off (see Note 3, page 1), and therefore has a passive signification, and thus differs from Umenzi and Umdali, which are active. It more resembles Uthlanga, and though in some places apparently used for an active creator, would mean rather a passive, though potential source of being,—passive, that is, as a female, or as a seed, which have however wrapped up in them potentially the future offspring.

We may compare with this the legend of the Bechuanas :—

“Morimo, as well as man, with all the different species of animals, came out of a hole or cave in the Bakone country, to the north, where, say they, their footmarks are still to be seen in the indurated rock, which was at that time sand. In one of Mr. Hamilton’s early journals, he records that a native had informed him that the footmarks of Morimo were distinguished by being without toes. Once I heard a man of influence telling his story on the subject. I of course could not say that I believed the wondrous tale, but very mildly hinted that he might be misinformed ; on which he became indignant, and swore by his ancestors and his king, that he had visited the spot, and paid a tax to see the wonder ; and that, consequently, his testimony was indubitable. I very soon cooled his rage by telling him that as I should likely one day visit those regions, I should certainly think myself very fortunate if I could get him as a guide to that wonderful source of animated nature. Smiling, he said, ‘Ha, and I shall show you *the*

UNGWADI, Ujani, Umasumpa, Umatiwana, Uzikali, ubaba. Ungwadi unkulunkulu. Ujani a zala Umasumpa. A ti Umasumpa a zala Umatiwana. A ti Umatiwana a zala Uzikali. A ti Uzikali a zala abautwana. Wa zala Ungazana, wa zala Umfundisi. A si b'azi abanye. Unzwadi wa zala Uswanalibomvu. Uswanalibomvu wa zala Ungabazi.

Izizwe zonke zi nonkulunkulu wazo. I lesa si nowaso, na lesa si nowaso njalo. Unkulunkulu wakiti Ugenamafu nolu/longwana nosangolibanzi. Ukugcina ku tiwa "Nkosi" kumatiwana, okwa vela Onkulunkulu bakwiti. Ba vela be pete umkonto ukuba ku ponswane, si d/lane inkomo. Ba vela emdabukweni. Umdabuko

UNGWADI, Ujani, Umasumpa, Umatiwana, Uzikali, our father. Ungwadi is Unkulunkulu. Ujani was the father of Umasumpa. Umasumpa was the father of Umatiwana. Umatiwana was the father of Uzikali. Uzikali had many children. He had Ungazana and Umfundisi. We do not know others. Unzwadi was the father of Uswanalibomvu. Uswanalibomvu was the father of Ungabazi.

All nations have their own Unkulunkulu. Each has its own. The Unkulunkulu of our tribe is Ugenamafu and Uluthlongwana and Usangolibanzi.⁹⁶ At last men said "King" to Umatiwana, in whose house the Onkulunkulu of our tribe were born.⁹⁷ At their birth they handled spears that they might be thrown, and we eat each other's cattle. They sprang from the Umdabuko.⁹⁸ The Um-

footsteps of the very first man. This is the sum-total of the knowledge which the Bechuanas possessed of the origin of what they call Morimo, prior to the period when they were visited by missionaries." (*Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa. Moffat, p. 262.*)

See also a corresponding legend among the Basutos:—

"A legend says that both men and animals came out of the bowels of the earth by an immense hole, the opening of which was in a cavern, and that the animals appeared first. Another tradition, more generally received among the Basutos, is, that man sprang up in a marshy place, where reeds were growing." (*The Basutos. Casalis, p. 240.*)

⁹⁶ That is, at a certain period the tribe divided into three, each having its own Unkulunkulu. So Umahhaule, who has formed a small tribe, says, in a few years he shall be an Unkulunkulu.

⁹⁷ That is, the Onkulunkulu whose names he has given not only belonged to the Amangwane, but to the family of Umatiwana.

⁹⁸ Umdabuko, Creator. See above, Note 94.

owa s' abela izinto zonke, wa si patisa nezi/llangu. | dabuko is he who gave us all things, and gave us shields also to carry.

ULUDONGA (an Ingwane).

IN the neighbourhood there is a very old woman, with whom I had some casual conversation which appeared to be calculated to throw some light on their traditions ; I therefore sent Umpengula to obtain from her a connected statement. On his return he related the substance of her remarks as follows :—

UNINA kabapa u ti :—Kwa ti eku-veleni, lokupela Utshaka u te e ba indoda e ngena ebukosini, sa si kqala ukwenda ngaleso 'sikati ; kepa ngi be ngi za ngi zwa ku tiwa, “Amabele lawa e si wa dhlayo a vela em/llangeni ; kwa ku um/llanga ; ku vutiwe, ku bomvu.” Kepa abantu ba zinge be bona into e bukeka em/llangeni. Ba za ba ti, “Ake si zwe uma le into i ini na.” Ba wa ka, a dhliswa. Kwa tiwa, “O, kanti, ku mnandi, ukudhla.” A goduka ke, a ya 'kulinywa.

Si kuluma ngaloku 'kuvela kwamabele, si ti, “Kwa vela pi loku na ?” kepa abadala ba ti, “Kwa vela kumdabuko owa dabula konke. Kepa si nga m azi.” Si zinge si buza si ti, “Lowo 'm-

THE mother of Ubapa says :—At first, that is, when Utshaka was a man and was entering into the kingdom ; we girls were beginning to marry at that time ; I used continually to hear it said that the corn which we eat sprang from a bed of reeds ; there was a bed of reeds ; when it was ripe it was red. And people saw constantly a beautiful thing in the bed of reeds. At length they said, “Just let us taste what kind of a thing this is.” They plucked it, and ate it, and said, “O, forsooth, it is good, it is food.” So it was taken home⁹⁹ and cultivated.

When we spoke of the origin of corn, asking, “Whence came this ?” the old people said, “It came from the creator who created all things. But we do not know him.” When we asked continu-

⁹⁹ Lit., The corn went home and was cultivated ; that is, became a cultivated article of food.

dabuko u pi na? Loku amakosi akwiti si ya wa bona?" kepa abadala b' ale ukuti, "Na lawa 'makosi e si wa bonako, u kona umdabuko owa wa dabulayo."

Kepa si buze si ti, "U pi na? Ka bonakali nje. U pi na?" kepa si zwe bobaba be komba pezulu, be ti, "Umdabuko wako konke u pezulu. Futi ku kona nesizwe sabantu kona." Kepa si nga ze sa bona ka/le ukuba lowo 'mdabuko u ya 'uze a bonwe nini na. Ku be ku tiwe njalo, ku tiwa, "Inkosi yamakosi."

Si zwa futi ku tiwa uma izulu li d/le izinkomo kwabani, ku tiwe, "Inkosi i tate izinkomo kwabani." Futi si zwe ku tiwa uma li ya duma, abantu ba zimise isibindi, ngokuti, "I ya d/lala inkosi." Kepa si ze sa kula ku i loko njalo.

Kepa ngonkulunkulu ka m vezanga ngokwake. Kepa ngi be ngi linga uku m kombisa kuye, a

ally, "Where is the creator? For our chiefs we see?"¹⁰⁰ the old men denied, saying, "And those chiefs too whom we see, they were created by the creator."

And when we asked, "Where is he? for he is not visible at all. Where is he then?" we heard our fathers pointing towards heaven and saying, "The Creator of all things is in heaven. And there is a nation of people there too." But we could not well understand when that Creator would be visible. It used to be said constantly, "He is the chief of chiefs."¹

Also when we heard it said that the heaven had eaten² the cattle at such a village, we said, "The Lord has taken the cattle from such a village." And when it thundered the people took courage by saying, "The Lord is playing." That was the state of the matter till we grew up.

But as for Unkulunkulu, Uba-pa's mother did not mention him of her own accord. But I tried to direct her attention to him, that she might speak of him of her

¹⁰⁰ By this is meant, that they denied the existence of a Creator whom they could not see; and declared their belief that their kings, whom they could see, were the Creators of all things. Just as at the end this old woman declares that the whitemen made all things.

¹ *Inkosi* may be rendered chief, king, lord. We can therefore say either Chief of Chiefs,—or King of Kings,—or Lord of Lords.

² That is, the lightning had struck.

zitsholo ngokwake. Kewa kwa ba | own accord.³ But I could not get lukuni loko ukukuluma ngokwake. | her to mention him of her own

³ This is a very common occurrence. Very old Amazulu, when asked about Unkulunkulu, are apt to speak, not of the first Unkulunkulu, but the onkulunkulu of their tribes.

Mr. Hully, a missionary for some years connected with the Wesleyans, went up to the Zulu country as interpreter to Mr. Owen, in 1837. He says the word Unkulunkulu was not then in use among the natives; but that Captain Gardiner introduced it to express the Greatest, or the Maker of all men. Mr. Hully refused to use it in this sense. He allowed that the word *kulu* meant great, but denied that Unkulunkulu existed in the language to express that which Capt. Gardiner wished. But he persisted in using it through a young man named Verity.

The following remarks from Captain Gardiner's work appear to justify this statement of Mr. Hully:—

“The conversation which took place I will now relate, as nearly as I can, in the precise words:—

“ ‘Have you any knowledge of the power by whom the world was made? When you see the sun rising and setting, and the trees growing, do you know who made them and who governs them?’

“Tpai (after a little pause, apparently deep in thought)—‘No; we see them, but cannot tell how they come: we suppose that they come of themselves.’

“ ‘To whom then do you attribute your success or failure in war?’

“Tpai—‘When we are unsuccessful, and do not take cattle, we think that our father’ [Itongo] ‘has not looked upon us.’

“ ‘Do you think your father's spirits’ [Amatongo] ‘made the world?’

“Tpai—‘No.’

“ ‘Where do you suppose the spirit of a man goes after it leaves the body?’

“Tpai—‘We cannot tell.’

“ ‘Do you think it lives for ever?’

“Tpai—‘That we cannot tell; we believe that the spirit of our forefathers looks upon us when we go out to war; but we do not think about it at any other time.’

“ ‘You admit that you cannot control the sun or the moon, or even make a hair of your head to grow. Have you no idea of any power capable of doing this?’

“Tpai—‘No; we know of none: we know that we cannot do these things, and we suppose that they come of themselves.’” (*Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country. Capt. Allen F. Gardiner, R.N.; undertaken in 1835, p. 283.*)

He thus speaks of a tribe on the Umzimvubu:—

“On the subject of religion they are equally as dark as their

Nga za nga m gazulela ibizo lika-
 nkulunkulu ; kepa yena wa bona
 wa ti, "A ! u yena pela lowo 'm-
 dabuko o pezulu owa e tshiwo
 abadala." Kepa Ubapa wa ti,
 "Ai ! u se kqala ukupambanisa
 amazwi. Izolo u be nga tshongo
 njalo kumfundisi. Unkulunkulu
 u be m kombisa pansi. Kepa
 manje u se m kombe pezulu."
 Kepa wa ti yena, "Ehe ! wa
 buya w' enyuka, wa ya pezulu."
 Wa yeka leyo 'ndlelela yake yoku-
 kqala, wa ngena ngokuti, "Kanti
 Unkulunkulu u yena lo o pezulu.
 Futi nabelungu laba kanti i bona
 amakosi aw' enza konke."

accord. At length I mentioned
 the name of Unkulunkulu ; and
 she understood and said, "Ah ! it
 is he in fact who is the creator
 which is in heaven, of whom the
 ancients spoke." But Ubapa said,
 "No ! she now begins to speak at
 cross purposes. She did not say
 this to the Missionary yesterday.
 She said Unkulunkulu was from
 beneath. But now she says he
 was from above." And she said,
 "Yes, yes !⁴ he went up to
 heaven afterwards." She left the
 first account, and began to say,
 "Truly Unkulunkulu is he who is
 in heaven. And the whitemen,
 they are the lords who made all
 things."

neighbours the Zoolus. They acknowledged, indeed, a traditionary account of a Supreme Being, whom they called Oukoolukoolu" [Ukulukulu] "(literally the Great-Great), but knew nothing further respecting him, than that he originally issued from the reeds, created men and cattle, and taught them the use of the assagai. They knew not how long the issitoota," [isituta] "or spirit of a deceased person, existed after its departure from the body, but attributed every untoward occurrence to its influence, slaughtering a beast to propitiate its favour on every occasion of severe sickness, &c. As is customary among all these nations, a similar offering is made by the ruling chief to the spirit of his immediate ancestor preparatory to any warlike or hunting expedition, and it is to the humour of this capricious spirit that every degree of failure or success is ascribed." (*Id.*, p. 314.)

⁴ That is, she assents to the statement that Unkulunkulu sprang from the earth. But asserts also that he is the heavenly Lord, of whom she has been speaking.

This account is in many respects very remarkable. It is not at all necessary to conclude that the mind of the old woman was wandering. There appears to be in the account rather the intermixture of several faiths, which might have met and contended or amalgamated at the time to which she alludes:—1. A primitive faith in a heavenly Lord or Creator. 2. The ancestor-worshipping faith, which confounds

UBEBE, who related the following, was a very old man, belonging to the Amantanja tribe. He had seen much. His people were scattered by the armies of Utshaka, and he showed four wounds, received at different times :—

INKOSI i ya buza kambe indaba yaobaba.

Aobaba ba be ti indaba yabo yendulo, be ti, "Unkulunkulu u kona o indoda, o pansi yena." Obaba ba be ti, "Inkosi i kona pezulu." Uma li leta, li duma, ba ti, "Inkosi i ya hloma, i ya leta. Lungisa ni." Be tsho kubo 'ma-

THE chief⁵ enquires then what our forefathers believed.

The primitive faith of our fathers was this, they said, "There is Unkulunkulu, who is a man,⁶ who is of the earth." And they used to say, "There is a lord in heaven." When it hailed, and thundered, they said, "The lord is arming; he will cause it to hail. Put things in order."⁷ They

the Creator with the First Man. 3. The Christian faith again directing the attention of the natives to a God, which is not anthropomorphic.

But she may intend to refer to the supposed ascent of Usenzangakona, the father of Utshaka, into heaven, which is recounted in the following izibongo, that is, flattering declamations by which the praises of the living or the dead are celebrated :—

Kwa ku izibongo zikasenzangakona, e bongwa abantu bake, be ti,

"Mntakajama, owa pota igoda la ya la fika ezulwini, lapa izituta zakwamageba zi nga yi 'kufika. Zo ba 'kukwela z' apuke amazwanyana."

Amageba ibizo elidala lamazulu. Li ti, amatunzi okumuka kwelanga; a ya geba ezintabeni. Amageba abakamageba, Unkulunkulu wakwazulu. Umageba u zala Ujama, a zale Usenzangakona, a zale Utshaka. Nomageba u kona Unkulunkulu wake, lapa tina si ng' aziko.

There were lauds of Usenzangakona, by which he was lauded by his people; they said,

"Child of Ujama, who twisted a large rope which reached to heaven, where the Spirits of the Amageba will not arrive. They will again and again make fruitless efforts, and break their little toes."

Amageba is an ancient name of the Amazulu. It means the shadows caused by the departing sun; they recline on the mountains. Amageba are the people of Umageba, the Unkulunkulu of the Amazulu. Umageba begat Ujama; he begat Usenzangakona; he begat Utshaka. And as regards Umageba, there is his unkulunkulu where we know not.

⁵ The chief, that is, myself. A respectful mode of addressing the enquirer, as though the answer was being given to a third person.

⁶ *Indoda*, that is, a male.

⁷ That they may not be injured by the hail.

me, ku lungiswe impa/la zonke nezinkomo namabele.

Ku ti lapa inkosi i d/la layo ngokuduma, ba ti uma ku kona ow esabayo, "W etuka ni, loku ku d/la inkosi na? U tate ni yayo na?"

Kwa tiwa Unkulunkulu u te, a si be abantu, si lime ukud/la, si d/le. Kwa ti utshani bwa vezwa Unkulunkulu, wa ti, "A ku d/le izinkomo." Wa ti, "A ku tezwe izinkuni, ku be kona umlilo, ku vut' ukud/la." Wa ti Unkulunkulu, "A ku zalwane, ku be kona abalanda, ku zalwe, kw and' abantu em/labeni. Ku be kona amakosi amnyama, inkosi y aziwe ngabantu bayo, ukuba 'Inkosi le: ni butane nina nonke ni ye enkosini.' "

A si kw azi ukuvela kwake. Si zwa ku tiwa, "Abantu ba zalwa Unkulunkulu." Aobaba ba

said this to our mothers, and they set all things in order, cattle and corn.

And when the lord played by thundering they said, if there was any one afraid, "Why do you start, because the lord plays? What have you taken which belongs to him?"

It was said, Unkulunkulu said, "Let there be men, and let them cultivate food and eat." And the grass was created by Unkulunkulu, and he told the cattle to eat. He said, "Let firewood be fetched, that a fire may be kindled, and food be dressed." Unkulunkulu said, "Let there be marriage among men,⁸ that there may be those who can intermarry, that children may be born and men increase on the earth." He said, "Let there be black chiefs; and the chief be known by his people, and it be said, 'That is the chief: assemble all of you and go to your chief.' "

We do not know the origin of Unkulunkulu. We hear it said, "Men are the children of Unkulunkulu." Our fathers used to

⁸ *A ku zalwane.* Lit., Let children be begotten or born one with another. An allusion to a supposed period in which if blood relations did not marry there could be no marriage. The meaning really is,—Let brothers and sisters marry, that in the progress of time there may arise those who are sufficiently removed from close relationship, that there may be *abalanda*, that is, persons who may lawfully intermarry.

be ti, "Unkulunkulu lowo owa zala abantu eluhlangueni. Si nga m azi ke Uluhlanga uma wa e puma ngapi na; noma Unkulunkulu ba be puma ohlangueni lunye ini na. A s' azi ukuba Uhlanga umfazi ini, loku aobaba ba be ti si zalwa Unkulunkulu.

Sa si m buza Unkulunkulu kwobawo, si ti, "U pi Unkulunkulu e ni m tshoyo na?" Ba ti, "Ka se ko. Nohlanga futi," ba ti, "ka se ko." Ba ti aobawo, "Nati s' ezwa si tshelwa ukuti, sa zalwa Unkulunkulu nohlanga. Na kwobaba s' ezwa be tsho."

Unkulunkulu wa e mnyama, ngokuba si bona abantu bonke e si vela kubo bemnyama, nenwele zabo zimnyama. B' esoka ngokuba kwa tsho Unkulunkulu, wa ti, "A ba soke abantu, ba nga bi amakwenkwe." Unkulunkulu naye wa soka, ngokuba wa si tshela ukusoka.

say, "Unkulunkulu is he who begat men by Uthlanga.⁹ We do not know whence Uthlanga came; or whether Unkulunkulu and Uthlanga both came from one Uthlanga or not. We do not know whether Uthlanga was a woman, for our fathers said we were begotten by Unkulunkulu.¹⁰

We used to ask our fathers about Unkulunkulu, saying, "Where is Unkulunkulu of whom you speak?" They said, "He is dead, and Uthlanga also is dead." Our fathers said, "We were told that we are the children¹¹ of Unkulunkulu and Uthlanga. And our fathers told us they were told."

Unkulunkulu was a black man, for we see that all the people from whom we sprang are black, and their hair is black. They circumcised because Unkulunkulu said, "Let men circumcise, that they may not be boys." And Unkulunkulu also circumcised, for he commanded us to circumcise.

⁹ Here very distinctly Uthlanga is a proper name,—that of the first woman. But the origin of Uthlanga is not known; it is suggested that she came forth from Uthlanga together with Unkulunkulu—that is, an anterior Uthlanga.—Compare this with the legend above given, where it is said Umvelingangi made an Uthlanga and begat children by her. See below, where it is said, "Uhlanga ka se ko," Uthlanga is dead; not, *A lu se ko*.

¹⁰ This is a mode of asserting his belief that since the fathers said Unkulunkulu begat men, he could not do so without a wife, and that therefore Uthlanga was a woman.

¹¹ *Zala* is to beget and to give birth to: they were derived, viz., by generation from Unkulunkulu, and by birth from Uthlanga.

Umdabuko ng' azi o pezulu woda. Ba be ti abendulo, "Umdabuko u pezulu owona opilisayo abantu ; ngokuba abantu b' esuta, ba nga fi indhlala, ngoba inkosi i ba nika ukupila, ukuba ba hambe ka/le emkhabatini, ba nga fi indhlala."

Uma l' omile, ku hlangana abanumuzana namakosi, ba ye enkosini emnyama ; ba ya kuluma, be tandaza wona umbete. Ukutandaza kwabo ukuba abanumuzana ba tshaye izinkabi ezimnyama, i nga bi ko emhlope. Zi nga hlatshwa ; b' enze ngemilomo ; ku hlatshwe i be nye, ezinye zi hlale. Kwa ku tiwa kukqala invula i puma enkosini, nelanga li puma enkosini, nenyanga e kanyisa ngobumhlope, ku hlwile, abantu ba hambe be ng' apuki. Uma inyanga i nga se ko, ku tiwa, " Abantu a ba nga hambi, kumnyama ; ba ya 'kuli-mala."

As to the source¹² of being I know that only which is in heaven. The ancient men said, "The source of being is above,¹³ which gives life to men ; for men are satisfied, and do not die of famine, for the lord gives them life, that they may live prosperously on the earth and not die of famine.

If it does not rain, the heads of villages and petty chiefs assemble and go to a black chief ; they converse, and pray for rain. Their praying is this :—The heads of villages select some black oxen ;¹⁴ there is not one white among them. They are not slaughtered ; they merely mention them ; one is killed, the others are left. It was said at first, the rain came from the lord, and that the sun came from him, and the moon which gives a white light during the night, that men may go and not be injured. If there is no moon, it is said, "Let not men go, it is dark ; they will injure themselves."

¹² *Umdabuko*, Source of Being,—local or personal,—the place in which man was created, or the person who created him. But if a place, it is possessed of a special potentiality. See Note 95, p. 50. But here the Umdabuko is called "the lord which gives them life."

¹³ The argument is, since we see that life-giving influences,—the rain and sun,—come from heaven, we conclude that there too is the original source of life.

¹⁴ It is supposed that black cattle are chosen because when it is about to rain the sky is overcast with dark clouds. When the ox is killed, its flesh is eaten in the house, and perfect silence is maintained till the whole is consumed, in token of humble submission to the lord of heaven, from whom, and not of the chief, the rain is asked. The bones are burnt outside the village. After eating the flesh in silence, they sing a song. The songs sung on such occasions consist merely of musical sounds, and are without words.

Uma izulu li be li tshayile izinkomo, ku be ku nga hlupakwa. Ku be ku tiwa, "Inkosi i mlabile ekudloleni kwayo." Ku tiwa, "Okwenu ini na, loku ku ng' okwenkosi na? I lambile; i ya zi/labela." Uma umuzi u tshaywe unyazi, uma ku inkomo e bulewe, ku tiwa, "Ku za 'kuba inlanhla kulo 'muzi." Uma umuntu e tshaywe, wa fa, ku tiwa, "U solive inkosi."

If lightning struck cattle, the people were not distressed.¹⁵ It used to be said, "The lord has slaughtered for himself among his own food. Is it yours? is it not the lord's? He is hungry; he kills for himself." If a village is struck with lightning, and a cow killed, it is said, "This village will be prosperous." If a man is struck and dies, it is said, "The lord has found fault with him."

UBEBE.

Having requested Umpengula to ascertain from Ubebe the meaning of Umdabuko more exactly, he made the following report:—

Ng' enze njengokutsho kwako ke, I HAVE done as you directed, mfundisi, nga buza kubebe ukuti, Teacher, and asked of Ubebe what

¹⁵ Contrast this with what Arbousset says of the superstition found among the Lighoyas:—

"When it thunders every one trembles; if there are several together, one asks the other with uneasiness, 'Is there any one amongst us who 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 saying that the Lord is delighted (that is to say, he has done right), with killing that man; they say also that the thief eats thunderbolts, that is to say, does things which draw down upon men such judgments. There can be no doubt, they suppose, that the victim in such a case must have been guilty of some crime, of stealing most probably, a vice from which very few of the Bechuanas are exempt, and that it is on this account that fire from heaven has fallen upon him." (*Exploratory Tour in South Africa*, p. 323.)

Casalis says that, among the Basutos, "If any one is struck dead by lightning, no murmur is heard and tears are suppressed. 'The Lord has killed him,' they say; 'he is, doubtless, rejoicing: let us be careful not to disturb his joy.'" (*The Basutos*, p. 242.)

“Bebe, lapa ku tiwa umdabuko wabantu, li ti ni leli 'zwi lokuti umdabuko na?” Kepa Ubebe wa ti, “Lapa si ti umdabuko, si kulu-ma lapa kwa vela abantu bonke kona, si ti ke umdabuko wabantu. Futi le inkosi e pezulu a ngi zwanga kwobaba be ti, “I nonina nounfazi.” A ngi ku zwanga loko. Unkulunkulu yedwa e kwa tiwa wa veza abantu o/llangeni; sa ti, umdabuko u u/llanga.”

men meant by the word Umdabuko, when they say, “The Umdabuko of men.” He replied, “When we say Umdabuko we speak of that¹⁶ from which men sprang; and because they sprang from that, we say, ‘The Umdabuko of men.’ Further, as regards that lord who is above, I never heard our fathers say he had a mother or wife. I never heard such a thing. It is Unkulunkulu only of whom it was said he gave men origin by means of Uthlanga,¹⁷ and so we said, the Umdabuko is Uthlanga.”

I REQUESTED Umpengula to enquire of Unjan, of the Abambo tribe, a petty chief, who came to the village, what he knew about Unkulunkulu. He reported the following:—

WA ti ngoku m buza kwami ukuti, “Njan, u ti ni wena ngonkulunkulu lowo, e sa m tshoyo tina 'bantu abamnyama na?” wa ti, “Lo, e sa ti, w' enza konke na?” Nga ti mina, “Yebo. Ngi ya

WHEN I asked him, saying, “Unjan, what do you say about that Unkulunkulu, of whom we black men used to talk?” he replied, “Him who, we said, made all things?”¹⁸ I replied, “Yes. I en-

¹⁶ See Note 95, p. 50.

¹⁷ Or, out of Uthlanga; “and so we said the Umdabuko is Uthlanga,” either regarding Umdabuko as a female, or referring to that Uthlanga or Source of being from which Unkulunkulu himself and all things else sprang. But we are here, no doubt, to understand the latter, for above he states that the old men believed in an Umdabuko which is above, and which he calls, “the Lord which gives them life.”

¹⁸ Intimating that there are other Onkulunkulu about whom he might wish to enquire.

buza ukuze ng' azi loko oku isiminyanya imi/la yonke ngaye." Wa ti, "Ehe! A u boni ini ukuba Unkulunkulu, sa ti, w' enza konke e si ku bonayo ne si ku patayo konke?" Nga ti, "Ehe! Hambisa kambe. Ngi sa lalele lapa u za 'kuya 'kugcina kona." Kepa wa ti, "O, noma kwa tshiwo kwa tiwa, w' enza konke; kepa mina ngi bona ukuti loku kwa tiwa umuntu omkulu wetu, umuntu njengati; ngokuba tina sa si nga kombi 'ndawo lapo e kona, kodwa kwa tiwa umuntu owa vela kuqala kubantu bonke, o yena emkulu kwiti sonke, Umvelinqangi. Kanti ngi ya bona ukuti ngelizwi letu sa ti, Unkulunkulu w' enza konke, kepa a s' azi lap' a vela kona." Nga m buza nga ti, "Manje u pi na?" Wa ti, "O, ka se ko." Nga ti, "Wa ya ngapi na?" Wa ti, "Nati si be si buza, ku tiwe, 'Ka se ko.' Kepa ngaloko ku ya bonakala ukuti konke loko a kw enziwanga umuntu o nga se ko; kw' enziwa o se kona."

Kepa ngi buza kuye ngokuti, "Abafundisi bakwini a ba tsho ini ukuti le inkosi e pezulu i Unkulunkulu na?" Wa ti, "Hau!"

quire that I might know what has always been the truth about him." He said, "Yes, yes! Do you not understand that we said Unkulunkulu made all things that we see or touch?" I said, "Yes! Just go on. I am listening for the conclusion." And he said, "Although it was said he made all things, yet for my part I see that it was said,¹⁹ he was an old man of ours, a man like us; for we did not point to any place where he was, but said he was a man who came into being first of all other men, who was older than all of us, Umvelinqangi. So then I see that by our word we said Unkulunkulu made all things, but we know not whence he sprang." I asked, "Where is he now?" He said, "O, he is dead." I asked, "Where is he gone?" He replied, "We too used to ask, and it was answered, 'he is dead.' But by that it is evident that all things were not made by a man, who is now dead; they were made by one who now is."²⁰

And when I enquired, saying, "Do not your teachers²¹ tell you that the lord which is in heaven is Unkulunkulu?" he replied with a

¹⁹ I see that it was *said* and nothing more; there was no truth in it.

²⁰ It is clear that this reasoning is the result of a certain amount of light. When once he had been induced to think, he said that the things around him could not, as the old men said, have had a mere human author, who came into being and passed away.

²¹ This chief and his people live in the neighbourhood of the Roman Catholic Mission about fifteen miles from this place.

ngokwetuka, "Nakanya. A ngi zwanga be li tsho lelo 'lizwi ; no-kuba ba kulume ngalo nje a ngi ku zwanga. Kupela umfundisi yedwa e nga kuluma naye ngalo." start, "Hau! by no means. I never heard such a word, neither did I ever hear them even mention the name. It is your teacher²² alone with whom I have ever spoken about it."

The next day I asked him myself, when he made the following statement :—

<p>Ba ti abendulo ba ti Unkulunkulu owa veza abantu, wa veza konke nezinkomo, konke nezilwane ezasend/le. Ba ti omdala umuntu owa veza lezo 'zindaba, e se ku tiwa ke umuntu omdala u inkosi, ku tiwa u inkosi e pezulu. Se si zwa ngani ukuti inkosi e pezulu e yona ey' enza konke. Abantu abadala ba be ti Unkulunkulu ukoko nje, umuntu omdala owa zala abantu, wa veza konke.</p>	<p>The ancients said that it was Unkulunkulu who gave origin to men, and every thing besides, both cattle and wild animals. They said it was an ancient man who gave origin to these things, of whom it is now said that ancient man is lord ; it is said, he is the Lord which is above.²³ We have now heard from you that the Lord which is in heaven is he who made every thing. The old men said that Unkulunkulu was an ancestor and nothing more, an ancient man who begat men, and gave origin to all things.</p>
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<p>ULANGENI, umuntu omdala wase-makzoseni, kepa u sesikoleni, wa fika lapa kwiti. Nga ya kuye, ngi ya 'kubuza le 'ndaba kankulunkulu, ngi bona emdala kakulu. Kepa ekungeneni kwami end/lini</p>	<p>ULANGENI, an old Ikzosa, but one living at a mission-station, paid us a visit. I went to him and enquired of him what he knew about Unkulunkulu, because I saw he was a very old man. When I entered the house where Ulangeni</p>
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²² Some years ago whilst travelling I had had a conversation with him on the subject.

²³ This is rather obscure, but I prefer not to give a free translation. The meaning is, Our old men told us that it was an ancient man who created all things ; but we hear from the missionaries that the heavenly Lord is he who created.

lapa e kona Ulangeni, nga m buza ngokuti, "Baba, ngi size ngale 'ndawo yokuti Utikzo, uma lelo 'gama kwa tiwa Utikzo o pi na? Noma li vele se ku fike abafundisi ini na?"

Kepa Ulangeni wa ti, "Kga; leli 'gama lokuti Utikzo a si lo e si li zwa kumangisi; igama lakwiti elidala; ku be ku ti ngezikati zonke, uma ku timula umuntu a ti, 'Tikzo, u ngi bheke kade.'"

Kepa nga buza ngokuti, "Ni be ni ti tikzo nje, ni tsho ni na? Loku izidumbu zake na ni nga z' azi, na ni tsho ni na?" Wa ti, "Le 'ndaba yokuti tikzo indaba kwiti e be ku tiwa, uma li ya duma izulu, kw aziwe njalo ukuti a kona amand/la a ngapezulu; ku ngaloku kwa za kwa tiwa opezulu Utikzo. A ku tshiwongo kodwa ukuti u sendaweni etile pezulu;

was, I enquired of him, saying, "My father, help me in the matter of Utikzo, and tell me where Utikzo is said to be? And whether the word came into use after the arrival of the missionaries?"

And Ulangeni answered, "No; the word Utikzo is not a word we learnt of the English; it is an old word of our own. It used to be always said when a man sneezed, 'May Utikzo ever regard me with favour.'"²⁴

Then I asked, "Since you merely used the word Utikzo, what did you mean? Since what is very truth about him you knew not, what did you mean?" He replied, "As regards the use of Utikzo, we used to say it when it thundered, and we thus knew that there is a power which is in heaven; and at length we adopted the custom of saying, Utikzo is he who is above all. But it was not said that he was in a certain place

²⁴ Just as among other people sneezing is associated with some superstitious feeling. In England and Germany old people will say, "God bless you," when a person sneezes. Among the Amazulu, if a child sneeze, it is regarded as a good sign; and if it be ill, they believe it will recover. On such an occasion they exclaim, "Tutuka," Grow. When a grown up person sneezes, he says, "Bakiti, ngi hambe kade," Spirits of our people, grant me a long life. As he believes that at the time of sneezing the Spirit of his house is in some especial proximity to him, he believes it is a time especially favourable to prayer, and that whatever he asks for will be given; hence he may say, "Bakwiti, inkomo," Spirits of our people, give me cattle; or, "Bakwiti, abantwana," Spirits of our people, give me children. Diviners among the natives are very apt to sneeze, which they regard as an indication of the presence of the Spirits; the diviner adores by saying, "Makosi," Lords, or Masters.

kwa ku tiwa lonke izulu u kulo lonke. A kw ahlukaniswanga.”

Kepa nga ti, “Amalau a e ti ni wona ibizo lokubiza Udio?” Wa ti, “Hau! U tsho 'malau mani na?” Nga ti, “Lawa 'malau abomvana.” Wa ti, “Ngi y' e-zwa. Kepa ba be pi labo 'bantu aba nga ze ba be notikzo na? Angiti ba be hlala ezintabeni; ba tolwe Amabunu, nokuze ba be pakati kwabantu na? A si lo igama lamalau ukuti tikzo. Okwamalau kwa duka konke ngam-hla be hlangene namabunu. A si zwa 'luto lwawo.”

I loko ke e nga ku zwa ngolageni. Nga buza ke ngokuti, “Unkulunkulu ku m zwanga na?” Kepa yena wa ti, “Uku mu zwa kwami Unkulunkulu, ngi mu zwe kakulu lapo ku bekwa amatshe pezu kwesivivane; umuntu a ti

in heaven; it was said he filled the whole heaven. No distinction of place was made.”²⁵

I asked, “By what name did the Hottentots call God?” He said, “Hau! what Hottentots do you mean?”²⁶ I replied, “Those reddish Hottentots.” He said, “I hear. But where were those people that they should use the word Utikzo? Is it not the fact that they used to live in the mountains; and were taken into the households of the Dutch, and so came to live among the people? Utikzo is not a Hottentot word. Every thing belonging to the Hottentots was thrown into confusion when they united with the Dutch. We have learnt nothing of them.”

This, then, is what I heard of Ulangeni. So I enquired further, “Have you never heard of Unkulunkulu?” He replied, “I have for the most part heard Unkulunkulu mentioned when stones are thrown on an isivivane;²⁷ when a

²⁵ It may be worth noting here that what the Amazulu say of the lord of heaven, for whom they have no name, the Amakzosa say of Utikzo.

²⁶ This is to be understood as expressing his utter contempt for the Hottentots, and unwillingness to admit that the Kafir could learn any thing from them. It cannot, however, be doubted that he is mistaken in supposing that they did not derive the word from the Hottentots.

²⁷ *Isivivane*.—Isivivane amatshe a hlanganiselwa 'ndawo nye, 'enziwe inkqwaba enkulu; ku po-

The isivivane consists of stones which are collected together in one place, and form a large heap;

lapa e ponsa itshe, a ti, 'Zizuku- | man throws a stone, he says,
lwane zikankulunkulu,' a dhlule." | 'Generations of Unkulunkulu,'
Nga ti ke, "E tsho mupi Unku- | and passes on." So I said, "What

nswe kona aba dhlulako kuso | those who pass by the isivivane
isivivane, amancane amatshe na- | cast stones on it; the stones
makulu e ponswa kona, ku tiwa, | which are thrown on it are both
"Sivivane saokoko, ngi ti ketshe- | small and great; and it is said,
ketshe ukuhamba kalula." | "Isivivane of our ancestors, may
UMPENGULA MBANDA. | I live without care."

The isivivane, then, is a heap of stones, the meaning of which the natives of these parts are unacquainted with. When they pass such a heap, they spit on a stone and throw it on the heap. Sometimes they salute it by saying, "Sa ku bona, bantwana bakasivivane," Good day, children of Usivivane; thus personifying Isivivane, and acting in correspondence with the Kxosa salutation to Unkulunkulu.—Sir James E. Alexander relates the following of the Namaquas:—"In the country there are occasionally found large heaps of stones on which had been thrown a few bushes; and if the Namaquas are asked what they are, they say that *Hejje Eibib*, their Great Father, is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"—Among the Hottentots there are many such heaps, which they say are the graves of Heitsi Kabip, who, according to them, died several times and came to life again. (*Bleek. Hottentot Fables*, p. 76.)—Thus the Heitsi Eibip of the Hottentots appears to have some relation to the Unkulunkulu of the Kafirs.

Such heaps of stones are common in the South Sea Islands, and are there memorial heaps, as, it appears from the Scripture narrative, was that which Jacob raised (Gen. xxxi. 45—55); or they may have been raised over graves, as is still the custom among the Bedouins.

"The bearers of the corpse reached the newly dug grave at the head of the procession, and standing over it they slowly lowered the body, still rolled in its rough camel-hair shroud, into it, as the solemn chant suddenly ceased, and the silence which ensued seemed rendered deeper by the contrast. The corpse having been stretched out in its sandy couch, all those nearest the spot, with hands and feet, raked back the loose earth over the grave and closed it up. Ali and the other chieftain with him, each taking up a stone from the ground, now cast it in turn on the tomb, uttering, 'Allah yerdano,' God have mercy on him! Naif, silent and brooding, approached the spot, and with the same prayer cast his stone likewise over his brother's tomb, adding, 'The duty of revenging thee weighs upon me.'

"All the other members of the tribe present followed their chief's example, and pressed forward to pay their last tribute to the dead, a stone cast on the grave, and a muttered prayer for his peace;

lunkulu na?" Ukupendula kukalangeneni, wa ti, "E tsho umuntu wokukqala kubo bonke abantu, owa vezwa Utikxo kukqala. Kepa abantu ba m bona. Utikxo wa sita kunkulunkulu, ka bonwanga umuntu; abantu ba bona yena Unkulunkulu, ba ti umenzi wako konke, Umvelinqangi, be tsho ngokuba lowo ow' enza Unkulunkulu be nga m bonanga. Ba ti ke u yena e Utikxo. I loko e ngi kw aziyo ngonkulunkulu."

Nga ti mina, "Ehe! langeni. Ngi ya bona impela ukuba loko o ku tshoyo into nami e be ngi i tsho. Kodwa kuloko, loko 'kupendula kwako ku ukupendula kwomuntu o se punyelwe ilanga; ngokuba u bona loko abaningi a ba bheki nakanye kuloko 'kubona kwako."

Wa ti, "Ku te ekufikeni kwamangisi kulo 'mhlaba kwiti, kwa kqala umfundisi o ku tiwa ibizo lake Uyegana. Wa fika wa fundisa abantu, nokukuluma kwake

Unkulunkulu does he mean?" Ulangeni said in reply, "He means the first man before all other men, who was created by Utikxo first. And men saw him. Utikxo was concealed by Unkulunkulu, and was seen by no one; men saw Unkulunkulu, and said he was the creator of all things, Umvelinqangi; they said thus because they did not see Him who made Unkulunkulu. And so they said Unkulunkulu was God.²⁸ This is what I know about Unkulunkulu."

I replied, "Yes, yes! Ulangeni. I see clearly that what you say accords with what I said. But further, your answer is the answer of a man on whom the sun has risen; for you see that which many do not regard in the least."

He said, "On the arrival of the English in this land of ours, the first who came was a missionary named Uyegana. On his arrival he taught the people, but they did

the multitudes crowding in succession round the spot, or spreading over the plain to find a stone to cast on the tomb in their turn. A high mound of loose stones rose fast over the grave, increasing in size every minute as men, women, and children continued swarming around it in turn, adding stone after stone to the funereal pile." ("Sketches of the Desert and Bedouin Life." *The Churchman's Companion*. No. XII. December, 1867, p. 524.)

Is our ceremony of throwing earth into the grave a relic of this ancient custom?

²⁸ This is a very concise and simple explanation of the way in which the First Man came to be confounded with the Creator.

ku ng' aziwa uma u ti ni na, e la! endhle, e nga lali ekaya; kepa uma e bona umuzi a ye kuwo; nakuba ukukuluma kwabantu e nga kw azi, a kwitize njalo kubantu, ba ko!lwe uma u ti ni na. Wa za w' enyuka wa beka enhla; wa fumana abantu ababili—Ibunu nelau; wa buya nabo labo 'bantu, ba m kumushela. Sa kqala uku w' ezwa amazwi a wa tshoyo. Wa buza pakati kwetu ngokuti, 'Ni ti ni ngokwenza konke na?' Sa ti, 'Ow' enza konke, si ti Utikzo.' Kepa wa buza wa ti, 'U pi na?' Sa ti, 'U sezulwini.' Uyegana wa ti, 'Ehe. Ngi lete yena lowo ke pakati kwenu lapa.' Kepa kwa ku kona abantu ababili, be bakulu; omunye Unsikana, omunye Unzele. Ba kolwa bobabili. Unzele wa e hlala emzini wake. Unsikana wa hlangana noyegana, umfundisi. Laba 'bantu ba kqala ukubanga igama lokuti Utikzo. Unzele wa ti, 'Utikzo u pansi.' Unsikana wa ngaba, ngokuti, 'Hai! Nzele. Utikzo u pezulu. Ngi m boha e pezulu mina, lapa ku vela amandhla onke.' Ba pikisana ngaloko bobabili, wa za

not understand what he said; he used to sleep in the open air, and not in a house; but when he saw a village he went to it, and although he did not understand the people's language, he jabbered constantly to the people, and they could not understand what he said. At length he went up the country, and met with two men—a Dutchman and a Hottentot; he returned with them, and they interpreted for him. We began to understand his words. He made enquiries amongst us, asking, 'What do you say about the creation of all things?' We replied, 'We call him who made all things Utikzo.' And he enquired, 'Where is he?' We replied, 'In heaven.' Uyegana said, 'Very well. I bring that very one²⁹ to you of this country.' And there were two men, both men of consequence; one was named Unsikana, and the other Unzele. Both became believers. Unzele continued to live at his own village. Unsikana united with Uyegana, the missionary. These men began to dispute about the name Utikzo. Unzele said, 'Utikzo is beneath.' Unsikana denied, saying, 'No! Unzele. Utikzo is above. I see that he is above from whence power proceeds.'³⁰ The two disputed on that subject, until at length Unze-

²⁹ That very one,—that is, all that relates to or concerns him.

³⁰ Compare this with Note 13, p. 59.

w' a/lulwa Unzele, ngokuba wa ti, 'E pansi,' e tsho Unkulunkulu ngokuti, 'U pansi.' Kepa Unsikana wa ti, 'Hai! Utikzo u sempakameni.' La za lelo 'gama lokuti Utikzo la дума kakulu ngokufika kwabafundisi. Ngokuba tina sa si kuluma ngezulu lonke, si ti, 'Ku kona Utikzo kulo lonke;' ku nga te ntsa ukukanya kuleyo 'ndawo. Kepa lo 'nsikana ukukolwa kwake ku ya mangalisa. A si kw azi uma kwa ku njani na, ngokuba ekwa/luleni kwake Unzele, wa m kqambela ingoma enkulu, wa ti 'Ekatikzo' lelo 'gama; na nam/la nje li into enkulu emakzoseni. Li ya baliswa ngamand/la amaningi katikzo. Ku

le was overcome, for he said, 'He is beneath,' meaning Unkulunkulu when he said 'He is beneath.' But Unsikana said, 'No! Utikzo is in the high place.' At length the word Utikzo was universally accepted on the arrival of the missionaries. For we used to speak of the whole heaven, saying, 'Utikzo dwells in the whole heaven;' but did not clearly understand what we meant. But the faith of Unsikana is wonderful. We do not understand what it was like, for when he had refuted Unzele, he composed a great hymn for him, which he called 'The Hymn of God;' and to this day that hymn is a great treasure among the Amakzosa. It celebrates the great power of God.⁸¹

⁸¹ The following is the translation of the hymn alluded to given by Appleyard, *Grammar*, p. 48:—

Thou art the great God—He who is in heaven.
 It is Thou, Thou Shield of Truth.
 It is Thou, Thou Tower of Truth.
 It is Thou, Thou Bush of Truth.
 It is Thou, Thou who sittest in the highest.
 Thou art the Creator of life, Thou madest the regions above.
 The Creator who madest the heavens also.
 The Maker of the stars and the Pleiades.
 The shooting stars declare it unto us.
 The Maker of the blind, of thine own will didst thou make them.
 The Trumpet speaks,—for us it calls.
 Thou art the Hunter who hunts for souls.
 Thou art the Leader who goes before us.
 Thou art the great Mantle which covers us.
 Thou art He whose hands are with wounds.
 Thou art He whose feet are with wounds.
 Thou art He whose blood is a trickling stream—and why?
 Thou art He whose blood was spilled for us.
 For this great price we call.
 For thine own place we call.

te lowo 'muntu o ku tiwa Unsikana w' enza ummangaliso ngamhla e fayó. W' emuka wa ya ehladini e nomfana wake. Wa ngena ehladini, wa funa umuti omkulu o ku tiwa umumbu ibizo lawo; wa u tola, wa u gaula, wa u nguma; wa u linganisa naye, wa u baza, wa w enza umpongolo; wa funa nesivalo, e u baza, e zilinganisa pakati kwawo. Ku te uma u pele wa u twala, wa goduka nawo, wa llanganisa abantwana bake, wa ti, 'Bantabami, ni bona nje ngi gaule lo 'muti, ng' enzile ukuze ku ti uma se ngi file ni ngi fake kuwo, ni nga boni ubuncunu bami.' Nembala wa fa ngalezo 'zinzukwana."

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

And the man Unsikana did a wonderful thing at his death. He went with his son into the forest. When he entered the forest he sought for a large tree called the Umumbu; he found one and cut it down; he measured it by his own size; he carved it and made a box of it, and a cover for it, hollowing it so as to be equal to himself inside. When it was finished he carried it home; he assembled his children and said to them, 'My children, you see I have cut this tree, that when I am dead you may place me in it, and not look on my nakedness.' And in fact he died a few days after."

LELI 'lizwi lokubiza Unkulunkulu e bizwa abantwanyana noma abafana ekwaluseni, u ya bizwa ngokuba ku tsho abadala. A ngi tsho ukuti a se be gugile, ngi tsho abakulileyo kunabanye. Ba ya tumela ukuti a ba ye 'ku m biza abantwana. Ngokuba ku nge ko namunye o ya 'kuti, "Ku ngani ukuba ni tanda ukudhlala ngesilobosami na? A n' azi ini uku-

As regards calling Unkulunkulu, when he is called by little children or by boys when they are herding cattle, he is called at the bidding of old people. I do not mean those who are really old, but those who are grown up more than others; they send children to go and call him. For there is no one who will say, "Why do you like to make sport with a relative of mine?"³² Do you not know that

³² A very common answer received from a native when asked who Unkulunkulu is, is, "Ukoko wetu," Our ancestor. But now, through the course of years, no one regards him as a relative; he is so far removed from all at present living by intervening generations.

ba kumina kubu/lungu na?" Ku ngokuba ind/lu yake Unkulunkulu e nga m enzela umunyu, a i se ko. Labo 'bantu bonke aba tume-la abantwana ukuti a ba ye 'ku m biza, b'enza ngoku nga m naka-keli ngaluto. Loku 'ku/lekisa ngaye Unkulunkulu ku vela nga-loku. Ngokuba uma abantwana ba ya buza ukuti, "Unkulunkulu u ubani na?" ba ti abadala, "Um-velinqangi ow'enza izinto zonke." Kepa ba buze ukuti, "Upi manje lapo e kona na?" ba ti, "Wa fa; a si sa l'azi izwe lapo a fela kona, neliba lake. I loku kodwa e si kw aziyo ukuti, lezi 'zinto zonke e si nazo sa zi nikwa u ye." Kepa ku nga bi ko 'n/loko yezwi eli veza ukuti, "Ind/lu e sa lunge nonkulunkulu eyakwabani lo."

Ku ti uma ku landwa ukuma kwake Unkulunkulu, ku pelele etafeni nje, ku nga sondeli ngase-ziud/lini zokwelamana naye kulaba 'bantu aba se kona.

Ku njalo ke, u bona nje, ukubizwa kukankulunkulu; ku nga ti u se inganekwane; ka si yo inga-

it is painful to me?" It is because the house of Unkulunkulu, which can feel pain for him, no longer exists. All the people who send children to go and call him, do so because they care nothing about him. That sport about Unkulunkulu springs from this. For if children ask who Unkulunkulu is, the old people answer, "Umvelinqangi, who made all things." But when they ask where is the place where he now is, they say, "He died, and we no longer know the place where he died, nor his grave. This only is what we know, that all these things which we have, he gave us." But there is no such conclusion as this come to, "The house which is descended from Unkulunkulu is the house of So-and-so."³³

When the standing of Unkulunkulu is sought out, it terminates in the open plain, and makes no approach to houses which have followed him in succession till those men who now exist are reached.³⁴

Such then, you see, is the calling of Unkulunkulu; it is as though he was the subject of a

³³ That is, no one can trace up his ancestry to the First Man. Such a notion manifests the utter ignorance of the natives of the lapse of time since man was created.

³⁴ We know that Unkulunkulu was the first man, but if we were to attempt to give the names of his children we could not make up a genealogy, for we are at once lost, and cannot in any way connect him with people who are now left.

nekwane impela, ukuze a nge u inganekwane; ku ngokuba u umuntu wokukqala; ngapambili kwake ka ko omunye umuntu kutina 'bantu; u yena e sekukqaleni kwabantu; tina sonke si nganeno kwake. I ngaloko Unkulunkulu bonke abantwana ku tiwa a ba ye 'ku m biza. A ku tshiwo ukuti, "Si biza idhlozi na? Si li bizelize? A s' azi ini ukuba li ya 'kutukutela, li si bulale na?" A ku ko loko 'kukcabanga okunjalo ngaye Unkulunkulu, ukuti u idhlozi. Kepa noma u idhlozi, ka ko o namandhla oku m pata lapa e hlabile inkomo; ngokuba ka namandhla okubalisa, njengaloko e nga balisa ngamadhlozi akubo a w' aziyo. Kubantu abamnyama igama likankulunkulu a li hlonipeki; ngokuba a ku se ko 'ndhlu yake. Se li njegegama lesalukazi esidala kakulu, si nge namandhla okuzenzela nokuncinyane, se si hlala lapo si hlezi kona kusasa li ze li tshone ilanga. Abantwana ba se be dhala ngaso, ngokuba a si namandhla oku ba fumana no ku ba tshaya; se si kuluma ngomlomo kodwa. Ku njalo ke negama leli likankulunkulu, ukuba abantwana bonke ku tiwa a ba ye 'ku m biza. U se isikohliso sabantwana.

mere nursery tale; he is not a fable indeed, though he may be like one; it is because he was the first man; before him there was not another man from whom we are derived; it is he who is the first among men; we stand this side of him. It is on that account that all children are told to go and call Unkulunkulu. They do not say, "Are we calling an Idhlozi? Do we call it for nothing? Do we not know that it will be angry and kill us?" There is no such thought as this about Unkulunkulu, that he is an Idhlozi. But if he is an Idhlozi, there is no one who can worship him when he kills a bullock; for he is not able to repeat his praise-giving names, as he can those of the Amadhlozi of his people which he knows. The name of Unkulunkulu has no respect paid to it among black men; for his house no longer exists. It is now like the name of a very old crone, which has no power to do even a little thing for herself, but sits continually where she sat in the morning till the sun sets. And the children make sport of her, for she cannot catch them and flog them, but only talk with her mouth. Just so is the name of Unkulunkulu when all the children are told to go and call him. He is now a means of making sport of children.

A ku tshiwo kodwa ukuba u ize. U umuntu impela; kodwa ku ya ko/liswa ngaye abantwana, ukuti a ba ye 'ku m biza. Ngo-kuba ku y' aziwa impela ukuti wa fa. Kodwa i loku oku bonakala ngako ukuba u isiko/liso sabantwana, ngokuba na lapo a fela kona a k' aziwa na abadala. Kodwa uma ku tunywa abantwana, ku tiwa a ba ye lapaya; noma u ngalapa eduze, na lapa e kona. Kepa abantwana ba bize ba bize kakulu kakulu, a nge sabele; ba buye ba ye 'kubika ukuti ka sabele; ku tiwe, "A ni bize kakulu; memeza ni kakulu." Abantwana b' ezwe loku 'kutsho ngokuti, "A ku memezwe," ba memeze kakulu, a ze amazwi abo a tshe, ba hho-tshoze; ba kqale ukubona ukuti, "Si ya ko/liswa. Ini ukuba Unkulunkulu a ng' ezwa ngamazwi a 'bukali e si memeze ngawo kukqala? Manje u sa ya 'kuzwa ngani, loku e se e tshile amazwi na?" Kepa ngaloko, noma a tshile, a ba nako ukuyeka ukubiza. Ukupela kwokumemeza kwabo ukuba ku suke umkuiwana a ye 'bu ba biza, ukuti, "Sa ni buya." U tsho njalo ngokuba be se be kqedile loko a be be tanda

But it is not said he is nothing. He is really a man; but children are made sport of through him, when they are told to go and call him. For it is well known that he died. But it is this which makes it clear that he is the means of making a sport of children, for even the place where he died is not known even to the old men. But when children are sent, they are told to go yonder; or they say that he is here near at hand, or that he is at this very place. And children call and call again and again; but he cannot answer. They return to report that he does not answer. The people say, "Shout aloud; call him with a loud voice." When the children hear it said that they are to shout aloud, they shout aloud until they are hoarse, and their voice is scarcely audible; and they begin to see that they are deceived, and ask, "How is it that Unkulunkulu does not hear shrill words with which we first shouted? Now, how can he any longer hear, since we are now hoarse?" But because they have been told to shout, even though they are hoarse they cannot leave off shouting. The end of their shouting is this:—One of the bigger boys goes to call them, saying, "Come back now." He says this because the people have now finished what they wished to

uku kw enza ngapandhile kwabantwana. Ba buya ke abantwana, ba ti, "K' esabeli." Ku tiwe, "O, u kude lapo e kona. A ku se 'kcala."

Ngaloko 'kumemeza a ba bongi Unkulunkulu ngako. Kodwa abantwana ngoku ng' azi kwabo ba memeza isiminya; ngokuba be ti, u za 'uvela. Kanti lab' aba ba tumileyo ba y' azi ukuti ka yi 'kuvela. Ngokuba kubo a nge tunywe o se bhokile ukuya 'kubiza Unkulunkulu; a nga ti uma ku tiwa, "Bani, hamba u ye 'kubiza Unkulunkulu," a nga ti ukupe ndula kwake, "Uma ni tanda ukwenza into yenu, noma ni tanda ukuba ni dhle ukudhla okutile kwenu e ni nga tandi ukuba ngi ku bone, noma ngi ku dhle; woti ni a ngi suke, ngi ye kwenye 'ndawo, ngi hlale kona, ni ze ni kgedeloko kwenu; musa ukuti a ngi ye 'kubiza Unkulunkulu, njengabantwana laba aba ng' aziyo." Ku njalo ke abadala a ba tunywa.

Le 'ndaba kankulunkulu manje se si i bona ezincwadini, ukuti i ya sondela. Loku tina si be si ti, "Unkulunkulu umuntu wokuqala." A si m bonganga, noma

do without the children. So the children return, and say, "He did not answer." The people reply, "O, he is a great way off. It is now no longer of consequence."

By this shouting they do not worship Unkulunkulu. But the children, through their ignorance, shout with sincerity, for they think he will appear. But those who send them know that he will not. For a person who is shrewd among them cannot be sent to go and call Unkulunkulu; if he is told to go and call Unkulunkulu, he may say in reply, "If you wish to do something in private; or if you wish to eat that food of yours, which you do not wish me to see, or eat, tell me to go away to some other place; don't tell me to go and call Unkulunkulu, like children who know nothing." So old people are not sent.

The account of Unkulunkulu we now see in books, that is, it is coming near to us, whilst we ourselves used to say, "Unkulunkulu is the first man."³⁵ We did not worship him, though we all sprang

³⁵ He means to say, that as regards the natives themselves, Unkulunkulu was something so far off that they never thought of him; but that now this old man is being brought forward by others as the object of a reverence which they never rendered to him.

sa vela kuye sonke. Si bongela Onkulunkulu betu e si b' aziyo ; yena a si namandla, ngokuba sonke ebuntwaneni si ko/lisiwe ngaye, kwa tiwa a si ye 'ku m biza ; sa biza, sa biza ; nya ukavela. Kepa manje uma umuntu e ti, a si bongela Unkulunkulu, laba Onkulunkulu betu e si ba bongayo si ya 'ku ba lala kanjani ? si bongela e si ko/lisiwe ngaye na ? Si nge vume. Ngokuba noma umuntu e kqinisa ngokuti a si bongela Unkulunkulu, si ya 'kutinukala sonke, si ti, " Ku sa vuswa isiko/liso e si ko/liswe ngaso ebuntwaneni na ? " Ku tiwa, " Si kula nje, se si ko/liwe ini ? Si s' azi ukuba si ko/lisiwe kakulu ngaye. " A ngi tsho ukuti si ko/lisiwe ngokuti u ize ; ngi ti, si ko/lisiwe ngokutiwa, a si ye 'ku m biza, u ya 'kuvela ; nokuba ku tiwa, a si m bongela, u ya 'ku si pa

from him. We worship our Onkulunkulu whom we know [by name] ; we cannot worship him, for all of us in our childhood were deceived through him, when we were told to go and call him ; we shouted and shouted ; but he did not appear in the least. But now if a man tell us to worship Unkulunkulu, how shall we forsake these our own Onkulunkulu whom we do worship, and worship him by whom we have been deceived ? We cannot assent.³⁶ For if a man urge us to worship Unkulunkulu, the old sores of all of us will break out again, and we shall ask if the deception which was practised on us when young is brought up again. It is said, " Since we have grown up [in the presence of this deceit], have we now forgotten it ? We still know that we were much deceived through him. I do not mean that we were deceived because the people thought he was nothing ; I mean, we were deceived by being told to go and call him and he would appear ; and if we are told to worship him and he will give us so-and so and so-and-

³⁶ By this he means, that praying to Unkulunkulu, the first man, would prove just as great a deceit as children's calling to him ; for as he could not appear to them, so he cannot hear our prayers, for he is but a man like ourselves, dead and buried long ago.

ukuti nokuti, noma ukupila, ku sa so, or health, it will still be like
ku ba njengokukoko/lliswa kwetu. our being deceived.³⁷

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

INDABA yabantu abamnyama a ba THE account which black men
i tsho kubelungu ngokubela kwabo. give white men of their origin.

Ku tiwa abantu abamnyama ba It is said the black men came
puma kukqala, lapa kwa datshu- out first from the place whence all
kwa kona izizwe zonke ; kepa nations proceeded ;³⁸ but they did

³⁷ The native gives the following explanation of his words here :—

Ngi tanda ukuti ngaloku 'ku- I would say as regards the wor-
bonga Unkulunkulu, uma si yeki- ship of Unkulunkulu, if we are
swa Onkulunkulu betu e si ba bo- made to leave our own Onkulu-
ngayo, ku tiwe a si bongwe lowo o- nkulu, whom we worship, and are
kade a yekwa, si nge ze sa vuma, told to worship him whom we left
ngokuba naye u umuntu woku- long ago, we shall never assent ;
kqala, kepa na laba betu ba nje- for he too is a man—the first, and
ngaye ; a si boni oku nga si sizayo those which we call our people are
ngaye ; ku se kunye nje. men like him ; we do not see in
what way he can help us ; they
are all alike.

I would say as regards the wor-
ship of Unkulunkulu, if we are
made to leave our own Onkulu-
nkulu, whom we worship, and are
told to worship him whom we left
long ago, we shall never assent ;
for he too is a man—the first, and
those which we call our people are
men like him ; we do not see in
what way he can help us ; they
are all alike.

³⁸ We have already seen how prevalent is the tradition that man and all other things came out of the earth. The natives of these parts confess they do not know where this place is. But among other South African tribes, the tradition is associated with a certain locality. Thus the Basutos and Lighoyas point to a place which they call "Instuana-Tsatsi," which means the East. Arbousset says :—

"This spot is very celebrated amongst the Basutos and the Lighoyas, not only because the *litakus* of the tribes are there, but because of a certain mythos, in which they are told that their ancestors came originally from that place. There is there a cavern surrounded with marsh reeds and mud, whence they believe that they have all proceeded." (*Arbousset. Op. cit., p. 198.*)

And among the Baperis, "at the base of a small mountain which they call *Mole*, is a deep cavern called *Marimatle, fine bloods* or *pretty races*, because they maintain that men and the other animals came out of it ; and not only so, but that the souls return thither after death ; an opinion which reminds one of the old pagan doctrine of the infernal regions." (*Id., p. 255.*)

Campbell also gives us a similar account :—

"With respect to the origin of mankind, the old men had given him no information ; but there is a great hole in the Marootzee country out of which men first came, and their footmarks are still to be

bona a ba pumanga nanto 'ningi ; kupela izinkomo namabele, oku ingcozana, nemikonto, namagejo okulima ngemikono, nokunye oku kona, umlilo wokubasa ukuze ba d/le ngawo, ukud/la okulu/laza ku vutwe ngokupekwa ; nebumba into a ba y' aziko, ukuba uma si bumba um/laba, si w enze isitsha, si u yeke, w ome ; lapo se w omile, si ye 'ku u tshisa ngomlilo, u be bomvu ; s' azi ke ukuba noma se ku telwa amanzi, a u sa yi 'ku-bid/lika, ngokuba se u kqinisiwe ; noku/lakanipa oku lingene ukuzisiza, uma si lambile ; nokukqikela isikati sokulima, ukuze si nga d/luli, si fe ind/lala ngoku nga s' azi isikati esi fanele nesi nga fanele. Ukwazana kwetu kwa lingana ukuzisiza nje ; a sa ba nako ukwazi okukulu.

Sa puma ke si pete loko oku lingene tina, si ti si nako konke, si lakanipile, a ku ko 'luto e si nga lw aziko. Sa hlala, si zincoma ngokuti si nako konke.

not come out with many things ; but only with a few cattle and a little corn, and assagais, and picks for digging with the arms, and some other things which they have ; fire to kindle, that they might not eat raw food, but that which is cooked ; and potters' earth is a thing which they know, to wit, if we temper earth, and make it a vessel, and leave it that it may dry ; and when it is dry, burn it with fire, that it may be red ; we know that although water be now poured into it, it will no longer fall to pieces, for it has now become strong ; and wisdom which suffices to help ourselves when we are hungry, and to understand the time of digging, that it may not pass and we die of famine, through not knowing suitable and unsuitable times. Our little knowledge just sufficed for helping ourselves ; we had no great knowledge.

So we came out possessed of what sufficed us, we thinking that we possessed all things, that we were wise, that there was nothing which we did not know. We lived boasting that we possessed all things.

seen there. One man came out of it long ago, but he went back, and is there yet. Morokey never saw the hole himself, but his uncle, who is dead, had seen it, and saw the footmarks very plain. The cattle also came from the same hole." (*Travels in South Africa. Campbell. Vol. I., p. 306.*)

Se ku ti namu/la, uma ku fike abelungu, ba fike nezingola, zi botshelwe izinkomo, b' embata ulwembu, be /lakanipile kakulu, b' enza izinto e si ti tina zi ng' enziwe 'muntu, e si nga kcabanganga ngazo nakanye, ukuba zi nga si siza. Inkomo sa si ng' azi ukuba i nemisebenzi emiuingi ; sa si ti, umsebenzi wenkomo ukuba i zale, si d/le amasi ; inkabi si i /labe, si d/le inyama, ku be ukupela. Si nga w azi umsebenzi omunye wenkomo ; e /latshiweyo si i pale isikumba sayo, s' enze amagqila okuvata abesifazana nezipuku zokwambata, ku be ukupela ke umsebenzi wenkomo. Sa mangala si bona inkomo i botshelwe engoleni, i twele impa/la, i dabula izwe, i ya kude, ku nge ko oku nge ko pakati kwenqola ; lapa ku kunyulwa kona, ku pume izinto zonke zalabo 'bantu ; sa ti, "Ba fikile aomahambanend/lwane."³⁹ Ind/lwane si tsho inqola.

Loko ke kwa si mangalisa impela. Sa bona ukuba, kanti tina abamnyama a si pumanga naluto nolulodwa ; sa puma-ze ; sa shiya

But now when the white men have come with wagons, oxen are yoked, they being clothed in fine linen, being very wise, and doing things which for our parts we thought could not be done by man ; about which we did not think in the least, that they could help us. We did not know that the ox was useful for many purposes ; we used to say, the purpose of the cow is, that it should have calves, and we eat milk ; and of the ox that we should kill it and eat flesh, and that was all. We knew no other purpose of cattle. When one is killed we prepare its skin, and make women's clothes, and blankets ; and that is the whole purpose of the ox. We wondered when we saw oxen yoked into a wagon, which had goods in it, and go through the country, and go to a distance, there being nothing that is not in the wagon ; and when the oxen are loosened, there comes out all the property of those men ; we said, "Those are come who go about with a house." By house we meant the wagon.

That, then, made us wonder exceedingly. We saw that, in fact, we black men came out without a single thing ; we came out naked ; we left every thing behind,

³⁹ The name given to snails, caddisworms, &c.

konke ngokuba sa puma kukqala. Kepa abelungu sa bona ukuba bona ba gogoda⁴⁰ ukuhlakanipa; ngokuba a ku ko 'luto olu s' ahlulayo tina be nga lwazi; ba z' azi zonke e si nga z' aziyo; sa bona ukuba tina sa puma ngamaputupu; kepa bona ba linda izinto zonke ukuba ba nga zi shiyi. Nembala ba puma nazo. Ngaloko ke si ya ba tusa, ngokuti, "I bona ba puma nezinto zonke etongweni elikulu; i bona ba puma nobuhle bonke; tina sa puma nobuula bokung' azi 'luto." Manje se ku nga i kona si zalwako i bona, bona be fika nako konke. Se be si tshela konke, e nga si kwazi nati uma sa linda; u loko si nga linda-nga se s' abantwana kubo.

Ku ngaloko ke uku s' ahlulwa kwabo, a ba s' ahlulanga ngampi; ba s' ahlulwa ngomhlalapanisi—be hlezi, nati si hlezi; s' ahlulwa imisebenzi yabo e si mangalisayo; sa

because we came out first. But as for the white men, we saw that they scraped out the last bit of wisdom; for there is every thing, which is too much for us, they know; they know all things which we do not know; we saw that we came out in a hurry; but they waited for all things, that they might not leave any behind. So in truth they came out with them. Therefore we honour them, saying, "It is they who came out possessed of all things from the great Spirit;⁴¹ it is they who came out possessed of all goodness; we came out possessed with the folly of utter ignorance." Now it is as if they were becoming our fathers, for they come to us possessed of all things. Now they tell us all things, which we too might have known had we waited; it is because we did not wait that we are now children in comparison of them.

Therefore, as to their victory over us, they were not victorious by armies; they were victorious by sitting still—they sitting still and we too sitting still; we were overcome by their works, which make us wonder, and say, "These

⁴⁰ *Ukugogoda*, to scrape out the very last portion of food, &c., left in a vessel. Hence, metonymically, to be very wise,—perfectly wise.

⁴¹ There is no doubt that *Itongo* is Spirit; it is the general word employed to express spiritual power, and, I think, ought to be used instead of *umoya*.

ti, "Laba ab' enze nje, a ku fanele ukuba si kcabange ngokulwa nabo," njengokuba imisebenzi yabo iya s' ahlula, na ngezikali ba ya 'ku s' ahlula futi.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

men who can do such things, it is not proper that we should think of contending with them," as, if because their works conquer us, they would conquer us also by weapons.

ABELUNGU ba puma nokupelele etongweni elikulu.

Indaba yetongo elikulu eli tshilwo abantu abamnyama, ba ti, ekuveleni kwetu, tina 'bantu sa puma nezintwana ezi lingene ukuba si dle si pile ngazo ; ukuhlakanipa kwa ba oku lingene ukuzisiza tina.

Ngaloko ke 'kuhlakanipa kwetu okuncinane, si se sodwa tina abamnyama sa si nga tsho ukuti si nokuncinane ; sa ti, si nokuhlakanipa okukulu e sa piwako Unkulunkulu. Kepa manje se si ti kuncinane, ngokuba si bona ukuhlakanipa okukulu kwabelungu oku sibekela ukwazana kwetu konke e sa si temba ngako.

Futi, sa si nga tsho ukuti, ba kona aba sala emuva ekudatshulweni kwezizwe. Sa si ti, sa puma kanye sonke. Si ya bona manje ukuti, "Ai ; a si pumanga naluto olona sa abantu ngalo." Si

THE white men came out from a great Itongo with what is perfect.

As regards the great Itongo which is spoken of by black men, they say that we black men at our origin came out with little things, which were merely sufficient for us to obtain food and to live ; our wisdom was enough to enable us to help ourselves.

As regards, then, that little wisdom, whilst we black men were by ourselves we used not to think we had little wisdom ; we thought we had great wisdom, which Unkulunkulu gave us. But now we say it is little, because we see the great wisdom of the white men which overshadows all our little wisdom in which we used to trust.

Further, we used not to say that there were those who remained behind when the nations broke off. We used to say, we came out all together. But now we see it was not so, but that we did not come out with any thing which made us really men. We see that

bona ukuba abelungu bona ba sala
ba zuza kakulu etongweni elikulu.

Lapa si ti itongo elikulu, kakulu a si tsho ngomuntu wakwiti ofileyo ukuti u 'litongo elikulu ; ngokuba a ku tshiwo futi ukuba leli 'tongo elikulu Unkulunkulu, e si ti wa dabula izizwe. Ilizwi lodwa eli kombako ukuba abelungu ba puma nako konke, ba kgedela okobuntu ; ba puma be /lubile, be nge njengati ; tina sa puma si se nolwebu, si nga /lubanga. Izinto zonke e sa puma nazo a si z' azanga kakulu uku zi kqonda. Ngaloko ke manje ilizwi lelo li kona lokuba abelungu ba puma nokupelele etongweni elikulu. Kodwa ngi nga l' azi uma leli 'tongo elikulu ku tshiwo Unkulunkulu ini ke ; kodwa ku be kona ukuba 'litongo elikulu ku nga tshiwo ukuba itongo lelo u yena Unkulunkulu, ngokuba naye ku tiwa wa vela o/langeni ; a kw azeki ka/le ke ukuba elona 'tongo i li pi na

the white men remained behind, and obtained very much from the great Itongo.

When we say the great Itongo, we do not speak of one of our dead, that he is a great Itongo. For it is not said that that great itongo is Unkulunkulu, who we say broke off the nations. It is only a word which points out that the white men came out with every thing, and possessed of every thing that was needed for manhood ; they came out perfect,⁴² not like us who came out imperfect, not having cast off the skin of imperfection. And all those things with which we came out we did not know sufficiently to understand them. On that account the word has arisen that the white men came out with what is perfect from a great Itongo. But I do not know that that Itongo is said to be Unkulunkulu ; but it used not to be said that that Itongo was one with Unkulunkulu, for he too sprang from Uthlanga ; we cannot well understand whether

⁴² The metaphor here is borrowed from the peeling off of the skin of a new born child, or the casting off of the skin by a snake, that it might be, as the natives think, more perfect. The white man cast off the skin of imperfection before leaving the source of being. The coloured man came out with the skin of imperfection still adhering to him, and it has not been cast off to this day.

<p>kunonkulunkulu noMlanga na. A ku Mlanzekanga lapo. UMPENGULA MBANDA.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"> <p>that Itongo is more likely to be Unkulunkulu, or Uthlanga.⁴³ That is by no means clear.⁴⁴</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p>that Itongo is more likely to be Unkulunkulu, or Uthlanga.⁴³ That is by no means clear.⁴⁴</p>
<p>that Itongo is more likely to be Unkulunkulu, or Uthlanga.⁴³ That is by no means clear.⁴⁴</p>		

⁴³ Pringle describes Makanna, the great Kafir prophet, as referring his mission to "Uthlanga, the Great Spirit :"—

"By his spirit-rousing eloquence, his pretended revelations from Heaven, and his confident predictions of complete success, provided they would implicitly follow his counsels, he persuaded the great majority of the Amakzosa clans, including some of Hinza's captains, to unite their forces for a simultaneous attack upon Graham's-town, the head-quarters of the British troops. He told them that he was sent by Uthlanga, the Great Spirit, to avenge their wrongs; that he had power to call up from the grave the spirits of their ancestors to assist them in battle against the English, whom they should drive, before they stopped, across the Zwartkops river and into the ocean; 'and then,' said the prophet, 'we will sit down and eat honey!' Ignorant of our vast resources, Makanna probably conceived that, this once effected, the contest was over for ever with the usurping Europeans." (*Narrative of a Residence in South Africa. Pringle, p. 299.*)

It would be interesting to know what were the exact words used by Makanna. Did he really use the words ascribed to him? or has Pringle paraphrased for him? However this may be, it is clear that Pringle had been led by his investigations among the Frontier Kafirs to conclude that their idea of God is to be found in the word Uthlanga.

Shaw also remarks :—

"Before Missionaries and other Europeans had intercourse with the Kaffirs, they seem to have had extremely vague and indistinct notions concerning the existence of God. The older Kaffirs 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." (*Story of My Mission, p. 451.*)

There can be no doubt that whilst Uthlanga is used by some to mean a reed, which is supposed to have given origin to all things; and others speak of Uthlanga as the place from which all things came out, yet the majority give it a personal signification; and in tracing the tradition backwards, we rest at last in Uthlanga as the word which of all others has wrapped up in it the native idea of a Creator.

⁴⁴ This notion of successive egressions from the centre of creation, which is a new idea among the natives of this country, having arisen from a wish to explain the difference between themselves and us, has its counterpart among the native tribes of South America :— "They believe that their good deities made the world, and that they first created the Indians in their caves, gave them the lance, the bow and arrows, and the stone-bowls, to fight and hunt with, and then turned them out to shift for themselves. They imagine that the dei-

THE following account was obtained many years ago. It was in fact among some of the very first papers written at the dictation of natives. The native who gave it was an Izulu, who had just come as a refugee from Zululand. I laid it aside as useless because the first answers the man gave were absolutely contradictory to those I have recorded, which he gave when I began to write. But there is reason to think from statements made by other natives, which have been given above, that he was really speaking of two Onkulunkulu,—the first man, of whom he correctly affirmed that no one prayed to him, worshipped him, or offered him any honour, but to whom he refers the origin, at least the ordering, of things and creation; and of the Unkulunkulu of the Zulu nation, or of his own tribe, of whom he correctly affirmed afterwards that the Amazulu pray to and worship him :—

Unkulunkulu u ng' ubani na ?	Who is Unkulunkulu ?
Tina a s' azi Unkulunkulu. A	We do not know Unkulunkulu.
ngi m azi Unkulunkulu. Ngi	I do not know Unkulunkulu. ⁴⁵
kombela pezulu, ngi ti, "Nanku Unkulunkulu."	I point to heaven and say, "There is Unkulunkulu." ⁴⁶

ties of the Spaniards did the same by them; but that, instead of lances, bows, etc., they gave them guns and swords. They suppose that when the beasts, birds, and lesser animals were created, those of the more nimble kind came immediately out of their caves; but that the bulls and cows being the last, the Indians were so frightened at the sight of their horns, that they stopped up the entrance of their caves with great stones. This is the reason they give why they had no black cattle in their country till the Spaniards brought them over, who more wisely had let them out of the caves." (*Researches into the Early History of Mankind. Tylor, p. 313.*)

⁴⁵ In accordance with the answer invariably given by natives, when referring to Unkulunkulu, the first man.

⁴⁶ The native teacher thinks he must here refer to the legend of the ascent of Usenzangakona into heaven. Note 4, p. 55. This is quite possible; and that in the statements which follow he might be referring to supposed creative acts, which he ascribed to that chief. Compare Ukoto's statement, p. 50, with that of Ubapa's mother, p. 55, who sums up her faith with the statement, that "the whitemen are the lords who made all things."

Abantu ba m bonga Unkulunkulu na ?

Yebo, ba m bonga. Si ya m tanda Unkulunkulu ngokuba si d/la amabele, si vube amasi ; si /labe inyama yetu, si d/le umbila wetu, si d/le imf' etu. Si ya m tanda Unkulunkulu, a ti, "Ma si tate abafazi ba be 'lishumi." Unkulunkulu si ya m tanda ngokub' a ti, "Ma si d/le inyama yetu." Yena Unkulunkulu w' ona ukub' a ti, "Ma si bulawe, si fe, si shiye inyama yetu." A ti yena, "Ma si fe, si nga se zi 'kuvuka." W' ona ke ukuba si fe ke si nga se zi 'kuvuka. Unkulunkulu mu/le ngokuti, "Ma si kipe inkomo zetu, si tenge umfazi." Sa m tanda ke ngaloku, ngokuba si d/la amadumbi ; sa m tanda ngokuba si d/la um/laza. Sa m tanda ngokub' a ti, "Ma si puze utshwala betu." Si ya m tanda ngokuba a ti, "Ma si d/le inyamazane."

Abantu ba kuleka kunkulunkulu na ?

Yebo, ba kuleka kuye, ba ti, "Mngane ! Nkosi !"

Do the people worship Unkulunkulu ?

Yes, they worship him. We love Unkulunkulu because we eat corn,⁴⁷ and mix it with amasi ; and kill our cattle, and eat our maize, and our sweet cane. We love Unkulunkulu because he told us to take ten wives. We love Unkulunkulu because he told us to eat our meat. But Unkulunkulu erred when he said that we were to be killed, and die, and leave our meat. He said that we were to die and never rise again. He erred therefore when he allowed us to die and rise no more. Unkulunkulu is good because he told us to take our cattle and buy a wife. We love him on this account, because we eat amadumbi and umthlaza,⁴⁸ and because he told us to drink our beer. We love him because he told us to eat the flesh of game.

Do the people salute Unkulunkulu ?

Yes, they salute him, saying, "O Friend ! Chief !"⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Compare what is said, p. 25. The worship of Unkulunkulu consists in rejoicing at what is supposed to be his gift, good or bad, and by casting on him and his ordinance the responsibility of their own evil doing.

⁴⁸ *Amadumbi*, edible tubers, a kind of arum, which the natives cultivate. *Umthlaza* is also an edible tuber.

⁴⁹ Or, Lord, or King.

Ba ya kcela into kuye na?
Yebo. Ba ti, "Si pe invula,
nkosi, ku kule umbila wetu."

Do they ask him for any thing?
Yes. They say, "Give us rain,
O Chief, that our maize may
grow."⁵⁰

Abadala ba ti, "Wa be indoda
Unkulunkulu, wa be nomfazi."
A ngi l' azi igama na lomfazi.
Abadala ba ti, "Wa e nomfazi, wa
e zala abantwana." Unkulunkulu
wa veza abantu ngokuzala.

The old men say that Unkulu-
nkulu was a man, and had a wife.
Neither do I know the name of
his wife. The old men say that
he had a wife, and that he had
children. Unkulunkulu produced
children by generation.

⁵⁰ This is the only instance I have met with in which even apparently a native has said that prayer is made to Unkulunkulu, the first man. On the contrary, every previous account implies the reverse. I cannot personally enquire of the native who related the above, but there can be little doubt that he was not alluding to Unkulunkulu, the first man; but to the head of the Zulu nation, or of his own family—Onkulunkulu which are admitted on all hands to be objects of worship and of prayer among the other Amatongo. Mr. Shooter, in his work on Natal, says:—

"The tradition of the Great-Great (Unkulunkulu) is not universally known among the people. War, change, and the worship of false deities have gradually darkened their minds and obscured their remembrance of the true God. Captain Gardiner states that the generality of the people were ignorant of it in his time." (*p.* 160.) See Note 3, *p.* 54. Captain Gardiner doubtless would find "the generality of the people" utterly ignorant of an Unkulunkulu in heaven, except as a part of their faith in such legends as that of the ascent of Usenzangakona. But I have never yet met with any native old or young, of Natal or Zululand, or from any part between Natal and the Cape, who was ignorant of the tradition of an Unkulunkulu who came out of the earth, the first man, who lived, gave laws to his children, and died.

Again, Mr. Shooter says:—

"There is a tribe in Natal which still worships the Great-Great (Unkulunkulu), though the recollection of him is very dim. When they kill the ox they say, 'Hear, Unkulunkulu, may it be always so.'"

This statement also appears to be the result of inaccurate investigation and misapprehension. I never met with a case, neither have I met with any native that has, in which Unkulunkulu is thus addressed. But the Onkulunkulu of houses or tribes are addressed, not by the name Unkulunkulu, but by their proper names, as Udumakade, Uzimase, &c. Instances of this worship of the Onkulunkulu have been already given. When we come to the "AMATONGO" we shall see more clearly what is really the nature of their worship, and that Unkulunkulu, the first man, is of necessity shut out.

HAVING had some conversation with Mr. Thomas Hancock on the meaning of Unkulunkulu, he summoned several old Amabakca living near him on the Umzimkulu; and we enquired the names of the fathers of generations, beginning from the present, and going backward. They gave the following:—

Ubaba	My father
Ubaba-mkulu	My grandfather
Ubaba-mkulu kababa-mkulu	My great-grandfather [lit., the grandfather of my grandfather]
Ukoko	My great-great-grandfather
Ukulu	My great-great-great-grandfather

They did not go further back, but were inclined to give the names of those who preceded. They said nothing about Unkulunkulu, until we mentioned the word, and asked who he was. They then threw their heads backward and said, "He was a long, long time ago, and begat many people."

Shortly after, Mr. Hancock sent one Usithlanu, an old Izulu, one of Utshaka's soldiers, with a note, in which he says:—"Since you were here I have questioned the bearer about Unkulunkulu, as also others. But unless I first give them the idea, they know very little or nothing about it but the name, and that he is one that has begotten a great number of children. He may be the fiftieth grandfather, or the five-hundredth."

I proceeded to enquire of Usithlanu by the aid of a native, directing him in the first place to ask Usithlanu to go backwards and tell me what the Amazulu call the fathers of generations, beginning with his own father. He answered:—

Owa zala ubaba ubaba-mkulu ;	The father of my father is uba- ba-mkulu ; his father is ukoko ; the father of ukoko is unkulunku- lwana ; ⁵¹ the father of unku- nkulwana is unkulunkulu.
owa zala ubaba-mkulu ukoko ; owa	
zala ukoko unkulunkulwana ; owa	
zala unkulunkulwana unkulunku- lu.	

⁵¹ This was the first time I had met with the word Unkulunku-

Here he stopped ; but when I requested him to go on still reckoning backwards, he added :—

Owa zala unkulunkulu unku- nkulu o ngembili ; owa zala unku- lunkulu o ngembili ⁵² unkulunkulu o ngembili futi, Udhlamini, U- hlomo, Uhhadebe, Ungwana, U- mashwabade.	The father of unkulunkulu is an anterior unkulunkulu ; and the father of that anterior unkulunkulu is a still anterior unkulunkulu, Udhlamini, Uthlomo, Uhhadebe, Ungwana, Umashwabade.
--	--

Beyond these he could not remember, but added, the five names here given are those by which they call their houses, that is, families, viz., their izibongo or surnames.

I then requested him to give me his own name, and the names of his father, grandfather, &c., as far back as he could remember, which he did as follows :—

lwana in my intercourse with the natives. It is a diminutive, and means the lesser or inferior Unkulunkulu. But Captain Gardiner mentions it in the following extract :—

“It is agreed among the Zoolus, that their forefathers believed in the existence of an overruling spirit, whom they called Villenangi [Umvelingangi] (literally the First Appearer), and who soon after created another heavenly being of great power, called Kuolukoolwani, [Unkulunkulwana,] who once visited this earth, in order to publish the news (as they express it), as also to separate the sexes and colours among mankind. During the period he was below, two messages were sent to him from Villenangi, the first conveyed by a cameleon, announcing that men were not to die ; the second, by a lizard, with a contrary decision. The lizard, having outrun the slow-paced cameleon, arrived first, and delivered his message before the latter made his appearance.” (p. 178.)

In an earlier part of his journal, after an interview with Udingane, he says :—

“But what was God, and God’s word, and the nature of the instruction I proposed, were subjects which he could not at all comprehend.” (p. 31.)

⁵² *Ngembili*.—Usithlanu has been living for many years among the Amabakca, and uses *ngembili* for the Zulu *ngapambili* ; the Amalala say *ngakembili*.

Usi/lanu	
Umantanda	Ubaba
Usigwakqa	Ubaba-mkulu
Umlotsha	Ukoko
Umsele	Unkulunkulwana
Ulinda	Unkulunkulu
Uvumandaba	Unkulunkulu o ngembili
Ud/klamini	ditto
Uhlomo	ditto
Uhhadebe	ditto
Ungwana	ditto
Umashwabade	ditto

Izibongo zalabo bonke Ud/klamini Uhhadebe, and Um-
nohhadebe nontimkulu. The surnames of all of them are
Udhlamini, Uhhadebe, and Um-
timkulu.⁵³

Upon further enquiry it appeared that he did not mean that all the Onkulunkulu here mentioned were the heads of generations in regular retrogression, but that the last six were contemporary, and descended from one father. I asked him to go still further back, but he was unable; and added:—

Lapa si geina kumtimkulu no- ngwana nomashwabade nohlomo, i bona aba dabula izizwe, amakosi.	We end with Umtimkulu and Ungwana and Umashwabade and Uthlomo, because they were the chiefs who divided the nations.
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As he did not of his own accord go back to the first unculunkulu, I asked him to tell me what, when he was a boy, he was told about the origin of man. He said:—

Ba ti, sa puma emanzini, em- hlangeni, elwand/le. Si zwe ku tiwa, "Wa vela umuntu woku- kqala owa puma elu/hlangeni. Wa	They told us that we came out of the water, from a bed of reeds, by the sea. We heard it said, "There appeared the first mau, who came out of a reed. He
--	--

⁵³ These three were great chiefs,—amakosi o/hlanga,—who left their names as izibongo of their respective tribes.

komba amabele e milile, wa ti, "Ka-nini.⁵⁴ Nank' amabele," e tsho Unkulunkulu wamandulo,⁵⁵ Ukgili. Ukgili kambe Unkulunkulu wokukqala owa puma emhlangeni, wa zala abantu.

Umuntu wokukqala u tiwa Unkulunkulu. Wa vela nomfazi; nabanye abantu ba vela emhlangeni emva kwake, abantu bonke bendulo. Yena owokukqala e m-kulu kambe, yena a zala abantu. Si tsho tina 'bantu, si ti, "Ba zalwa nguye yena a vela kukqala."

Abantu bendulo a si b' azi uku-zalwa kwabo. Ba vela emhlangeni nje; naye Unkulunkulu wa vela

pointed to the growing corn and said, "Pluck. That is corn." This was said by the most ancient Unkulunkulu, Ukgili.⁵⁶ For Ukgili was the first Unkulunkulu who came out of the bed of reeds, and begat men.

The first man is called Unkulunkulu. He came out with a wife; and other men came out of the bed of reeds after him, all the primitive men. He the first was chief indeed, he who begat men. We say, "They were begotten by him who came out first."

We do not know that the primitive men were begotten. They came, as they were, out of the bed

⁵⁴ *Ka-nini*, Pluck, for Yika ni.

⁵⁵ *Wamandulo*.—The most ancient Unkulunkulu.

Ba kona abantu bendulo abaningi, kepa e si ti owamandulo o ngapambili kwalabo bendulo.

There are many ancients, but he whom we call owamandulo was before all the other ancients.

⁵⁶ *Ukgili*, *ikgili* made into a proper name. The-wise-one.

Ku tshiwo umuntu ow azi kakulu; ngaloko ke ngokuhlakanipa kwake a ku sa tshiwo ukuti ikgili, se ku tiwa Ukgili. Owokukqala ku tiwa Ukgili, ngokuba wa kw enza konke.

It means a man of exceeding knowledge; therefore on account of his wisdom he is not merely called in general terms wise, but by the proper name, "The-wise-one" (or Craftman). The first man is called Ukgili because he made all things.

Just as he is called *Umdali*, the breaker off, because he is supposed to have been the instrumental agent by which all things were broken off or separated from the source or place of being; and *Umenzi*, the maker, because he is supposed to have made all things, so the personal name *Ukgili* is applied to him to denote the wisdom manifested in the act of creation.

nje. A si m boni, si zwa nje ngo-
hlanga. Si ti ke wa kqala, wa
milisa umhlaba, wa milisa intaba
ke, amanzi, amabele, ukudhla, in-
komo, nako konke. Kwa puma
konke nezinja nenkomo emanzini.
Si ti kw' enziwa u yena, loku si te
si vela kwa se ku kona konke
loko.

Unkulunkulu wa puma elu/hla-
ngeni e nomfazi ; u tiwa nomfazi
Unkulunkulu bobabili.

of reeds ;⁵⁷ and Unkulunkulu
came out as he was. We do not
see him, and hear only of Uthla-
nga.⁵⁸ So we say he was first ; he
made⁵⁹ the earth, and the moun-
tains, the water, corn, food, cattle,
and every thing. All things came
out of the water, dogs and cattle.
We say they were made by him,
for when we came into being they
were already all in existence.

Unkulunkulu came out of U-
thlanga with a wife ; she, as well
as he, is called Unkulunkulu.

I asked him to trace back the female heads of generation, as he
had already the male heads. He said :—

Owa ngi zala umame.

She who gave birth to me is
umame.

Owa zala umame umakulu, no-
ma ukulu.

She who gave birth to umame
is umakulu or ukulu.

Owa zala umakulu ukoko wami.

She who gave birth to umakulu
is my ukoko.

Owa zala ukoko wami ukulu-
kulu.

She who gave birth to my uko-
ko is ukulukulu.

Owa zala ukulukulu unku-
nkulu.

She who gave birth to ukulu-
kulu is unkulunkulu.

⁵⁷ This notion appears to be frequently intimated in the legends
of the origin of man,—that not only Unkulunkulu came out of the
bed of reeds, but primitive men also (abantu bendulo). Unkulunkulu
simply came out first ; they followed with cattle, &c. The abantu
bendulo therefore were not his offspring, but came out as they were
from the same place as Unkulunkulu. An old Ikqwabi, in relating
the legend, said that Unkulunkulu was a great man ; he sat in a hole,
somewhere near the Umtshezi, a river in Zululand, appearing with his
body only above the ground, and thus sitting moulded all things. By
this we are to understand that the Amakqwabi's traditional centre
from which they sprang is on the Umtshezi.

⁵⁸ By Uthlanga meaning apparently the place from which Unku-
lunkulu and all other things came.

⁵⁹ Milisa, lit., caused to grow ; but = bumba, enza.

Noma u indoda noma owesifazana, Whether it is man or woman we
 ku sa tiwa unkulunkulu naye no- say unkulunkulu, both of the fe-
 wesidoda. male and of the male.

Thus, according to this native, the male and female heads of the fifth generation backwards are called Unkulunkulu. Thus :—

MALE :—

Ubaba
 Ubaba-mkulu
 Ukoko
 Unkulunkulwana
 Unkulunkulu

FEMALE :—

Uname
 Umakulu, or Ukulu
 Ukoko
 Ukulukulu⁶⁰
 Unkulunkulu

I said to him, “Where now is the first unkulunkulu?” He replied :—

<p>Okwetu sodwa tina, ku fa aban- cinane nabakulu, si muke ke isi- tunzi. Unkulunkulu wetu tina 'bantu u ye lo e si tandaza kuye ngenkomo zetu, si bongwe, si ti, “Baba!” Si ti, “Dhlamini! Hha- debe!⁶³ Mutimkulu! Hlomo!</p>	<p>All we know is this, the young and the old die,⁶¹ and the shade⁶² departs. The Unkulunkulu of us black men is that one to whom we pray for our cattle, and worship, saying, “Father!” We say, “U- dhlamini! Uhhadebe! Umuti- mkulu! Uthlomo! Let me ob-</p>
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⁶⁰ I had never before met with a native who thus separated Ukulukulu from Unkulunkulu. It is the reduplication of *ukulu* which is never, so far as I know, nasalised; and is equivalent to unkulunkulwana, the diminutive of unkulunkulu. Below we shall find another native making a similar distinction. But the majority of natives deny the correctness of this distinction.

⁶¹ By this he means to say that Unkulunkulu no longer exists; that he has died like all others, young and old.

⁶² *Isitunzi*, shade.—This is, doubtless, a word formerly used for the spirit of man, just as among the Greeks, Romans, &c. And scarcely any thing can more clearly prove the degradation which has fallen on the natives than their not understanding that *isitunzi* meant the spirit, and not merely the shadow cast by the body; for there now exists among them the strange belief that the dead body casts no shadow; and when they say, “*Isitunzi si muke*,” The shade has departed, they do not mean that the soul has left its tenement, but that the body has ceased to cast a shadow.

⁶³ He said Uhhadebe was an Ithlubi, that is, one of the tribe of the Amathlubi.

Yebo, ngi tole, nkosi ! ngi nga fi, ngi pile, ngi hambe kade." Abantu abadala ba m bona ebusuku. tain what I wish, Lord ! Let me not die, but live, and walk long on the earth."⁶⁴ Old people see him at night in their dreams.

I asked him if, when he was a boy in Zululand, the people ever said any thing about a heavenly lord. He replied :—

Mina sihlanu ngi ti, i b' i kona indaba yenkosi e pezulu, ngi tsho ngemvula, ngi tsho ngemitandazo yetu uma si kcela imvula. A ku kqali na kutshaka ; na kwabendulo imitandazo yokukcela imvula ya i kona. Kepa Utshaka u fike wa dhlulisa eyake imitandazo. Wa mema abantu, umkandhlu omkulu, wa ba 'mnumuzana ; wa buta inkabi ezimnyama nezimvu nezingcama ezimnyama ; wa za 'utandaza ; wa vuma ingoma, wa tandaza enkosini e pezulu ; wa ti kokoko bake, a ba kulekele imvula enkosini pezulu. La na izulu. Ingoma :—

Ukuhlabelela—

I ya wu ; a wu ; o ye i ye.

Ukuvuma—

I ya wo.

I, Usithlanu, for my part say there used to be something said about a heavenly lord, I mean as regards rain, and our prayers when we asked for rain. That did not begin even with Utshaka ; even the primitive men used to pray for rain. But Utshaka came, and made his prayers greater than those who preceded him. He summoned the people, a great assembly, consisting of the chiefs of villages. He collected black⁶⁵ oxen, and sheep and black rams ; and went to pray ; he sang a song and prayed to the lord of heaven ; and asked his forefathers to pray for rain to the lord of heaven. And it rained. This is the song :—

One Part—

I ya wu ; a wu ; o ye i ye.

Second Part, or Response—

I ya wo.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Compare this with the account given p. 84, which it entirely corroborates ; the Unkulunkulu of each tribe is the object of that tribe's veneration and worship. It may be as well also to note that, according to Burton, the Dahomans salute their king by crying, "Grandfather, grandfather."

⁶⁵ Black cattle are chosen because they wish black clouds, which usually pour down much rain, to cover the heavens.

⁶⁶ This song consists of musical sounds merely, but imperfectly represented by the above, without any meaning.

Lezo 'zinkomo ezomzimu ; za butana 'ndawo nye. Uku/linzwa kwazo ku be ku tatwa imintsha yamantombazana, i binwe amalunga amakulu ezinkalweni ; zi /linzwe, zi tutwe ngabantu abanye abancinyane, zi tutelwe end/ulunkulu, ezind/lini zezalukazi, lapa ku nga yi 'kuya 'muntu. Ku ya 'kuze ku pume indoda enkulu e b' i zi /linza nomuntu o be m bambela lap' e zi /linzako ; a zi /lalele kusasa, zi pekwe ; zi pekwe ke 'ndawo nye ngeumbiza eziningi. Li muk' ilanga, a y opule ngezitebe, a u biza umpakati, a ti, a u kupuke umpakati. Ukukupuka umpakati u fike u pelele, i sa /lezi i nga d/liwa 'muntu ; ba pelele b' a/luke ngezibaya uku/lala ; ba i nikwe ku/le inyama ezand/leni, ba i nikwe, be i pata, ba nga i yisi emlonyeni, ba ze ba pelele bonke, ba i yise bonke kanye emlonyeni.

Loku be /gala ba i hhubela ingoma be nga ka i d/li, ba vuma ke kakulu, ba vuma, kwa duma pansi. Ba y amukela ke emva kwokuhhuba, ba i yise kanye emlonyeni.

These cattle are the cattle of Umzimu ;⁶⁷ they are collected into one place. When they are killed, the chief men gird themselves with the girdles of young girls ; they are skinned and carried by other young persons and put in the chief village, in the huts of the old women, where no one enters. In the morning the great man who skinned them, and the man who helped him, go out, and divide them ; and they are boiled together in many pots. When the sun is declining, they take them out and place them on feeding-mats, and tell the great men to come up. All the great men come up, the flesh not being touched by any one ; all the people are made to sit down by their villages ; they have the meat put in an orderly manner in their hands ; they hold it without carrying it to their mouths, until all are given, and all carry it to their mouths at the same time.

They begin by singing the song before they eat ; they sing it very loud, and the ground resounds with the noise of their feet. They take the meat after singing, and carry it all together to their mouths. If one has taken a long

⁶⁷ *Ezomzimu.* The cattle of Umzimu, that is, of the Itongo—especially dedicated to the Itongo. Captain Burton mentions a word very much like this, as being used for Ancestral Ghosts,—Muzimos,—among the people to the South-east of Dahome. (*Op. cit. Vol. II., p. 20.*)

Wa ti ow epuze uku i kqeda, wa i time in eating the meat, he puts it
beka pansi ; wa ngeza wa hhuba, on the ground, and sings again,
ukuba i pele emlonyeni. when he has swallowed what is in
his mouth.

During the conversation he remarked :—

Nina 'balungu na sala kweliku- You white men remained behind
lu itongo letu. with our great Itongo.⁶⁸

I asked what he meant by "Itongo" here. Umpengula an-
swered :—

Lapa e tsho itongo, ka kulumi When he says Itongo, he is not
ngomuntu o fileyo wa buya wa speaking of a man who has died
vuka ; u kuluma ngesanda selizwe and risen again ; he is speaking of
the up-bearer of the earth,⁶⁹ which

⁶⁸ Compare p. 80.

Lapa si ti, "Na sala." Futifuti Here we say, "You remained."
ku tshiwo njalo abamnyama ; lapa Black men frequently say this ;
be bona abalungu ba kqedela bona when they see white men perfect
uku/klakanipa, ba ti ke bona, ba in wisdom, they say they remained
sala etongweni elikulu ; tina a si with the great Itongo, but we did
hlalanga, sa puma, sa hamba si not remain, but came out and
nge naluto. Tina si ti, ekwenzi- went away without any thing.
weni kwetu nani, nina na hlala, na We say, at our creation together
kqedela uku/klakanipa ; tina sa with you, you remained behind
puma ngokungati si ya 'ku ku tola and perfected wisdom ; we went
lapa sa ya kona. out as though we should find it
where we were going.

⁶⁹ *Isanda selizwe.*—*Isanda* is breadth which supports something
upon it. Thus a table, bed, or sofa may be called an *isanda*. But
here it means not only breadth supporting ; but *the power underneath*,
from which the support comes. The following was given as an expla-
nation :—

Isanda selizwe ku tiwa inkosi, The up-bearer of the earth is
ngokuba a ku ko lapo i nge ko ; said to be the Lord, for there is no
y ande nezwe lonke ; ngaloko ke place where he is not ; he is every
ku tshiwo ku tiwa isanda sezwe. where ; he is therefore called the
Njengaloku zi kona izanda eziningi up-bearer of the earth. Just as
zamabele ; amabele a ya bekwa there are many up-bearers of corn ;
pezu kwesanda, ukuze amabele a the corn is put upon the up-bearer
nga boli ngoku/hlala pansi, a hlale that it may not rot by lying on

es' emisa abantu nenkomo. Isanda umhlaba e si hamba ngawo ; isanda somhlaba e si hamba ngaso e nga si nge ko uma si nge ko, e si kona ngaso.

supports men and cattle. The up-bearer is the earth by which we live ; and there is the up-bearer of the earth by which we live, and without which we could not be, and by which we are.

He also related the following curious tradition :—

Indaba yetu yendulo. Kwa ke kwa ti kw' ehla izinto ezulwini pezulu. Yebo ; za bouwa enzansi kwomuzi enkosini, kungwana ; into zi nga zi mila uboya, zin/le,

One of our old traditions. It happened that some things came down from heaven. Yes ; they were seen at the lower part of the chief Ungwana's village ; they were as it were covered with hair ; they were beautiful, and had the

pezulu. Ngaloko ke nend/lu futi yabantu y enzelwa isanda sezinti, ukuze upa/la lu hlale pezu kwesanda, si paswe ukuze si nga wi.

the ground, but lie on a high place. For the same reason the native hut also has made for it an up-bearer of rods, that the roof may rest upon it, and be held up and not fall.

Inkosi ke ku tshiwo njalo ngayo ukuti i isanda sezwe, ngokuba izwe li paswa i yo.

In like manner, then, it is said the Lord is the up-bearer of the world, for the world is upheld by him.

E tsho na sala kwelitongo elikulu, u kuluma ngenkosi ; ngokuba kwabantu abamnyama lapa be ti, "Umuntu u bhekwe itongo," a ba tsho ukuti lelo 'tongo umuntu otile ; ngaloko leli 'gama lokuti itongo a li kulumi ngofileyo yedwa. Si ya bona izin/loko ezimbili, ngokuba abadala ba tsho ukuti, "Li kona itongo elikulu." Futi manje si y' ezwa futifuti ngale inkosi e si tshelwa ngayo. Abamnyama ba ya tsho ba ti, "Tongo elikulu lika-baba !" Omunye a buze ngokuti, "U tsho id/lozi na ?" A ti, "Kga. Ngi tsho itongo eli pezulu." Ngaloko ke itongo l' enziwa ukqobo olukulu.

When he says you remained with the great Itongo, he means the Lord ; for among black men, when they say, "The Itongo looks on a man," they do not mean that the Itongo is a certain man ; for the word Itongo is not used of a dead man only. We see it has two meanings, for the ancients said, "There is a great Itongo." And now we continually hear about that Lord which is mentioned to us. Black men say, "Great Itongo of my father !" And another asks, "Do you mean the ancestral spirit ?" He replies, "No, I mean the great Itongo which is in heaven." So then the Itongo is made a great person.

zi 'mello a nga ti umuntu, zi miliwe kwomuntu. Kwa tiwa, "Izilwane, a zi bulawe." Kwa tiwa za zimbili. Za bulawa. Izwe la fa ke; inkosi y' emuka nomoya, ngokuba ku bulewe lezo 'zilo; nezindlu z' emuka. S' ezwa ke wa fika Ugodongwana kajobe.

eyes and form of a man. It was said, "They are wild beasts; let them be killed." There were two. They were killed. The whole country died; the chief was carried away by the wind, because those animals were killed; and the houses were carried away. And we hear that there then began to reign Ugodongwana, the son of Ujobe.

UGOFANA and Umyeni, two Amakuza, came to see me. I asked them to give me the names of the heads of generations on the female side. They agreed in the main, but Umyeni made Unkulunkulu the head of the fifth generation backwards, and Ugofana of the fourth; Umyeni inserting Ukulukulu as the fourth, like Usithlanu (see p. 91). I then asked them to give me the heads on the male side, in like manner. The result was as under:—

Ubaba	Umale
Ubaba-mkulu	Ukulu
Ukoko	Ukoko
Unkulunkulwana	Ukulukulu
Unkulunkulu	Unkulunkulu

I asked Ugofana what they said about the Unkulunkulu of all men. He said they knew nothing about him. They said he came out of a reed. He could not tell me any thing about that Unkulunkulu, nor any body else, for no one knew. All he could tell me was about his own Unkulunkulu, for said he, pointing to two others, "He has his; and he his; and I mine."

Owa dabuka Umdanga (Umdaka) wa zala Umsondo; Umsondo wa zala Uhlanguza; Uhlanguza wa zala Ujamo, owa zala mina.

Umdanga, who first broke off, begat Umsondo; Umsondo begat Uthlanguza; Uthlanguza begat Ujamo, who begat me.

I asked them what they meant by "Owa dabuka," Who first broke off. Umyeni replied, "Kuyise," From his father. And Ugo-fana, after a moment's thought, gave his name, "Kudhladhla," From Udhladhla, the great ancestor of their house, who has given them their surname.

Two Amabakca, an old and young man, gave me the heads of generations as given above, p. 86.

"But," I said, "is there not another word, Ukulukulu or Unkulunkulu?"

They said, "He is further back (ngembali);" and went on to say that all who were heads of generations anterior to the okoko were called Ukulukulu, till they came to Umsondwo,⁷⁰

<p>owa vela kukqala, u lona ulu^hlana lwabantu; u lona olwa dala abantu, ba dabuke kulo, olu Umsondwo owa dabuka wa dabula abantu, umdali, umdali welive.</p>	<p>who came out first; he is the uthlanga of men; he is that uthlanga who broke off men, they having been broken off from him. The uthlanga is Umsondwo, who broke off, and then broke off men, the umdali, the umdali of the earth.⁷¹</p>
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I asked them what they said about the Okulukulu. They replied:—

<p>Aba ngembali kwokoko ba okulukulu bokoko njalonjalo, ba za ba yofika kumsondwo, owa vela kukqala, umdali welive.</p>	<p>They who are anterior to the okoko are the okulukulu of the okoko in continuous retrogression, till they reach Umsondwo, who first appeared, the umdali of the earth.</p>
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⁷⁰ Or, Unsondo, see p. 13.

⁷¹ *Umdali* is the same as *Umdabuli*, from *ukudala*, the same as *ukudabula*. The creator, in the sense understood by the natives. (See Note 3, p. 1.)



I asked what they meant by Uthlanga. They answered :—

<p>Uthlanga umuntu omdala owa dala izikci zonke nenkomo, nezi-nto, ne yonke impa/la.</p>	<p>Uthlanga is an old man who made all things, both cattle and things, and all kinds of property.</p>
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UMDUMO, an old man, one of Ukukulela's people, an Ikuza, being unwilling or unable to give me any account of the traditions of the people, I asked him to give me the names of the heads of generations backwards. He gave them thus :—

<p>Owa ngi zala Upotshiyana, ubaba ; owa zala Upotshiyana, Umzabani, ubaba-mkulu ; owa zala Umzabani, Uhlomo, uyise kababa-mkulu ; owa zala Uhlomo, Unsele, ukoko ; owa zala Unsele, Usivunganga, ukoko kababa-mkulu ; owa zala Usivunganga, Ulusibalukulu. Ulusibalukulu wa zalwa Udhlamini, ukulukulu owa dabula izizwe. Wa fika wa dabula Ubi/la, inkosi ; w' elekela Ukukulela nomaghaga.</p>	<p>He who begat me is Upotshiyana, my father ; he who begat Upotshiyana is Umzabani, my grandfather ; he who begat Umzabani is Uthlomo, the father of my grandfather ; he who begat Uthlomo is Unsele, my ukoko ; he who begat Unsele is Usivunganga, the ukoko of my grandfather ; he who begat Usivunganga is Ulusibalukulu. Ulusibalukulu was begotten by Udhlamini, the ukulukulu who broke off the nations. When he came he broke off Ubi/la, the chief ; and afterwards Ukukulela and Umaghaga.</p>
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I asked him if there was not an Unkulunkulu. He replied, "Unkulunkulu and Ukulukulu is one."

I again asked him who was the first man. He answered :—

<p>Udhlamini u yena owa dabuka kukqala, wa zala Ulusibalukulu, owa zala Usivunganga.</p>	<p>Udhlamini is he who broke off first ; he begat Ulusibalukulu, who begat Usivunganga.</p>
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I again asked him still more pointedly, referring to their tradition of the origin of man. He replied :—

Udhlamini ibizo lowokukgala, e si ti Ukulukulu. | Udhlamini is the name of the first man, whom we call Ukulukulu.⁷²

I asked, "Wa dabuka pi?" Where did he break off? He said:

Ku tiwa Udhlamini lowo wa dabuka entabeni, engome, isidabuko setu. | It is said that Udhlamini broke off from the mountain Ingome, the place of the origin⁷³ of our tribe.

I asked him what were the nations he broke off (*izizwe owa zi dabula*). He mentioned several, but I did not succeed in writing the names; but among them were those of which Ukukulela, Uisidoi, and Ufodo are chiefs. The *isibongo* or surname of these chiefs is Udhlamini, he being their common ancestor.

I OVERHEARD Uthlangabeza, one of Ukukulela's people, talking with some of the men of the village. He said Unkulunkulu and Ukulukulu is one; and Umvelinqangi and Unkulunkulu is one; that all things came out of a mountain in the north; and that Uthlabati⁷⁴ is the name of that Unkulunkulu owa dabuka elu⁷⁴langeni,—who broke off from Uthlanga.

⁷² Here we have a native distinctly stating that the founder of his tribe was the first man,—that is, he confounds the first Unkulunkulu with the founder of his own tribe, who, he asserts was the creator of all things, in the native sense of creation. Let the reader consider how easy it is entirely to mistake the meaning of such statements. And how unmistakeably it proves that the natives believe that the Unkulunkulu of all men was himself a man.

⁷³ Comp. Umdabuko, p. 50, Note 95.

⁷⁴ *Uthlabati*, that is, Earth-man, as Adam means "earthy" or "red earth."

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:—

“Matoomé 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 Matoomé 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 Amakzosa, and the Amakuza use the nasalized form, Unkulunkulu.

It will perhaps help others to a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He said—"Yes. I remember quite well."

"He told me that their Unkulunkulu was Usenzangakona."

"Yes."

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

He said—"Yes. I remember."

"And you agree with him?"

"Certainly."

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

Udingezi came.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I asked—"Are you Amazulu?"

They replied—"No; we are Amakuza."

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

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

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

They replied they knew nothing about him.

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

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

They replied—"Yes."

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

"Umpungulo."

"And of yours, Udingezi?"

"Ujikitshi."

"And of yours, Umkonto?"

"Usoni."

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

"Yes; Uthlomo."

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

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:—

Ukudabula izizwe i loku ukwamlukanisa indlu etile netile, zi hamba ngokwamlukana, zi zibusela. Ukudabuka ke loku; ngokuba a zi sa yi 'kubuyela emuva, se zi ya pambili njalo.

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

Njengaloku ku tiwa ku kona ukudabuka kwegode m'ala Udingane 'a'hlukana nompande. Kwa

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

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

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

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

that the former is a tribal pronouncement.

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

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

Ukudabuka kwezizwe kukqala ukuba inkosi yo/llanga y a/llukane ezind/llini zayo eziningi, i ti, "Bani, yaka ekutini, u pume lapa, u zimele." Na komunye, kubo bonke i tsho njalo.

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

⁷⁶ Usithlanu calls him "Unkulunkulu wamandulo," The most ancient Unkulunkulu, see p. 89.

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

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

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

U T I K X O .

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

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

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.

³ *Id.*, Vol. I., p. 93.

to have these come back again as articles of their own original faith, when in reality they are but the echoes of one's own thoughts. But even here in Kolb's statement we have the idea, more clearly and distinctly enunciated by after investigators, that great, and mighty and good, as, according to him, the Hottentots might have regarded their 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."⁴

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.⁵ His reasons, however, are simply philological. I quote from his letter on the subject:—"By identifying this Toukquoa with Tikquoa, the name for God found in the vocabulary (where Cham-ouna is that for the devil, who is called in Nama Hottentot Kau-ap), I do not think I exceeded the probability. But it may yet be that Kolb meant a different word. However, considering it fully, I have not much doubt it is really the same word, identical with the Nama Tsuikxoap, which contain both the vowels in the first syllable of which the two renderings of Kolb give only each one."

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

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 Ikqum'n; and that the meaning of the word was, "Father who is above."

Moffat quotes from Dr. Vanderkemp the following, which appears to justify the surmise that Kolb was mistaken in supposing the two words referred to two beings from not observing that he was dealing with a merely tribal difference of pronunciation: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 Kafirs. Whilst pursuing his investigations among the inhabitants of Great Namaqualand, he says:—"I met with an ancient sorcerer or doctor, who stated that he had always understood that Tsui'kuap was a notable warrior, of great physical strength; that in a desperate struggle with another chieftain, he received a wound in the knee, but having vanquished his enemy, his name was lost in the mighty combat which rendered the nation independent; for no one could conquer the Tsui'kuap (wounded-knee). When I referred to the import of the word, one who inflicts pain or a sore knee, manifesting my surprise that they should give such a name to the Creator and Benefactor, he replied in a way that induced the belief that he applied the term to what we should call the devil, or to

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 *Tsuikwap* (Schmelen's *Tsoekwap*) or *Tsuigwoap* (Wallmann's *Zuigwoap*) in the Nama; and *Tshukwoap* in the *Kgora* dialect; *Thukzwe* (Van der Kemp's *Thuickwe*) among the Eastern Hottentots; and *Tikxwoa* (Kolb's *Tikqwoa* or *Toukqwoa*) near the Cape." (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 92.)

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

⁷ Moffat. *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

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

And then he asks:—"May not the Tsui'kuap of these people be like the Thlanga of the Kafirs, an ancient hero; or represent some power which they superstitiously dread, from its causing death or pain?"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 Tsui'kuap, which is equivalent to Utikxo. But he does not appear to have heard any thing of the good principle or being, of which Kolb speaks,

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

might be the work of an invisible being."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

⁸ Moffat. Op. cit., p. 259.

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*.¹³

He says of the Mountain Bushmen's faith:—"They say that there is a *Kaang* or *Chief* in the sky, called also *Kue-Akeng-teng*, the *Man*, that is to say, the *Master of all things*. According to their expression, 'one does not see him with the eyes, but knows him with the heart.' He is to be worshipped in times of famine and before going to war, and that throughout the whole night, performing the dance of the *mokoma*."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,¹⁵ and of *Molimo* as given by Casalis,¹⁶ is, like that given to the Bushmen's *Ikqum'n*, "He that is in heaven." But, says Moffat, "Morimo, to those who knew any thing about it, had been represented as a malevolent *selo* or *thing*."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 Se-tshuana at

¹³ Op. cit., p. 69.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 260.

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 261.

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 248.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 363.

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 248.

¹⁸ Id., p. 262.

²⁰ P. 18.

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

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.²²

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

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

²¹ Op. cit., p. 91.

²² See p. 80.

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."²⁴

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

To my mind nothing here found conveys the idea that the notion of divinity was ever in the uneducated native mind connected with Utikzo; much less that Utikzo ever meant God: on the contrary that it meant something very different from God; in some instances, at least, an evil spirit, which was worshipped just on the same grounds as the Yezidis worship Satan, "because he must be conciliated and revered; for as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them."²⁵ 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."²⁶

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-

²⁴ Grammar, p. 13.

²⁵ Layard's Nineveh. Vol. I., p. 298.

²⁶ Op. cit., p. 265.

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

And may not the legend,—so bizarre and bald,—given by Dr. Bleek in the “Hottentot Tales”²⁷ 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 Tou-quo,—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.

²⁸ Op. cit., pp. 202, 203.

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

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

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

In connection with the word Utikzo, "the broken knee," the following interesting and curious corroboration of the idea that Utikzo is but the isibongo or laud-giving name of some ancient brave, is well worth considering. Among the Amazulu there is a word, clearly an isibongo, *U-gukqa-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 :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE LORD OF HEAVEN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indaba ngenkosi yezulu a ku bonakali kakulu okona ku tshiwoyo ngayo. Ngokuba lapa izulu li tshaye kona, ku tiwa, "Inkosi i tukutele." Ku tshiwo ngokutshaya kwalo. A kw ahlukaniwa kakulu ukuti e yona 'nkosi i tshayayo i i pi, noma unyazi, noma unyazi lu amandhla ayo. Ku tshiwo ngonyazi ku tiwe, "Inkosi i tshayile." Kepa maningi amakosi a tshiwo abantu, nezilwane amakosi, inhlatu nebubesi; kepa loko noma ku tshiwo ku ya bulawa; ku ya bonakala ukuti a ku lingani nenkosi yezulu.

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.

Ku kona inyoni yezulu ; i ya bulawa nayo ; y e/la ngesikati sokutshaya kwonyazi, i sale pansi ; a ku tshiwo futi ukuti i yona i inkosi ; a kw ahlukile kakulu ngenkosi ukuba i i pi kunonyazi kunayo e sezulwini. Si zwa ku tiwa ku kona abantu nje ezulwini na pansi kwomhlaba futi. Kulukuni ke ukwazi labo 'bantu aba ngapanisi kwomhlaba ukuba ukuma kwabo ku njani na, na ngapezulu futi a b' aziwa uma ba njani nokuma kwabo. Izwi lodwa eli tshoyo ukuti ba kona.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e pansi kwaleyo 'ntaba, 'emi noma e k/lezi, i nga m fi/la, a nga bona-kali. Ukukuliswa kwomuntu nje.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANOTHER native, named Ududula, who was a great courtier, whose highest notion of politeness was the highest hyperbole of praise, wished to borrow half-a-crown, which I had no wish to leud. At length he said, " Mfundisi, u ng' ubaba," Teacher, you are my father. I asked, " How ?" He replied, " Wa dabuka em/llabeni, 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 yo/llanga " (see Note 30, p. 14) :—" They

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

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

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

blage for prayer. The ground had been prepared, the seed sown; the rains came, the corn sprang up—all seemed as we desired it; and then the rains ceased: day by day, week by week, and no rain; the fierce sun seemed withering the young corn, famine appeared imminent. Chigunda assembled his people in the bush outside the village, then marched with them in procession to the appointed place for prayer, a plot of ground cleared and fenced in, and in the middle of which was a hut, called the prayer hut. The women attended as well as the men, and in the procession the women preceded the men. All entered the enclosure, the women sitting on one side of the hut, the men on the other; Chigunda sat some distance apart by himself. Then a woman named Mbudzi, the sister of Chigunda it was said, stood forth, and she acted as priestess. In one hand she had a small basket containing Indian corn meal, in the other a small earthen pot containing the native beer, pombi—the equivalent, doubtless, to the ancient offering of corn and wine. She went just into the hut, not so far but what she could be seen and heard. She put the basket and the pot down on either side of her. Then she took up a handful of the meal and dropped it on the floor, and in doing this called out in a high-pitched voice, 'Imva 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!



Unkulunkulu

Unkulunkulu is the creator god in the language of the Zulu people.

In classical, pre-colonial Zulu myth, uNkulunkulu brought human beings and cattle from an area of reeds. He created everything, from land and water to man and the animals. He is considered the first man as well as the parent of all people. He taught the Zulu how to hunt, how to make fire, and how to grow food.^[1]

In the isiZulu language, the name means “the very great/high one”.

With the arrival of Christian missionaries, Unkulunkulu became the name for the Christian supreme being.^[2] For Christian people, the name simply means “God”. Other names include uMdali “Creator”, uMvelinqandi “Before everything”, analogous to uMvelinqangi in the isiXhosa language.

1 Notes

[1] Leeming & Leeming 2009 - entry “Zulu Creation” . Retrieved 2010-04-30.

[2] The Library of His Excellency Sir George Grey, KCB: A catalogue Compiled by W H I Bleek, Sir George Grey and J Cameron Vol 4, London and Cape Town 1867

2 References

- Leeming, David Adams; Leeming, Margaret Adams (2009). *A Dictionary of Creation Myths* (Oxford Reference Online ed.). Oxford University Press.

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- **Unkulunkulu** *Source:* <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unkulunkulu?oldid=576462841> *Contributors:* HollyAm, Darkwind, Zondor, Mike Rosoft, Gary, Mo0, Stemonitis, Briangotts, FlaBot, Psy guy, AndrewBuck, Chlewbob, TriTertButoxy, Hu12, Zyxoas, JustAGal, T@nn, Professor marginalia, JaGa, Captain panda, UncleToby'sFortifications, Sanya3, PipepBot, Sun Creator, Addbot, FinalRapture, Thami29, Calu2000 and Anonymous: 15

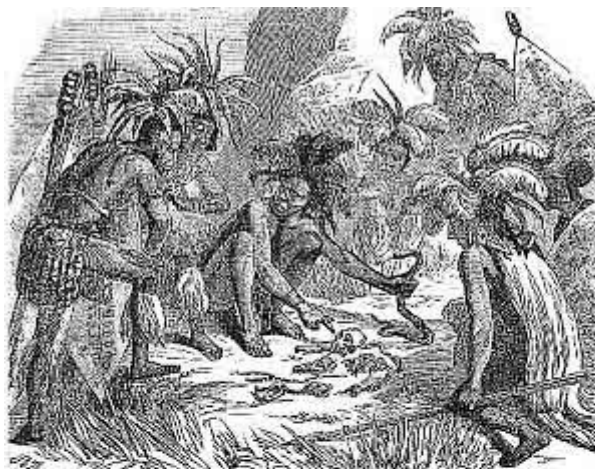
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UNFAVOURABLE PROPHECIES



SACRIFICING THE BULL

p. 1

UNKULUNKULU;
OR,
THE TRADITION OF CREATION
AS EXISTING AMONG
THE AMAZULU AND OTHER TRIBES
OF
SOUTH AFRICA.

UNKULUNKULU is no longer known.¹ It is he who was the first man;² he broke off³ in the p. 2 beginning.⁴ We do not know his wife; and the ancients do not tell us that he had a wife.⁵

We hear it said, that Unkulunkulu broke off⁶ the nations from Uthlanga.⁷

p. 3

It is said he sent a chameleon; he said to it, "Go, Chameleon, go and say, Let not men die." The chameleon set out; it went slowly;⁸ it loitered in the way; and as it went, it ate of the fruit of

a tree, which is called Ubukwebezane.⁹

At length Unkulunkulu sent a lizard¹⁰ after the chameleon, when it had already set out for some time. The lizard went; it ran and made great haste, for Unkulunkulu had said, "Lizard, when you have arrived, say, Let men die." So the lizard went, and said, "I tell you, It is said, Let men die." The lizard came back again to Unkulunkulu, before the chameleon had reached his destination, the chameleon which was sent first; which was sent, and told to go and say, "Let not men die."

p. 4

At length it arrived and shouted, saying, "It is said, Let not men die!" But men answered, "O! we have heard the word of Abantu the lizard; it has told us the word, 'It is said, Let men die.' We cannot hear your word. Through the word of the lizard, men will die."¹¹

p. 5

Unkulunkulu gave men Amatongo;¹² he gave them doctors for treating disease, and diviners; he gave them medicines to treat diseases occasioned by the Itongo.¹³ Unkulunkulu said, "If a man is being affected by the Itongo, you shall kill a bullock and laud the Itongo; the man will get well if he has been affected by the Itongo."

p. 6

He said, "You will see also by night, you will dream; the Itongo will tell you what it is it wishes." He said, "It will also tell you the bullock it would have killed."

The Itongo dwells with the great man; he who dreams is the chief of the village; it says "Should you kill a bullock, the man will get well." The bullock which the Itongo mentions is killed; and although people were thinking that the man would die, he gets well; and so it is clear that the man was affected by the Itongo. The gall-bladder is taken from the bullock, and the man has the gall poured on him; they give praise and say, "In order that we may see that it is the Itongo, let us see him get well this very day; and at the very dawn of tomorrow eat meat; so we shall see that it is the Itongo. On the other hand, we shall not admit in our hearts that it is the Itongo; we shall say, it is disease only; there is no Itongo in his body. If we see that it is the Itongo, we shall see it by his getting well, and so we shall give thanks. Then we will kill many cattle, and laud the Itongo, and see that the Itongo of our house is good."

UGUAISE MDUNGA (an Ilala).

p. 7

THE old men say that Unkulunkulu is Umvelinqangi,¹⁵ for they say he came out first; they say he is the Uthlanga from which all men broke off.¹⁶ The old men say that Unkulunkulu is;¹⁷ he made the first men, the ancients of long ago;¹⁸ the ancients of long ago died; there remained those who had been begotten by them, sons, by whom we hear that there were ancients of long ago who knew the breaking off of the world.¹⁹ They ^{p. 8} did not know Unkulunkulu; they did not see him with their eyes; they heard it said that Unkulunkulu was. He came out where men broke off from Uthlanga. He begat the ancients of long ago; they died and left their children; they begat others, their sons, they died; they begat others; thus we at length have heard about Unkulunkulu. It was

our ancestors who told us the accounts of Unkulunkulu and of the ancients of long ago.

Tell me if at the present time there are any who pray to Unkulunkulu?

There are none. They pray to the Amatongo; they honour them that they may come and save them.

Who are the Amatongo?

The Amadhlozi, men who have died; when they have died, they change again and become Amatongo, and crawl on their belly, and so the old men call a dead man so changed an Itongo. It is called a snake; Inyandezulu²⁰ is the name of the snake.

When a man is ill, they go to a doctor to divine; and it is said, "The Amatongo have come to ask for cattle, that a bullock should be ^{p. 9} killed." The flesh of the slaughtered bullock is put together in a hut, that the Amatongo may eat; the door is shut, and the people do not eat the meat at the time, but on the morrow. In the evening boys sleep in the hut and watch the meat. In the morning the flesh is boiled, and men assemble to eat the head. They then separate and go to their own villages; and those of the family where the bullock has been killed remain. Then the breast is boiled, which will be eaten by the chieftainesses and by the people of the family.

All the bones of the bullock are collected, and the owner of the cattle burns them, that wizards may not take them, and apply medicines to them and injure the man who was sick, and he become ill again.²¹

It was said at first before the arrival of missionaries, if we asked, "By what were the stones made?"—"They were made by Umvelinqangi." It is said that we men came out of a bed of reeds,²² where we had our origin.²³ ^{p. 10} When we asked, "By what was the sun made?" they said, "By Umvelinqangi." For we used to ask when we were little, thinking that the old men knew all things which are on the earth; yet forsooth they do not know; but we do not contradict them, for neither do we know.

When we were with the Dutch they did not tell us that there is a Lord above; but they said that we black people should be burnt; and that we have no spirit,²⁴ but are like a dog, which has no spirit.

The ancients used to say before the arrival of the missionaries, that all things were made by Umvelinqangi; but they were not acquainted with his name.²⁵ But they lived by worshipping²⁶ snakes; and they still worship them; they do not yet hear; and even now ^{p. 11} when the missionaries speak, they say, "It is a fable; a plaything." They do not admit that what is spoken is the truth.

When they slaughter cattle, they first praise the snake, and then the bullock is killed. When it is killed they skin it; and a little of the fat²⁷ is taken, and put in the upper part of the hut on a sherd; and fire is placed on it. When the flesh of the bullock burns, the Amatongo eat (if they do come to eat the flesh of a bullock). The flesh of the bullock is taken and put in a house. One man stays in the house where the flesh is put, for it is said the Amatongo will come and eat flesh. But in the morning we do not see where the Amadhlozi have eaten; we see the limbs of the bullock all there, and the meat that was on the sherd has not been eaten by any thing; it remains just as it

was; we do not see any that has been eaten.

But when we ask, "What do the Amadhlozi eat? for in the morning we still see all the meat," the old men say, "The Amatongo lick it." And we are unable to contradict them; but are silent, for they are older than we, and tell us all things, and we listen; for we are told all things, [p. 12](#) and assent without seeing clearly whether they are true or not.

When a snake comes into a house it is not killed; they say, "It is the Idhlozi of So-and-so," mentioning the name of a man who is dead; it is said the snake came out of him at his death. It is left, and remains always in the house. They take a goat and sacrifice it, sacrificing to the snake. No one sees it when it goes away.

When black men are on a journey they honour the snake. When a man is injured and gets well, he kills a bullock, for he thanks the Idhlozi, thinking that it has saved him. When a man obtains cattle also, he thanks the snake, thinking it is the snake which has given him many cattle.

A man whose father is dead, when he is about to kill a bullock, worships his father, praying him to look on him continually, and give him all that he wishes, and give him cattle and corn,—every thing.

When a man is ill, they enquire of diviners; the diviner comes and tells them to eat a bullock. And they eat a bullock, the diviner saying that the man will get well. If when they have eaten the bullock he does not get well, but dies, they say, "He is summoned by those who are beneath."[28](#) They [p. 13](#) say, "He has been killed by the Amadhlozi because they wish the man to go and dwell with them."

When anyone dies among black men, they lament very much and make a great noise. And when he is buried, all his things are taken, and a large fire kindled to burn them; not a single thing which he wore on his body is left; all is burnt, for they are afraid to wear the property of a dead man.

UFULATELA SITOLE.

IN the speech of black men, when a man does a wonderful thing which other men cannot do, or brings a bad matter to a good issue, men say, "Au! go to! the people of Unsondo[29](#) do thus."

Or if the heaven rains excessively great torrents, and causes wonder, it is also constantly said, "How the heaven of Unsondo rains!"

And of the earth also, if it is hard to dig, it is said, "Au! how hard it is, the earth of Unsondo!"

[p. 14](#)

Besides also, if there is a very handsome man, whom people like to make a wonder, they say, "Au! how beautiful he is, a man of Unsondo."[30](#)

Again, if an army goes out to invade another king, it is said of kings, "Au! No! they are kings of Unsondo, for in the time of first fruits and in the time of winter they lead out their army."

Again, men say it of women, for women have their characteristics, and the men say, "Au! No!

Women of Unsondo."

So finally we hear that Unsondo is, as it were, a man by the saying which is used, "Unsondo died uttering this his last word, 'Those are men because they are so and so.'" ³¹ Therefore we say that this ^{p. 15} Unsondo is the same as Unkulunkulu, who, we say, died; on account of that saying, "Unsondo died uttering his last word," it is he indeed, and not another.

But some say that Unsondo is nothing more than the last word of a matter; it has no allusion to a fact; but the use of this saying sets at naught that word of theirs, and brings out a person.

But I have omitted one thing about this word Unsondo; we cannot say it had its origin in a particular tribe; it is a word which was in constant use when we were born; it is not a new word; it is very old; we do not know its age.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

In illustration and confirmation of the above I insert the following. Returning from the Umzimkulu with a young Ibakca for my guide, I availed myself of the opportunity to discover whether there existed among the Amabakca the same traditions as among the Amazulu. I therefore requested him to tell me what he knew about the tradition of the chameleon. He told me the ordinary tale, but instead of saying it was sent by Unkulunkulu, he said, "Kwa tunywa unwaba," There was sent a chameleon. I enquired by whom it was sent. He replied, "By Unsondo."—"And who was he?"—"He was he who came out first at the breaking off of all things (ekudabukeni kwezinto zonke)."—"Explain what you mean by ekudabukeni."—"When this earth and all things broke off from Uthlanga."—"What is Uthlanga?"—"He who begat (zala) Unsondo."—"You do not mean then a reed, such as those in that bed of reeds in the valley?"—"No; but Uthlanga who begat Unsondo."—"Where is he now?"

"O, he exists no longer. As my grandfather no longer exists, he too no longer exists; he died. ^{p. 16} When he died, there arose others, Unsondo who were called by other names. Uthlanga begat Unsondo; Unsondo begat the ancestors; the ancestors begat the great grandfathers; the great grandfathers begat the grandfathers; and the grandfathers begat our fathers; and our fathers begat us." ³²

"Are there any who are called Uthlanga now?"—"Yes."—"Are you married?"—"Yes."—"And have children?"—"Yebo. U mina e ngi uthlanga." (Yes. It is I myself who am an uthlanga.)—"Because you have become the father of children?"—"Yes; I am an uthlanga on that account." As he said this he tapped himself on his breast.

BUT for my part I say they speak truly ³³ who say that Unkulunkulu is named Umvelinqangi. But as for what they say respecting his having a wife, I have not heard of it. What I have heard is this, that men sprang from Unkulunkulu, as if he made them because he existed (before them); ³⁴ it was not said that Unkulunkulu had a wife. This is what we know.

And as regards worship, they speak truly who say, he was not ^{p. 17} worshipped; ³⁵ and I agree with them. For it is not worship, when people see things, as rain, or food, such as corn, and say, "Yes, these things were made by Unkulunkulu." But no such word has come to them from him as this, "I have made for you these things that you might know me by them." He made them that men might eat and see them and nothing more. Afterwards they had power to change those

things, that they might become the Amatongo's. They took them away from Unkulunkulu.³⁶

At first we saw that we were made by Unkulunkulu. But when we were ill we did not worship him, nor ask any thing of him. We worshipped those whom we had seen with our eyes, their death and their life amongst us. So then we began to ask all things of the Amadhlozi, whether corn, ^{p. 18} or children, or cattle, or health. By that it began to be evident that Unkulunkulu had no longer a son³⁷ who could worship him; there was no going back to the beginning, for people increased, and were scattered abroad, and each house had its own connections; there was no one who said, "For my part I am of the house of Unkulunkulu."

To us black men Unkulunkulu is as a stalk of maize. It may produce the ear, it be plucked, and the stalk be left, and decay in the place where it grew; the grains of the cob are Onkulunkulu of houses, which now worship those only of their own family according to the order of their growth on the cob.³⁸ It is on this account that the praise-giving names of Unkulunkulu are lost.

^{p. 19}

And the King which is above³⁹ we did not hear of him [first] from whitemen. In summer time, when it thunders, we say, "The king is playing."⁴⁰ And if there is one who is afraid, the elder people say to him, "It is nothing but fear. What thing belonging to the king have you eaten?" This is why I say, that the Lord of whom we hear through you, we had already heard of before you came.

But he is not like that Unkulunkulu who, we say, made all things. But the former we call a king, for we say, he is above. Unkulunkulu is beneath; the things which are beneath were made by him. We said nothing about that king which is above but that which we say to a man who is afraid, "What have you injured which belongs to the king?" We know that he who has sinned against him is struck by him;⁴¹ ^{p. 20} but we know nothing that can save us from being smitten. Neither do we see in what respect we have sinned either in his sight or in that of Unkulunkulu. We say, "We are righteous, for all that we do we were permitted to do by Unkulunkulu."⁴²

And as regards that heavenly king whom we knew because the heaven thundered, saying, "The king is playing," we do not say also that he springs from Unkulunkulu. We say that Unkulunkulu was first; we do not know what belongs to that king. There remained⁴³ that word only about the heaven; we know nothing of his mode of life, nor of the principles of his government. His smiting is the only thing we knew, because we said to a man who was afraid, "Why are you afraid when the king is playing for his own pleasure? What sin have you done in his sight?" That is all. There is no connection between our knowledge of Unkulunkulu and of him. For we can give some account of what belongs to Unkulunkulu; we can scarcely give any account of what belongs to the heavenly king. We know ^{p. 21} much of what belongs to Unkulunkulu, for he was on this earth, and we call give an account of matters concerning him. The sun and moon we referred to Unkulunkulu together with the things of this world; and yonder heaven we referred to Unkulunkulu. But we did not say that the heaven belonged to this king, although he dwells there; for we said all was made by Unkulunkulu.

It is not proper, because we now hear from you about that king of heaven, that we should begin to say all is his [as though that belonged to our original opinions];⁴⁴ that knowledge is theirs who tell us; for our parts, we used not to say that the king of heaven made all things, we said that Unkulunkulu alone made them. And we black men, although some missionaries tell us

that this king and that Unkulunkulu is the same, did not say that Unkulunkulu was in heaven; we said, he came to be,⁴⁵ and died; that is all we said.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

p. 22

WHEN black men say Unkulunkulu or Uthlanga or the Creator they mean one and the same thing. But what they say has no point; it is altogether blunt.⁴⁶ For there is not one among black men, not even the chiefs themselves, who can so interpret such accounts as those about Unkulunkulu as to bring out the truth, that others too may understand what the truth of the matter really is. But our knowledge does not urge us to search out the roots of it; we do not try to see them; if any one thinks ever so little, he soon gives it up, and passes on to what he sees with his eyes; and he does not understand the real state of even what he sees. Such then is the real facts as regards what we know about Unkulunkulu, of which we speak. We say we know what we see with our eyes; but if there are any who see with their hearts, they can at once make manifest our ignorance of that which we say we see with our eyes and understand too.

As to our primitive condition and what was done by Unkulunkulu we cannot connect them with the course of life on which we entered when he ceased to be. p. 23 The path of Unkulunkulu, through our wandering, has not, as it were, come to us; it goes yonder whither we know not.

But for my part I should say, if there be any one who says he can understand the matters about Unkulunkulu, that he knows them just as we know him, to wit, that he gave us all things. But so far as we see, there is no connection between his gift and the things we now possess. So then if any one says he knows all about Unkulunkulu, meaning that he knows them by means of what we see, I should say it would be well for him to begin where we begin, and travel by the path we know until he comes to us; for we say, Unkulunkulu, the First Out-comer, gave us all things, and that he gave them to us and also made us men, in order that we should possess the things which he made for us.⁴⁷

I say then that there is not one amongst us who can say that he knows all about Unkulunkulu; p. 24 for we say, "Truly we know nothing but his name; but we no longer see his path which he made for us to walk in;⁴⁸ all that remains is mere thought about the things which we like;⁴⁹ it is difficult to separate ourselves from these things, and we make him a liar, for that evil which we like of our own accord, we adhere to with the utmost tenacity." If any one says, "It is not proper for you to do that; if you do it you will disgrace yourself;" yet we do it, saying, "Since it was made by Unkulunkulu, where is the evil of it?"

Just as we married many wives saying, "Hau! we cannot deny ourselves as regards the abundance⁵⁰ which Unkulunkulu has given us: let us do just what we like." And if we wish to enter into sin, we enter into it in his name, and are like people who are in possession of his word; but we do not really possess it, but do our own will only, doing it in his name; but we have no union with Unkulunkulu, nor with that which he wished we should do by creating us.

p. 25

We black men could not see the greatness of Unkulunkulu, nor that he loved us by creating us. And we worship⁵¹ him when we eat and are filled, or when we get drunk, or do our own will in

matters in which we love to have our own will; and are now like children who have no father or mother, who have their own wills about things which they would not do, if their father and mother were still living; but they do it, for they imagine they are in a wilderness where no one can see them.

This is the way in which we worship Unkulunkulu. When any one would find fault with us, asking us why we do so-and-so, we should say to him at once, "But since you say it is not proper that this thing should be done, why did Unkulunkulu create what is evil?" And the other is silent. That is how we worship him. We do not worship him by praying Unkulunkulu to keep us ever in his path, that we might never forget it; but we now worship him by drunkenness and a greedy pursuit of those things which we do by our own wickedness.⁵²

p. 26

But there are no praise-giving names with which we praise him similar to the great number of them, with which we praise the Amadhlozi. For my part, then, if any one says, "Yes, if you seek the path of Unkulunkulu, I am still acquainted with it," I should say, "O, the matter, forsooth, is now set in order, now we shall see where we separated from Unkulunkulu; and perceive too what we meant by saying, 'Unkulunkulu made these things because they are good.'"

For my part I say that Unkulunkulu is no longer like the Creator, for we sin in his name, and maintain that he made all evil for us; but it is not so, but it now appears to be so, because it is now difficult to separate ourselves from those things, and we are helped by saying, "O, it is no matter, although they say I have done wrong; but I say Unkulunkulu was unable to create what is evil, and although they say it is evil, it is really good."

This, then, is what I maintain, if any one says he understands all about Unkulunkulu. I say all men would be glad to go to the man who says this to see him and to hear him; for in process of time we have come to worship the Amadhlozi only, because we knew ^{p. 27} not what to say about Unkulunkulu; for we do not even know where we separated from him, nor the word which he left with us. It is on that account then that we seek out for ourselves the Amadhlozi, that we may not always be thinking about Unkulunkulu, saying, "Unkulunkulu has left us;" or, "What has he done for us?"

So we made for ourselves our own Amadhlozi, and others made theirs for themselves, and others theirs for themselves. And now we have turned the back one on the other; and no one says, "Spirit of such a family." But all now say, "Spirit of our family, of such a tribe, look on me." Such then is our condition.

And as regards the Amadhlozi we do not possess the truth; for as regards the men we worship, we worship men who, when they too were departing from the world, did not wish to depart, but were very unwilling to depart, worrying us excessively, telling us to go and seek doctors for them, and that we wished them to die. And we go to the doctors with sorrowful countenances on account of the words with which they have pierced our hearts. And when one has died we begin to weep and to throw ourselves on the ground to ^{p. 28} show that we are sorrowful; we do not wish him to leave us; neither did he wish to leave us. But we have been separated by death.

And on the morrow after the day of our funeral lamentation, if there arise some little omen,⁵³ we say, "Just let us go to the diviner and hear of him, since this thing has happened, for yesterday

we buried So-and-so."⁵⁴ And it is said by the knowing ones, "O, that So-and-so, whom you buried yesterday, says so-and-so." And we begin to worship him, although the day before we wept and did not see⁵⁵ that he had gone to unite with the rest of the dead, that they might make a strong rampart around us which shall not be penetrated even by death. For we say that death is in the power of the Amadhlozi, and if they do not wish, it cannot enter. And that too we say merely; we do not thoroughly understand it; if we seek thoroughly to comprehend it, we do not succeed, for the men [p. 29](#) whom we say are our defenders were conquered by disease; and we say they are our rampart to protect us from death, who have themselves left the world, not wishing to leave it; they were dragged away by the power of death; and they did not tell us not to weep for them, because they were about to make a rampart around us to preserve us from death. They too died against their wish.

But when we sacrifice to them and pray that a certain disease may cease, and it does not cease, then we begin to quarrel with them, and to deny their existence. And the man who has sacrificed exclaims, "There are no Amadhlozi; although others say there are; but for my part I say that the Amadhlozi of our house died for ever; there is not even one left; we just take care of ourselves; there is not a single Idhlozi who helps us."

And it is thus to the present time; we acknowledge them and deny their existence; we still walk between the two opinions; there is not as yet any certainty; we are constantly making fruitless efforts; when we are prosperous we say, "There are Amadhlozi;" if we are in trouble we say, "There are not. We owe life to ourselves alone; we are not helped by the Idhlozi."

[p. 30](#)

So it is to the present time. If you ask of those who are in trouble, "So-and-so, how is it that I find you in this state, since you say you have Amadhlozi?" he may say in answer, "O, Son of So-and-so, just leave me alone; the Amadhlozi dwell with those who have them; as for me, I have no Idhlozi. I now see that there is a kind of Idhlozi that wishes a man to become poor, and make an end of his property."⁵⁶ Thus it is said by those who believe in the Idhlozi, that it has no existence.⁵⁷

If you pass onward to those who are in prosperity, you think perhaps that you shall hear one and the same word there too; but when you speak with them about the Idhlozi, you bring up old thoughts,⁵⁸ and they speak to you about the excellence of the Idhlozi, and the assistance it has given them. You have come to a place [p. 31](#) where there is great faith in the Idhlozi, and you begin to see that the people do not yet possess the very truth of the matter; for it is fulness which declares that the Itongo exists; whilst affliction says, it does not exist.⁵⁹

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

THE old men say, "Unkulunkulu came into being,⁶⁰ and gave being to man. He came out of a bed of reeds; he broke off from a bed of reeds." We children ask, "Where is the bed of reeds out of which Unkulunkulu came? Since you say there is a bed of reeds, in what country is it? For men have now gone into every country; in which of them is the bed of reeds from which Unkulunkulu broke off?" They say in answer, "Neither do we know; and there were other old men before us who said that neither did they know the bed of reeds which broke off⁶¹ Unkulunkulu." They say they speak the [p. 32](#) truth in saying, there is a bed of reeds; but we say, there is not; for we do not

know the land in which it is, of which they can say, it is in such and such a country. It is said, Unkulunkulu came into being, and begat men; he gave them being; he begat them.

We pray to Unkulunkulu, saying, "May our Unkulunkulu ever look upon us." [The Unkulunkulu] who begat our grandfathers. For he who begat my grandfather, is my great-great-grandfather; and he who begat my father's grandfather is Unkulunkulu, the first of our family.⁶²

But here I am no longer speaking of that Unkulunkulu who came out of the bed of reeds; I am speaking of the Unkulunkulu who belonged to the generation preceding my great-great-grandfather. For all families have their great-great-grandfathers by their orders of succession, and their Onkulunkulu.

The old men say, "The bed of reeds still exists." But where is that bed of reeds? They do not say that Unkulunkulu, who sprang from the bed of reeds, still exists. ^{p. 33} They say that Unkulunkulu, who sprang from the bed of reeds, is dead. They say, "We do not know where he is."

Utshange is the praise-giving name of our house; he was the first man of our family,—our Unkulunkulu, who founded our house. We pray to him, saying, Matshange!⁶³ Ye people of the house of Utshange!" We pray to him for anything we wish to have; we and all of the family of Utshange pray to him. If we wish to have cattle, we say, "Ye people of our house."⁶⁴ [And if you pray thus] you will get cattle. We say, "Ye people of our house, people of the house of Utshange, people of the house of Udumakade!"

UNQETO WAKWATSHANGE.

UMFEZI, a native living in the neighbourhood, called on me. I had never spoken to him on the subject of Unkulunkulu; I availed myself of the opportunity for gaining information. It was very difficult to write anything *seriatim*; I was therefore obliged to content myself by writing what I could, and remembering what I could.

He said, "Unkulunkulu wa vela emhlangeni." Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds.

But he did not know where the bed of reeds was. But, "Wa vel' enzansi," that is, by the sea; that is, the bed of reeds from which he sprang was by the sea-side. He also said, "Kwa dabuka abantu, ^{p. 34} be datshulwa Unkulunkulu." Men broke off, being broken off by Unkulunkulu. He added,

Some men say that they were belched up by a cow.⁶⁵ Others that they sprang from a stone⁶⁶ which split in two and they came out. Unkulunkulu split them out of a stone.

When asked if they prayed to Unkulunkulu, he replied,

There are none who pray to Unkulunkulu. They pray to their own people only.

I enquired what they said about thunder; he said,

We say, "O Lord, what have we destroyed? What sin have we done? We have done no sin."

He also related the following legend of the manner in which Amabele (native corn) was introduced as an

article of food:—

The first woman that Unkulunkulu produced had a child before any of the rest. There was another woman who was jealous when she saw her with a child, and hated her and wished to poison her. She looked about her to find some plant possessed of poisonous properties; she saw the Amabele, which at that time was not cultivated, but grew like the grass. She plucked the seeds, and gave them to the woman. She watched, expecting to see her die; but she did not die, as she had hoped, but grew plump, and better-looking than ever. At length she asked her if the Amabele was nice. She replied, "Nice indeed!" And from that time the women cultivated Amabele, and it became an article of food.

p. 35

THE next legend gives an account of the mode in which men first became acquainted with food, and of two female Onkulunkulu; the two following give—the first an account of the origin of medicines, and the second of two male Onkulunkulu.

I, UNOLALA,⁶⁷ [say] that when I was still a very little child, I heard numerous old tales of our people. Unokqopoza said:

There were at first two women in a bed of reeds; one gave birth to a white man, and one to a black man. It is said that these two women were the Unkulunkulu⁶⁸ of the primitive men. And as regards that bed of reeds, we enquired of him, but he did not say, it is in such a place; but he said, "I too heard it of the old men; no man knows the situation of that bed of reeds." Further, we children who are the offspring of men of old were not like those of the present time, who worry themselves with finding out knowledge: for our parts we used not to question a great man; when he told us a tale we used just to listen because we were fools; we now see that which we ought to have enquired about, but about which we did not enquire because of our folly.

And those women gave birth to [p. 36](#) children, there being no food which was eaten. They saw corn, and maize, and pumpkins; they were all ripe. One of the women took a pumpkin and boiled it, and gave her child a mouthful, not regarding it as food, but poison, and thinking perhaps he would die at once, and no longer worry her without ceasing by his crying, when he was crying for food. But the pumpkin fattened the child; and the other woman looked and said, "O, forsooth, we thought it was nothing but poison, and in fact it was food." Thus then it became known that corn and maize and pumpkins are food. They ate them and became fat. They harvested them and hoarded them and were helped.

UNOLALA ZONDI.

ONCE on a time in the beginning, a woman said, "Let us go and cut reeds." Another said when they were cutting reeds, "What is this? And of what is this the path?" A man appeared and said, "It is ours." He said this, he being still in the pool, in the water. Another said, "You ask of us: do you not know us? We are just living here in our kraal." They asked, "Of what nation are you?" He replied, "We are the people of [p. 37](#) Uzimase." "Who is your king?" "Usango-li-ngenzansi."⁷⁰ "Come up then. But why are you living underground, since people are now living above?" They said, "We are living here with our medicines." "What do you do with them?" "We administer medicines to kings." So the women went away to tell the king. They said, "Behold, there are men. They say they are the people of Uzimase. They say they administer medicines to kings.

They say the man who goes to fetch them must take fat, and burn it on the bank of the pool. Uzimase will not come up with his medicines if fat is not burnt."

So the king went with an ox, and it was slaughtered at that place, and the fat was burnt. And so Uzimase came up with his medicines, and administered medicines among kings.

When he went to dig up medicines, he put on a petticoat, fearing to expose himself to women. But on his appearance, the people who came up first said, "This little petticoat has at length come." Our people said in reply, "These little picks are living above."⁷¹ So ^{p. 38} there was a dispute about medicines between those who came up from below and those who were already above. Our people were called, "People of the little petticoat." And they called them, "People of the pick."

They were begotten by a man; that man was Umbala. They separated from each other; and so we went in one direction, and some in another.

I say, then, that Uzimase is the Unkulunkulu of our tribe. I do not know another⁷² Unkulunkulu of all men. But the Unkulunkulu of our tribe was derived from Uthlanga, from whence all people were derived. Some say in answer to our enquiries, Uthlanga was of many colours; they say, "He was white on one side, on the other black; and on another side he was covered with bush." So we say, "Perhaps they spoke of the hairiness of his body, and so called it bush."⁷³ And people say that he too gave them existence by begetting them.

USHUNGUIWANE ZIMASE.

p. 39

SOME say, one Unkulunkulu came from beneath; and another descended from above in a fog. They did not understand him who came down in a fog. They say he was altogether white. They say, "There descended Ungalokwelitshe."⁷⁴ They say, those who were beneath started on seeing him. He said, "Why do you start at me, since I too am a man, and resemble you?" They say, cattle were taken at the place where he descended, and they slaughtered them for him; but they say he did not eat them; he ate that which he brought with him. He stayed there a long time. Another fog came, and he disappeared, and they saw him no more.

I heard this tale from Umadigane, Umdutshane's grandfather, the great chief of the Amabakca. I used to be his chief servant.

USHUNGUIWANE ZIMASE.

TWO natives, perfect strangers to me both, came up as I was asking Umpengula some questions on the subject of the previous statements. They overheard what I was saying, and asked, "Are you talking about the origin of men?" I replied that was the subject of our conversation, and asked if they could tell us any thing about it. The elder of them replied, "Ba vela emhlangeni," They sprang from a bed of reeds.

I asked what he knew of Unkulunkulu; he replied,

p. 40

He gave origin to men, he too having had an origin given⁷⁵ him from a bed of reeds.

I asked, "Wa vezwa ubani na?" Who gave him an origin? He said he did not know; and added,

Unkulunkulu told men saying, "I too sprang from a bed of reeds."⁷⁶

I asked how men were produced, and got for a reply only a repetition of the statement that they sprang from a bed of reeds.—I asked if he had heard anything of a woman; he replied,

Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds, and a woman (a wife) sprang from the bed of reeds after him. They had one name, viz., Unkulunkulu.⁷⁷

I then took him to my study, and wrote the following at his dictation:—

WE heard it said Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds. There first appeared a man, who was followed by a woman. Both are ^{p. 41} named Unkulunkulu. The man said, "You see us because we sprang from the bed of reeds," speaking to the people who came into being after him. It is said all men sprang from Unkulunkulu, the one who sprang up first.⁷⁸

It is said Unkulunkulu had his origin in a valley where there was a bed of reeds in this world. And men sprang from Unkulunkulu by generation.

Umvelinqangi is the same as Unkulunkulu. The earth was in existence first, before Unkulunkulu as yet existed. He had his origin from the earth in a bed of reeds.

All things as well as Unkulunkulu sprang from a bed of reeds,—every thing, both animals and corn, every thing, coming into being with Unkulunkulu.

He looked on the sun when it was finished,⁷⁹ and said, "There is a torch which will give you light, that you may see." He looked on the cattle and said, "These are cattle. Be ye broken off,⁸⁰ and see the cattle; and let them be your food; eat their flesh and their milk." He looked on wild animals and said, "That is such an ^{p. 42} animal. That is an elephant. That is a buffalo." He looked on the fire and said, "Kindle it, and cook, and warm yourself; and eat meat when it has been dressed by the fire." He looked on all things and said, "So-and-so is the name of every thing."

THERE sprang up a man and a woman. The name of both was Unkulunkulu. They sprang from a reed, the reed which is in the water. The reed was made by Umvelinqangi. Umvelinqangi caused grass and trees to grow; he created all wild animals, and cattle, and game, and snakes, and birds, and water, and mountains.

He made a reed;⁸² the reed ^{p. 43} gave origin to Unkulunkulu and ^{p. 44} his wife. Unkulunkulu begat primitive men. Unkulunkulu said, "I, Unkulunkulu, and my wife are the offspring of Umvelinqangi; he begat us with a reed, it being in the water.⁸³ At his origin he said, "We will fight and stab each other with spears, that the strongest may be manifest who overcomes the other; and he who overcomes the other shall be the great king; and he who is overcome shall be the dependent. And all people shall wait upon him who is the king who overcomes the other."

Umvelinqangi was a man who begat Unkulunkulu by a reed whilst it was in the water, and who begat his wife.

UNUKUZONKE MEMELA.

THE ancients did not say there is a Lord in heaven. As for Unkulunkulu, we do not know that he left any word for man. We worship the Amatongo. The word of Unkulunkulu which we reverence is that which says there are Amatongo.

p. 45

It is as though we sprang from Uthlanga; we do not know where we were made. We black men had the same origin as you, whitemen. But we black men at our origin were given cattle, and picks for digging with the arms, and weapons of war. It was said, "It is enough; you shall now shift for yourselves." So we departed, and came in this direction. You whitemen staid behind with all good things and with laws also which we did not possess.

We used to hear it said by our fathers, they too having heard of others, that a man first came into being; and then a woman after him. After that a cow came into being; it appeared walking with a bull. After that a female dog, and after her a dog;⁸⁴ and after that all the little animals, and elephants; all came into being in pairs.

After that corn came into being. When the corn had come to perfection, the man said to the woman, "That which you now see, true⁸⁵ woman, is something for us to eat. We shall eat at once. Behold corn."

p. 46

The woman asked, saying, "In what way shall it be eaten?" The man replied, "Since you see it growing thus, let it be cut. Take a rod, and thrash it; find a stone, and then find a second that it may be an upper stone."⁸⁶

He said, "There is clay; take it and mould it, and pour water into the vessel."

For his work, he cut down a small tree, the uluzi; and obtained fire by friction. He said, "Make a fire; we can now cook." The food when cooked was taken out of the pot, and put into a vessel. And so they ate, and said, "We shall never die if we eat this corn."

He told the cattle to eat grass; and he told game the same, pointing out to them the same grass. And he told them not to remain all at home.⁸⁷

On the day the first man was created he said, as to what happened to them in the bed of reeds, that they did not see their own creation. When he and his wife first saw, they found themselves crouching in a bed of reeds, and saw no one who had created them.

As regards the bed of reeds, on p. 47 the day they came into being, it swelled,⁸⁸ and when it had burst they came out. After that there broke off the uthlanga⁸⁹ of cattle and of all other animals.

UGXUMELA.

UKOTO, a very old Izulu, one of the Isilangeni tribe, whose father's sister, Unandi, was the mother of Utshaka, gave me the following accounts:—

I SAY for my part that the Unkulunkulu whom we know is he who was the father of Utshaka; Usenzangakona was Utshaka's father. After Usenzangakona comes Utshaka. Utshaka had no children. After him Udingane was made king. After that they killed Udingane, and made Umpande king to this day, those two kings, Utshaka and Udingane, having no children.

p. 48

Ujama was the father of Usenzangakona, the father of the Utshakas; it is he who is Unkulunkulu.⁹⁰ There are ^{p. 49} Omvelinqangi.⁹¹ We used to hear of Undaba,⁹² the son of Ukubayeni. They Ujama. were the ancestors of Ujama.

As it was quite clear that he understood my question on the subject of Unkulunkulu to have reference to the names of the immediate ancestors of the Amazulu, I asked him if he knew anything about the first man. He replied:—

It was said that two people came out of a reed.⁹³ There came out a man and a woman. At their word⁹⁴ there came out all those works which we see, both those of cattle and of food,—all the food which we eat.

p. 50

He said he did not know their names.—I asked what the natives said of a Creator. He answered:—

When we were children it was said, "The Lord is in heaven." We used constantly to hear this when we were children; they used to point to the Lord on high; we did not hear his name; we heard only that the Lord is on high. We heard it said that the creator of the world⁹⁵ is the Lord which is above. When I was growing up it used to be said, the creator of the world is above; people used always to point towards heaven.

UKOTO MHLONGO.

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UNGWADI, Ujani, Umasumpa, Umatiwana, Uzikali, our father. Ungwadi is Unkulunkulu. Ujani was the father of Umasumpa. Umasumpa was the father of Umatiwana. Umatiwana was the father of Uzikali. Uzikali had many children. He had Ungazana and Umfundisi. We do not know others. Unzwadi was the father of Uswanalibomvu. Uswanalibomvu was the father of Ungabazi.

All nations have their own Unkulunkulu. Each has its own. The Unkulunkulu of our tribe is Ugenamafu and Uluthlongwana and Usangolibanzi.⁹⁶ At last men said "King" to Umatiwana, in whose house the Onkulunkulu of our tribe were born.⁹⁷ At their birth they handled spears that they might be thrown, and we eat each other's cattle. They sprang from the Umdabuko.⁹⁸ The Umdabuko ^{p. 52} is he who gave us all things, and gave us shields also to carry.

ULUDONGA (an Ingwane).

IN the neighbourhood there is a very old woman, with whom I had some casual conversation which appeared to be calculated to throw some light on their traditions; I therefore sent Umpengula to obtain from her a connected statement. On his return he related the substance of her remarks as follows:—

THE mother of Ubapa says:—At first, that is, when Utshaka was a man and was entering into the kingdom; we girls were beginning to marry at that time; I used continually to hear it said that the corn which we eat sprang from a bed of reeds; there was a bed of reeds; when it was ripe it was red. And people saw constantly a beautiful thing in the bed of reeds. At length they said, "Just let us taste what kind of a thing this is." They plucked it, and ate it, and said, "O, forsooth, it is good, it is food." So it was taken home⁹⁹ and cultivated.

When we spoke of the origin of corn, asking, "Whence came this?" the old people said, "It came from the creator who created all things. But we do not know him." When we asked continually, ^{p. 53} "Where is the creator? For our chiefs we see?"¹⁰⁰ the old men denied, saying, "And those chiefs too whom we see, they were created by the creator."

And when we asked, "Where is he? for he is not visible at all. Where is he then?" we heard our fathers pointing towards heaven and saying, "The Creator of all things is in heaven. And there is a nation of people there too." But we could not well understand when that Creator would be visible. It used to be said constantly, "He is the chief of chiefs."¹

Also when we heard it said that the heaven had eaten² the cattle at such a village, we said, "The Lord has taken the cattle from such a village." And when it thundered the people took courage by saying, "The Lord is playing." That was the state of the matter till we grew up.

But as for Unkulunkulu, Ubapa's mother did not mention him of her own accord. But I tried to direct her attention to him, that she might speak of him of her ^{p. 54} own accord.³ But I could not get her to mention him of her own ^{p. 55} accord. At length I mentioned the name of Unkulunkulu; and she understood and said, "Ah! it is he in fact who is the creator which is in heaven, of whom the ancients spoke." But Ubapa said, "No! she now begins to speak at cross purposes. She did not say this to the Missionary yesterday. She said Unkulunkulu was from beneath. But now she says he was from above." And she said, "Yes, yes!⁴ he went up to heaven afterwards." She left the first account, and began to say, "Truly Unkulunkulu is he who is in heaven. And the whitemen, they are the lords who made all things."

^{p. 56}

UBEBE, who related the following, was a very old man, belonging to the Amantanja tribe. He had seen much. His people were scattered by the armies of Utshaka, and he showed four wounds, received at different times:—

THE chief⁵ enquires then what our forefathers believed.

The primitive faith of our fathers was this, they said, "There is Unkulunkulu, who is a man,⁶ who is of the earth." And they used to say, "There is a lord in heaven." When it hailed, and thundered, they said, "The lord is arming; he will cause it to hail. Put things in order."⁷ They ^{p. 57} said this to our mothers, and they set all things in order, cattle and corn.

And when the lord played by thundering they said, if there was any one afraid, "Why do you start, because the lord plays? What have you taken which belongs to him?"

It was said, Unkulunkulu said, "Let there be men, and let them cultivate food and eat." And the grass was created by Unkulunkulu, and he told the cattle to eat. He said, "Let firewood be

fetched, that a fire may be kindled, and food be dressed." Unkulunkulu said, "Let there be marriage among men,⁸ that there may be those who can intermarry, that children may be born and men increase on the earth." He said, "Let there be black chiefs; and the chief be known by his people, and it be said, 'That is the chief: assemble all of you and go to your chief.'"

We do not know the origin of Unkulunkulu. We hear it said, "Men are the children of Unkulunkulu." Our fathers used to [p. 58](#) say, "Unkulunkulu is he who begat men by Uthlanga.⁹ We do not know whence Uthlanga came; or whether Unkulunkulu and Uthlanga both came from one Uthlanga or not. We do not know whether Uthlanga was a woman, for our fathers said we were begotten by Unkulunkulu.¹⁰

We used to ask our fathers about Unkulunkulu, saying, "Where is Unkulunkulu of whom you speak?" They said, "He is dead, and Uthlanga also is dead." Our fathers said, "We were told that we are the children¹¹ of Unkulunkulu and Uthlanga. And our fathers told us they were told."

Unkulunkulu was a black man, for we see that all the people from whom we sprang are black, and their hair is black. They circumcised because Unkulunkulu said, "Let men circumcise, that they may not be boys." And Unkulunkulu also circumcised, for he commanded us to circumcise.

[p. 59](#)

As to the source¹² of being I know that only which is in heaven. The ancient men said, "The source of being is above,¹³ which gives life to men; for men are satisfied, and do not die of famine, for the lord gives them life, that they may live prosperously on the earth and not die of famine.

If it does not rain, the heads of villages and petty chiefs assemble and go to a black chief; they converse, and pray for rain. Their praying is this:—The heads of villages select some black oxen;¹⁴ there is not one white among them. They are not slaughtered; they merely mention them; one is killed, the others are left. It was said at first, the rain came from the lord, and that the sun came from him, and the moon which gives a white light during the night, that men may go and not be injured. If there is no moon, it is said, "Let not men go, it is dark; they will injure themselves."

[p. 60](#)

If lightning struck cattle, the people were not distressed.¹⁵ It used to be said, "The lord has slaughtered for himself among his own food. Is it yours? is it not the lord's? He is hungry; he kills for himself." If a village is struck with lightning, and a cow killed, it is said, "This village will be prosperous." If a man is struck and dies, it is said, "The lord has found fault with him."

UBEBE.

Having requested Umpengula to ascertain from Ubebe the meaning of Umdabuko more exactly, be made the following report:—

I HAVE done as you directed, Teacher, and asked of Ubebe what [p. 61](#) men meant by the word Umdabuko, when they say, "The Umdabuko of men." He replied, "When we say Umdabuko we speak of that¹⁶ from which men sprang; and because they sprang from that, we say, 'The Umdabuko of men.' Further, as regards that lord who is above, I never heard our fathers say he

had a mother or wife. I never heard such a thing. It is Unkulunkulu only of whom it was said he gave men origin by means of Uthlanga,¹⁷ and so we said, the Umdabuko is Uthlanga."

I REQUESTED Umpengula to enquire of Unjan, of the Abambo tribe, a petty chief, who came to the village, what he knew about Unkulunkulu. He reported the following:—

WHEN I asked him, saying, "Unjan, what do you say about that Unkulunkulu, of whom we black men used to talk?" he replied, "Him who, we said, made all things?"¹⁸ I replied, "Yes. I enquire p. 62 that I might know what has always been the truth about him." He said, "Yes, yes! Do you not understand that we said Unkulunkulu made all things that we see or touch?" I said, "Yes! Just go on. I am listening for the conclusion." And he said, "Although it was said he made all things, yet for my part I see that it was said,¹⁹ he was an old man of ours, a man like us; for we did not point to any place where he was, but said he was a man who came into being first of all other men, who was older than all of us, Umvelinqangi. So then I see that by our word we said Unkulunkulu made all things, but we know not whence he sprang." I asked, "Where is he now?" He said, "O, he is dead." I asked, "Where is he gone?" He replied, "We too used to ask, and it was answered, 'he is dead.' But by that it is evident that all things were not made by a man, who is now dead; they were made by one who now is."²⁰

And when I enquired, saying, "Do not your teachers²¹ tell you that the lord which is in heaven is Unkulunkulu?" he replied with a p. 63 start, "Hau! by no means. I never heard such a word, neither did I ever hear them even mention the name. It is your teacher²² alone with whom I have ever spoken about it."

The next day I asked him myself, when he made the following statement:—

The ancients said that it was Unkulunkulu who gave origin to men, and every thing besides, both cattle and wild animals. They said it was an ancient man who gave origin to these things, of whom it is now said that ancient man is lord; it is said, he is the Lord which is above.²³ We have now heard from you that the Lord which is in heaven is he who made everything. The old men said that Unkulunkulu was an ancestor and nothing more, an ancient man who begat men, and gave origin to all things.

ULANGENI, an old Ixosa, but one living at a mission-station, paid us a visit. I went to him and enquired of him what he knew about Unkulunkulu, because I saw he was a very old man. When I entered the house where Ulangeni p. 64 was, I enquired of him, saying, "My father, help me in the matter of Utikxo, and tell me where Utikxo is said to be? And whether the word came into use after the arrival of the missionaries?"

And Ulangeni answered, "No; the word Utikxo is not a word we learnt of the English; it is an old word of our own. It used to be always said when a man sneezed, 'May Utikxo ever regard me with favour.'"²⁴

Then I asked, "Since you merely used the word Utikxo, what did you mean? Since what is very truth about him you knew not, what did you mean?" He replied, "As regards the use of Utikxo, we used to say it when it thundered, and we thus knew that there is a power which is in heaven; and at length we adopted the custom of saying, Utikxo is he who is above all. But it was

not said that he was in a certain place [p. 65](#) in heaven; it was said he filled the whole heaven. No distinction of place was made."[25](#)

I asked, "By what name did the Hottentots call God?" He said, "Hau! what Hottentots do you mean?"[26](#) I replied, "Those reddish Hottentots." He said, "I hear. But where were those people that they should use the word Utikxo? Is it not the fact that they used to live in the mountains; and were taken into the households of the Dutch, and so came to live among the people? Utikxo is not a Hottentot word. Every thing belonging to the Hottentots was thrown into confusion when they united with the Dutch. We have learnt nothing of them."

This, then, is what I heard of Ulangeni. So I enquired further, "Have you never heard of Unkulunkulu?" He replied, "I have for the most part heard Unkulunkulu mentioned when stones are thrown on an isivivane;[27](#) when a [p. 66](#) man throws a stone, he says, 'Generations of Unkulunkulu,' and passes on." So I said, "What [p. 67](#) Unkulunkulu does he mean?" Ulangeni said in reply, "He means the first man before all other men, who was created by Utikxo first. And men saw him. Utikxo was concealed by Unkulunkulu, and was seen by no one; men saw Unkulunkulu, and said he was the creator of all things, Umvelinqangi; they said thus because they did not see Him who made Unkulunkulu. And so they said Unkulunkulu was God.[28](#) This is what I know about Unkulunkulu."

I replied, "Yes, yes! Ulangeni. I see clearly that what you say accords with what I said. But further, your answer is the answer of a man on whom the sun has risen; for you see that which many do not regard in the least."

He said, "On the arrival of the English in this land of ours, the first who came was a missionary named Uyegana. On his arrival he taught the people, but they did [p. 68](#) not understand what he said; he used to sleep in the open air, and not in a house; but when he saw a village he went to it, and although he did not understand the people's language, he jabbered constantly to the people, and they could not understand what he said. At length he went up the country, and met with two men—a Dutchman and a Hottentot; he returned with them, and they interpreted for him. We began to understand his words. He made enquiries amongst us, asking, 'What do you say about the creation of all things?' We replied, 'We call him who made all things Utikxo.' And he enquired, 'Where is he?' We replied, 'In heaven.' Uyegana said, 'Very well. I bring that very one[29](#) to you of this country.' And there were two men, both men of consequence; one was named Unsikana, and the other Unxele. Both became believers. Unxele continued to live at his own village. Unsikana united with Uyegana, the missionary. These men began to dispute about the name Utikxo. Unxele said, 'Utikxo is beneath.' Unsikana denied, saying, 'No! Unxele. Utikxo is above. I see that he is above from whence power proceeds.'[30](#) The two disputed on that subject, until at length Unxele [p. 69](#) was overcome, for he said, 'He is beneath,' meaning Unkulunkulu when he said 'He is beneath.' But Unsikana said, 'No! Utikxo is in the high place.' At length the word Utikxo was universally accepted on the arrival of the missionaries. For we used to speak of the whole heaven, saying, 'Utikxo dwells in the whole heaven;' but did not clearly understand what we meant. But the faith of Unsikana is wonderful. We do not understand what it was like, for when he had refuted Unxele, he composed a great hymn for him, which he called 'The Hymn of God;' and to this day that hymn is a great treasure among the Amakxosa. It celebrates the great power of God.[31](#) [p. 70](#) And the man Unsikana did a wonderful thing at his death. He went with his son into the forest. When he entered the forest he sought for a large tree called the Umumbu; he found one and cut it down; he measured it by his own size; he carved it and made a box of it, and

a cover for it, hollowing it so as to be equal to himself inside. When it was finished he carried it home; he assembled his children and said to them, 'My children, you see I have cut this tree, that when I am dead you may place me in it, and not look on my nakedness.' And in fact he died a few days after."

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

AS regards calling Unkulunkulu, when he is called by little children or by boys when they are herding cattle, he is called at the bidding of old people. I do not mean those who are really old, but those who are grown up more than others; they send children to go and call him. For there is no one who will say, "Why do you like to make sport with a relative of mine?³² Do you not know that ^{p. 71} it is painful to me?" It is because the house of Unkulunkulu, which can feel pain for him, no longer exists. All the people who send children to go and call him, do so because they care nothing about him. That sport about Unkulunkulu springs from this. For if children ask who Unkulunkulu is, the old people answer, "Umvelinqangi, who made all things." But when they ask where is the place where he now is, they say, "He died, and we no longer know the place where he died, nor his grave. This only is what we know, that all these things which we have, he gave us." But there is no such conclusion as this come to, "The house which is descended from Unkulunkulu is the house of So-and-so."³³

When the standing of Unkulunkulu is sought out, it terminates in the open plain, and makes no approach to houses which have followed him in succession till those men who now exist are reached.³⁴

Such then, you see, is the calling of Unkulunkulu; it is as though he was the subject of a ^{p. 72} mere nursery tale; he is not a fable indeed, though he may be like one; it is because he was the first man; before him there was not another man from whom we are derived; it is he who is the first among men; we stand this side of him. It is on that account that all children are told to go and call Unkulunkulu. They do not say, "Are we calling an Idhlozi? Do we call it for nothing? Do we not know that it will be angry and kill us?" There is no such thought as this about Unkulunkulu, that he is an Idhlozi. But if he is an Idhlozi, there is no one who can worship him when he kills a bullock; for he is not able to repeat his praise-giving names, as he can those of the Amadhlozi of his people which he knows. The name of Unkulunkulu has no respect paid to it among black men; for his house no longer exists. It is now like the name of a very old crone, which has no power to do even a little thing for herself, but sits continually where she sat in the morning till the sun sets. And the children make sport of her, for she cannot catch them and flog them, but only talk with her mouth. Just so is the name of Unkulunkulu when all the children are told to go and call him. He is now a means of making sport of children.

^{p. 73}

But it is not said he is nothing. He is really a man; but children are made sport of through him, when they are told to go and call him. For it is well known that he died. But it is this which makes it clear that he is the means of making a sport of children, for even the place where he died is not known even to the old men. But when children are sent, they are told to go yonder; or they say that he is here near at hand, or that he is at this very place. And children call and call again and again; but he cannot answer. They return to report that he does not answer. The people say, "Shout aloud; call him with a loud voice." When the children hear it said that they are to

shout aloud, they shout aloud until they are hoarse, and their voice is scarcely audible; and they begin to see that they are deceived, and ask, "How is it that Unkulunkulu does not hear shrill words with which we first shouted? Now, how can he any longer hear, since we are now hoarse?" But because they have been told to shout, even though they are hoarse they cannot leave off shouting. The end of their shouting is this:—One of the bigger boys goes to call them, saying, "Come back now." He says this because the people have now finished what they wished to p. 74 do without the children. So the children return, and say, "He did not answer." The people reply, he is a great way off. It is now no longer of consequence."

By this shouting they do not worship Unkulunkulu. But the children, through their ignorance, shout with sincerity, for they think he will appear. But those who send them know that he will not. For a person who is shrewd among them cannot be sent to go and call Unkulunkulu; if he is told to go and call Unkulunkulu, he may say in reply, "If you wish to do something in private; or if you wish to eat that food of yours, which you do not wish me to see, or eat, tell me to go away to some other place; don't tell me to go and call Unkulunkulu, like children who know nothing." So old people are not sent.

The account of Unkulunkulu we now see in books, that is, it is coming near to us, whilst we ourselves used to say, "Unkulunkulu is the first man."³⁵ We did not worship him, though we all sprang p. 75 from him. We worship our Onkulunkulu whom we know [by name]; we cannot worship him, for all of us in our childhood were deceived through him, when we were told to go and call him; we shouted and shouted; but he did not appear in the least. But now if a man tell us to worship Unkulunkulu, how shall we forsake these our own Onkulunkulu whom we do worship, and worship him by whom we have been deceived? We cannot assent.³⁶ For if a man urge us to worship Unkulunkulu, the old sores of all of us will break out again, and we shall ask if the deception which was practised on us when young is brought up again. It is said, "Since we have grown up [in the presence of this deceit], have we now forgotten it? We still know that we were much deceived through him. I do not mean that we were deceived because the people thought he was nothing; I mean, we were deceived by being told to go and call him and he would appear; and if we are told to worship him and he will give us so-and so and so-and-so, p. 76 or health, it will still be like our being deceived."³⁷

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

THE account which black men give white men of their origin.

It is said the black men came out first from the place whence all nations proceeded;³⁸ but they did p. 77 not come out with many things; but only with a few cattle and a little corn, and assagais, and picks for digging with the arms, and some other things which they have; fire to kindle, that they might not eat raw food, but that which is cooked; and potters' earth is a thing which they know, to wit, if we temper earth, and make it a vessel, and leave it that it may dry; and when it is dry, burn it with fire, that it may be red; we know that although water be now poured into it, it will no longer fall to pieces, for it has now become strong; and wisdom which suffices to help ourselves when we are hungry, and to understand the time of digging, that it may not pass and we die of famine, through not knowing suitable and unsuitable times. Our little knowledge just sufficed for helping ourselves; we had no great knowledge.

So we came out possessed of what sufficed us, we thinking that we possessed all things, that

we were wise, that there was nothing which we did not know. We lived boasting that we possessed all things.

p. 78

But now when the white men have come with wagons, oxen are yoked, they being clothed in fine linen, being very wise, and doing things which for our parts we thought could not be done by man; about which we did not think in the least, that they could help us. We did not know that the ox was useful for many purposes; we used to say, the purpose of the cow is, that it should have calves, and we eat milk; and of the ox that we should kill it and eat flesh, and that was all. We knew no other purpose of cattle. When one is killed we prepare its skin, and make women's clothes, and blankets; and that is the whole purpose of the ox. We wondered when we saw oxen yoked into a wagon, which had goods in it, and go through the country, and go to a distance, there being nothing that is not in the wagon; and when the oxen are loosened, there comes out all the property of those men; we said, "Those are come who go about with a house." By house we meant the wagon.

That, then, made us wonder exceedingly. We saw that, in fact, we black men came out without a single thing; we came out naked; we left every thing behind, p. 79 because we came out first. But as for the white men, we saw that they scraped out the last bit of wisdom; for there is every thing, which is too much for us, they know; they know all things which we do not know; we saw that we came out in a hurry; but they waited for all things, that they might not leave any behind. So in truth they came out with them. Therefore we honour them, saying, "It is they who came out possessed of all things from the great Spirit;41 it is they who came out possessed of all goodness; we came out possessed with the folly of utter ignorance." Now it is as if they were becoming our fathers, for they come to us possessed of all things. Now they tell us all things, which we too might have known had we waited; it is because we did not wait that we are now children in comparison of them.

Therefore, as to their victory over us, they were not victorious by armies; they were victorious by sitting still—they sitting still and we too sitting still; we were overcome by their works, which make us wonder, and say, "These p. 80 men who can do such things, it is not proper that we should think of contending with them," as, if because their works conquer us, they would conquer us also by weapons.

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

THE white men came out from a great Itongo with what is perfect.

As regards the great Itongo which is spoken of by black men, they say that we black men at our origin came out with little things, which were merely sufficient for us to obtain food and to live; our wisdom was enough to enable us to help ourselves.

As regards, then, that little wisdom, whilst we black men were by ourselves we used not to think we had little wisdom; we thought we had great wisdom, which Unkulunkulu gave us. But now we say it is little, because we see the great wisdom of the white men which overshadows all our little wisdom in which we used to trust.

Further, we used not to say that there were those who remained behind when the nations broke

off. We used to say, we came out all together. But now we see it was not so, but that we did not come out with any thing which made us really men. We see that [p. 81](#) the white men remained behind, and obtained very much from the great Itongo.

When we say the great Itongo, we do not speak of one of our dead, that he is a great Itongo. For it is not said that that great itongo is Unkulunkulu, who we say broke off the nations. It is only a word which points out that the white men came out with every thing, and possessed of every thing that was needed for manhood; they came out perfect,[42](#) not like us who came out imperfect, not having cast off the skin of imperfection. And all those things with which we came out we did not know sufficiently to understand them. On that account the word has arisen that the white men came out with what is perfect from a great Itongo. But I do not know that that Itongo is said to be Unkulunkulu; but it used not to be said that that Itongo was one with Unkulunkulu, for he too sprang from Uthlanga; we cannot well understand whether [p. 82](#) that Itongo is more likely to be Unkulunkulu, or Uthlanga.[43](#) That is by no means clear.[44](#)

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

[p. 83](#)

THE following account was obtained many years ago. It was in fact among some of the very first papers written at the dictation of natives. The native who gave it was an Izulu, who had just come as a refugee from Zululand. I laid it aside as useless because the first answers the man gave were absolutely contradictory to those I have recorded, which he gave when I began to write. But there is reason to think from statements made by other natives, which have been given above, that he was really speaking of two Onkulunkulu,—the first man, of whom he correctly affirmed that no one prayed to him, worshipped him, or offered him any honour, but to whom he refers the origin, at least the ordering, of things and customs; and of the Unkulunkulu of the Zulu nation, or of his own tribe, of whom he correctly affirmed afterwards that the Amazulu pray to and worship him:—

Who is Unkulunkulu?

We do not know Unkulunkulu. I do not know Unkulunkulu.[45](#) I point to heaven and say, "There is Unkulunkulu."[46](#)

[p. 84](#)

Do the people worship Unkulunkulu?

Yes, they worship him. We love Unkulunkulu because we eat corn,[47](#) and mix it with amasi; and kill our cattle, and eat our maize, and our sweet cane. We love Unkulunkulu because he told us to take ten wives. We love Unkulunkulu because he told us to eat our meat. But Unkulunkulu erred when he said that we were to be killed, and die, and leave our meat. He said that we were to die and never rise again. He erred therefore when he allowed us to die and rise no more. Unkulunkulu is good because he told us to take our cattle and buy a wife. We love him on this account, because we eat amadumbi and umthlaza,[48](#) and because he told us to drink our beer. We love him because he told us to eat the flesh of game.

Do the people salute Unkulunkulu?

Yes, they salute him, saying, "O Friend! Chief!"[49](#)

p. 85

Do they ask him for any thing?

Yes. They say, "Give us rain, O Chief, that our maize may grow."⁵⁰

The old men say that Unkulunkulu was a man, and had a wife. Neither do I know the name of his wife. The old men say that he had a wife, and that he had children. Unkulunkulu produced children by generation.

p. 86

HAVING had some conversation with Mr. Thomas Hancock on the meaning of Uukulunkulu, he summoned several old Amabakca living near him on the Umzimkulu; and we enquired the names of the fathers of generations, beginning from the present, and going backward. They gave the following:—

Ubaba	My father
Ubaba-mkulu	My grandfather
Ubaba-mkulu kababa-mkulu	My great-grandfather [lit., the grandfather of my grandfather]
Ukoko	My great-great-grandfather
Ukulu	My great-great-great-grandfather

They did not go further back, but were inclined to give the names of those who preceded. They said nothing about Unkulunkulu, until we mentioned the word, and asked who he was. They then threw their heads backward and said, "He was a long, long time ago, and begat many people."

Shortly after, Mr. Hancock sent one Usithlanu, an old Izulu, one of Utshaka's soldiers, with a note, in which he says:—"Since you were here I have questioned the bearer about Unkulunkulu, as also others. But unless I first give them the idea, they know very little or nothing about it but the name, and that he is one that has begotten a great number of children. He may be the fiftieth grandfather, or the five-hundredth."

I proceeded to enquire of Usithlanu by the aid of a native, directing him in the first place to ask Usithlanu to go backwards and tell me what the Amazulu call the fathers of generations, beginning with his own father. He answered:—

The father of my father is ubaba-mkulu; his father is ukoko; the father of ukoko is unkulunkulwana;⁵¹ the father of unkulunkulwana is unkulunkulu.

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Here he stopped; but when I requested him to go on still reckoning backwards, he added:—

The father of unkulunkulu is an anterior unkulunkulu; and the father of that anterior unkulunkulu a still anterior unkulunkulu, Udhlamini, Uthlomo, Uhhadebe, Ungwana, Umashwabade.

Beyond these he could not remember, but added, the five names here given are those by which they call their houses, that is, families, viz., their izibongo or surnames.

I then requested him to give me his own name, and the names of his father, grandfather, &c., as far back as

he could remember, which he did as follows:—

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Ushlanu	
Umantanda	Ubaba
Usigwakqa	Ubaba-mkulu
Umlotsha	Ukoko
Umsele	Unkulunkulwana
Ulinda	Unkulunkulu
Uvumandaba	Unkulunkulu o ngembali
Udhlamini	ditto
Uhlomo	ditto
Uhhadebe	ditto
Ungwana	ditto
Umashwabade	ditto

The surnames of all of them are Udhlamini, Uhhadebe, and Umtimkulu.⁵³

Upon further enquiry it appeared that he did not mean that all the Onkulunkulu here mentioned were the heads of generations in regular retrogression, but that the last six were contemporary, and descended from one father. I asked him to go still further back, but he was unable; and added:—

We end with Umtimkulu and Ungwana and Umashwabade and Uthlomo, because they were the chiefs who divided the nations.

As he did not of his own accord go back to the first unkulunkulu, I asked him to tell me what, when he was a boy, he was told about the origin of man. He said:—

They told us that we came out of the water, from a bed of reeds, by the sea. We heard it said, "There appeared the first man, who came out of a reed. He ^{p. 89} pointed to the growing corn and said, "Pluck. That is corn." This was said by the most ancient Unkulunkulu, Ukqili.⁵⁶ For Ukqili was the first Unkulunkulu who came out of the bed of reeds, and begat men.

The first man is called Unkulunkulu. He came out with a wife; and other men came out of the bed of reeds after him, all the primitive men. He the first was chief indeed, he who begat men. We say, "They were begotten by him who came out first."

We do not know that the primitive men were begotten. They came, as they were, out of the bed ^{p. 90} of reeds;⁵⁷ and Unkulunkulu came out as he was. We do not see him, and hear only of Uthlanga.⁵⁸ So we say he was first; he made⁵⁹ the earth, and the mountains, the water, corn, food, cattle, and every thing. All things came out of the water, dogs and cattle. We say they were made by him, for when we came into being they were already all in existence.

Unkulunkulu came out of Uthlanga with a wife; she, as well as he, is called Unkulunkulu.

I asked him to trace back the female heads of generation, as he had already the male heads. He said:—

She who gave birth to me is umame.

She who gave birth to umame is umakulu or ukulu.

She who gave birth to umakulu is my ukoko.

She who gave birth to my ukoko is ukulukulu.

She who gave birth to ukulukulu is unkulunkulu.

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Whether it is man or woman we say unkulunkulu, both of the female and of the male.

Thus, according to this native, the male and female heads of the fifth generation backwards are called Unkulunkulu. Thus:—

MALE:—	FEMALE:—
Ubaba	Umame
Ubaba-mkulu	Umakulu, or Ukulu
Ukoko	Ukoko
Unkulunkulwana	Ukulukulu ⁶⁰
Unkulunkulu	Unkulunkulu

I said to him, "Where now is the first unkulunkulu?" He replied:—

All we know is this, the young and the old die,⁶¹ and the shade⁶² departs. The Unkulunkulu of us black men is that one to whom we pray for our cattle, and worship, saying, "Father!" We say, "Udhlamini! Uhhadebe!⁶³ Umutimkulu! Uthlomo! Let me obtain p. 92 what I wish, Lord! Let me not die, but live, and walk long on the earth."⁶⁴ Old people see him at night in their dreams.

I asked him if, when he was a boy in Zululand, the people ever said any thing about a heavenly lord. He replied:—

I, Usithlanu, for my part say there used to be something said about a heavenly lord, I mean as regards rain, and our prayers when we asked for rain. That did not begin even with Utshaka; even the primitive men used to pray for rain. But Utshaka came, and made his prayers greater than those who preceded him. He summoned the people, a great assembly, consisting of the chiefs of villages. He collected black⁶⁵ oxen, and sheep and black rams; and went to pray; he sang a song and prayed to the lord of heaven; and asked his forefathers to pray for rain to the lord of heaven. And it rained. This is the song:—

One Part—

I ya wu; a wu; o ye i ye.

Second Part, or Response—

I ya wo.⁶⁶

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These cattle are the cattle of Umzimu;⁶⁷ they are collected into one place. When they are killed, the chief men gird themselves with the girdles of young girls; they are skinned and carried by other young persons and put in the chief village, in the huts of the old women, where no one enters. In the morning the great man who skinned them, and the man who helped him, go out, and divide them; and they are boiled together in many pots. When the sun is declining, they take them out and place them on feeding-mats, and tell the great men to come up. All the great men come up, the flesh not being touched by any one; all the people are made to sit down by their villages; they have the meat put in an orderly manner in their hands; they hold it without carrying it to their mouths, until all are given, and all carry it to their mouths at the same time.

They begin by singing the song before they eat; they sing it very loud, and the ground resounds with the noise of their feet. They take the meat after singing, and carry it all together to their mouths. If one has taken a long p. 94 time in eating the meat, he puts it on the ground, and sings again, when he has swallowed what is in his mouth.

During the conversation he remarked:—

You white men remained behind with our great Itongo.⁶⁸

I asked what he meant by "Itongo" here. Umpengula answered:—

When he says Itongo, he is not speaking of a man who has died and risen again; he is speaking of the up-bearer of the earth,⁶⁹ which p. 95 supports men and cattle. The up-bearer is the earth by which we live; and there is the up-bearer of the earth by which we live, and without which we could not be, and by which we are.

He also related the following curious tradition:—

One of our old traditions. It happened that some things came down from heaven. Yes; they were seen at the lower part of the chief Ungwana's village; they were as it were covered with hair; they were beautiful, and had the p. 96 eyes and form of a man. It was said, "They are wild beasts; let them be killed." There were two. They were killed. The whole country died; the chief was carried away by the wind, because those animals were killed; and the houses were carried away. And we hear that there then began to reign Ugodongwana, the son of Ujobe.

UGOFANA and Umyeni, two Amakuza, came to see me. I asked them to give me the names of the heads of generations on the female side. They agreed in the main, but Umyeni made Unkulunkulu the head of the fifth generation backwards, and Ugotana of the fourth; Umyeni inserting Ukulukulu as the fourth, like Usithlanu (see p. 91). I then asked them to give me the heads on the male side, in like manner. The result was as under:—

Ubaba	Uname
Ubaba-mkulu	Ukulu
Ukoko	Ukoko
Unkulunkulwana	Ukulukulu
Unkulunkulu	Unkulunkulu

I asked Ugofana what they said about the Unkulunkulu of all men. He said they knew nothing about him. They said he came out of a reed. He could not tell me any thing about that Unkulunkulu, nor any body else, for no one knew. All he could tell me was about his own Unkulunkulu, for said he, pointing to two others, "He has his; and he his; and I mine."

Umdanga who first broke off, begat Umsondo; Umsondo begat Uthlanguza; Uthlanguza begat Ujamo, who begat me.

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I asked them what they meant by "Owa dabuka," Who first broke off. Umyeni replied, "Kuyise," From his father. And Ugofana, after a moment's thought, gave his name, "Kudhlahla," From Udhladhla, the great ancestor of their house, who has given them their surname.

TWO Amabakca, an old and young man, gave me the heads of generations as given above, [p. 86](#).

"But," I said, "is there not another word, Ukulukulu or Unkulunkulu?"

They said, "He is further back (ngembali);" and went on to say that all who were heads of generations anterior to the okoko were called Ukulukulu, till they came to Umsondwo,[70](#)

who came out first; he is the uthlanga of men; he is that uthlanga who broke off men, they having been broken off from him. The uthlanga is Umsondwo, who broke off, and then broke off men, the umdali, the umdali of the earth.[71](#)

I asked them what they said about the Okulukulu. They replied:—

They who are anterior to the okoko are the okulukulu of the okoko in continuous retrogression, till they reach Umsondwo, who first appeared, the umdali of the earth.

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I asked what they meant by Uthlanga. They answered:—

Uthlanga is an old man who made all things, both cattle and and all kinds of property.

UMDUMO, an old man, one of Ukukulela's people, an Ikuza, being unwilling or unable to give me any account of the traditions of the people, I asked him to give me the names of the heads of generations backwards. He gave them thus:—

He who begat me is Upotshiyana, my father; he who begat Upotshiyana is Umzabani, my grandfather; he who begat Umzabani is Uthlomo, the father of my grandfather; he who begat Uthlomo is Unsele, my ukoko; he who begat Unsele is Usivunga, the ukoko of my grandfather; he who begat Usivunga is Ulusibalukulu. Ulusibalukulu was begotten by Udhlamini, the ukulukulu who broke off the nations. When he came he broke off Ubithla, the chief; and afterwards Ukukulela and Umaghaga.

I asked him if there was not an Unkulunkulu. He replied, "Unkulunkulu and Ukulukulu is one."

I again asked him who was the first man. He answered:—

Udhlamini is he who broke off first; he begat Ulusibalukulu, who begat Usivunga.

I again asked him still more pointedly, refening to their tradition of the origin of man. He replied:—

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Udhlamini is the name of the whom we call Ukulukulu.⁷²

I asked, "Wa dabuka pi?" Where did he break off? He said:

It is said that Udhlamini broke off from the mountain Ingome, the place of the origin⁷³ of our tribe.

I asked him what were the nations he broke off (izizwe owa zi dabula). He mentioned several, but I did not succeed in writing the names; but among them were those of which Ukukulela, Uisidoi, and Ufodo are chiefs. The isibongo or surname of these chiefs is Udhlamini, he being their common ancestor.

I OVERHEARD Uthlangabeza, one of Ukukulela's people, talking with some of the men of the village. He said Unkulunkulu and Ukulukulu is one; and Umvelinqangi and Unkulunkulu is one; that all things came out of a mountain in the north; and that Uthlabati⁷⁴ is the name of that Unkulunkulu owa dabuka eluhlangeni,—who broke off from Uthlanga.

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Footnotes

p. 1

¹ A *s' aziwa* = *ka s' aziwa*, is no longer known, that is, to us; or as it is said in other accounts, "A si sa m azi," We no longer know him. There no longer exists amongst us any knowledge about him. The same expression is used when speaking of the man from whom the *isibongo* (surname) of a house or tribe is derived, *ka s' aziwa*. He is lost to memory, nothing is known of him or his deeds.

² This is the constant statement in the traditions of Unkulunkulu. It has been said that by *umuntu* we are to understand simply a *person*. But *umuntu* means a *human being*. And it is more in accordance with the religious system of the natives to give it that meaning here. They are ancestor-worshippers, and believe that their first ancestor—the first man—was the creator. Unkulunkulu means the old-old-one, the most ancient man. In like manner Arjuna addresses Krishna as, "Thou first of the gods, the most ancient person." (*Hardwick. Christ and other Masters. Vol. I., p. 242.*) And the king Satravata addresses "Hari, the preserver of the universe," thus, "O first male; the lord of creation, of preservation, of destruction!" (*Id., p. 314.*)

³ *Dabuka*, to separate, or to spring or break off, from something by fissure or division. Thus the swarming of bees is an *ukudabuka*. The division of small tribes from larger ones—as the small tribes of p. 2 Umahhaule and Unjan from the Abambo, the large tribe of Usingela; or as the Americans from the English—is spoken of as an *ukudabuka*. So if a village has become large, and the eldest son leaves the paternal kraal, and commences a new centre, that too is an *ukudabuka*. So the different kind of cattle, English, Dutch, and Zulu, are said respectively to have sprung from (*dabuka*) the English, Dutch, or Zulu. It is also said of trees. So of the Reformation it would be said that the Reformed Churches sprang from (*dabuka*) that of Rome; and

Dissenting Churches from that of England. Or what is perhaps more to the point, the mode in which Minerva was produced from Jupiter's head was an *ukudabuka*. As we shall see below, according to the Hindu mythology, primitive man was produced by a division (*ukudabuka*) of the substance of Brahma. The use of the word necessarily implies the pre-existence of something from which the division took place. When it is said therefore that Unkulunkulu broke off in the beginning, we must understand either that he broke off from an eternal or at least pre-existent spiritual being, or from an eternal or at least pre-existent material being. When it is said, *wa dabuka eluhlangeni* (he broke off from uthlanga), we may have the intimation of an eternal spiritual being, a belief in whom formed a part of the creed of the ancestors of the Amazulu; and when it is said, *wa dabuka emhlabeni* (he broke off from the earth), it cannot be doubted that we are to understand it as intimating a belief in the eternity—at least in the pre-existence—of the world.

4 *Ekukqaleni*. In the beginning. There is the same obscurity in the Zulu use of this phrase as in our own. We must understand it here as meaning, *in the beginning of the present order of things*, and not, from all eternity.

5 But, as it will be presently seen, a first woman is by many associated with the first man, that is, Unkulunkulu is said to have had a wife.

6 *Dabula*.—My native interpreter maintains that although above it is said that Unkulunkulu is not known to have had a wife, yet that this phrase implies it. But this is scarcely borne out by the fact that in other accounts he is said to break off cattle, &c., from Uthlanga. It seems rather that we are to understand that at first Unkulunkulu broke off, and having broken off, became the means of breaking off all other things.

7 *Ohlangeni*.—*Uthlanga* is a reed, strictly speaking, one which is capable of "stooling," throwing out offsets. It thus comes, metaphorically, [p. 3](#) to mean a source of being. A father is the *uthlanga* of his children, from which they broke off. Whatever notions the ignorant of the present day among the natives may have of the meaning of this tradition, it may be concluded that originally it was not intended to teach by it, that men sprang from a reed. It cannot be doubted that the word alone has come down to the people, whilst the meaning has been lost. Comp. M. Casalis' account of the religious notions of the Basutos, p. 240.

8 Hence their saying, "Ukuhambisa kwonwaba," To go like a chameleon, i. e., to go slowly. They say also *ukunwabuzela*.

9 *Ubukwebezane*.—A shrub which bears clusters of berries of a purplish colour and sweet taste. This fruit is much liked by children.

10 *Intulo = intulwa*, the Amalala *inulwa*. The tradition lives among the natives to the present time, and is manifested by the dislike they entertain for the chameleon. It is frequently killed. But it is used as a medicine; among other uses it is mixed with other things to doctor their gardens, that the birds may not destroy the corn; it is employed because it went slowly, and therefore will prevent the birds [p. 4](#) from hastily entering the gardens! But the lizard is an object of much greater hatred, and is invariably killed if the person who sees it is able to kill it; but it is very cunning, and, as they say, "escapes only by its cunning." As they kill it they say, "Yiya! i sona lesi 'silimane esa gijima kukqala sa ya 'kuti, 'Abantu a ba fe.'" Let be! This is the very piece of deformity which ran in the beginning to say that men should die.

[p. 4](#)

11 This tradition of the origin of death has a strong resemblance to the Hottentot account. But there it is the Moon—a Hottentot god, according to Kolb, (*The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, (Medley,) Volume I, page 95*)—which sends an insect to man with the message:—"Go thou to men, and tell them, 'As I die, and

dying live, so ye shall also die, and dying live." The insect, meeting with the hare, entrusts the message to him; but when he reaches man, he says, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die, and dying perish, in the same manner ye shall also die, and come wholly to an end.'" (*Bleek's Hottentot Fables*, p. 69.)

This account is, however, a promise of renovation through death.

The New Zealand legend again may be compared, where we meet with another a foreshadowing of redemption through One destroying death by passing through it, than an account of the cause of death entering into the world. Maui is made liable to death by some accidental omission of a part of the baptismal ritual,—a cause as trivial as the delay of the chameleon, or the false message of the hare.

Maui was an abortion; he was born as his mother was passing along by the sea-shore. She cut off the long tresses of her hair, and bound him up in them, and threw him into the foam of the sea, and after that he was found by his ancestor Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi, and by his care developed into a man. As yet there was no death. But Maui's father, "from mistake, hurriedly skipped over part of the prayers of the baptismal service, and of the services to purify Maui; he knew that the gods would be certain to punish this fault, by causing Maui to die, and his alarm and anxiety were therefore great." Maui having transformed by enchantments Irawaru, his sister Hinauri's husband, into a dog, and Hinauri having girded herself with an enchanted girdle had cast herself into the sea, and been swept away by the tide, he was obliged to quit the village where Irawaru had lived, [p. 5](#) and so returned to his parents. His father said, "Oh my son, I have heard from your mother and others that you are very valiant, and that you have succeeded in all feats that you have undertaken in your own country, whether they are small or great; but now that you have arrived in your father's country, you will perhaps at last be overcome." On asking "what he could be vanquished by?" his father replied, "By your great ancestress Hine-nui-te-po." But he answered, "Lay aside such idle thoughts, and let us both fearlessly seek whether men are to die or live for ever." Maui pleads that he had subdued Tama-nui-te-Ra (the sun), and had rescued much land by drawing it up from the sea. His father admits the truth, and bids him go boldly to visit "his great ancestress," who, he knew, would be the cause of his death. Maui set out on his journey, taking "every kind of little bird" as his companions. Maui and his companions found Hine-nui-te-po asleep. Maui told them that he was about to creep into the old chieftainess, and warned them not to laugh until they saw him "just coming out of her mouth; then they might shout with laughter if they pleased." When he entered the old chieftainess, "the little birds screwed up their tiny cheeks, trying to suppress laughter; at last, the little Tiwa-kawaka laughed out loud with its merry cheerful note," and the old woman awoke, and killed Maui. This was the cause of the introduction of death into the world. Hine-nui-te-po being the goddess of death, had Maui passed safely through her, then no more human beings would have died, but death itself would have been destroyed. (*Grey. Polynesian Mythology*, p. 16-58.)

{ See also the [additional note](#). }

[12](#) *Itongo*, p. *Amatongo*.—An *itongo* is properly the spirit of the dead,—a disembodied spirit. The notion that it is in the form of a snake, or becomes converted into a snake, is probably something superadded to the original tradition. But all these questions will be discussed when we come to the "AMATONGO."

[13](#) *Ukwelapa itongo*, lit., to treat an itongo, that is, diseases which are occasioned by the itongo, as *uthlabo*, which appears from the description to be pleurodynia; one case I was called to see was pleurisy.

[p. 7](#)

[15](#) *Umvelinqangi*, the first out-comer.

[16](#) Let the reader note that here three names are applied to the first man, Unkulunkulu, Umvelinqangi, and

Uthlanga. *Unkulunkulu* expresses antiquity, age, lit., the old-old one, as we use great in great-great-grandfather. *Umvelinqangi* expresses priority; the first out-comer. *Uthlanga*, potential source of being. Neither must this be regarded as a contradiction to the statement lower down, "Wa vela lapa abantu ba dabuka kona ohlangeni," He came out where men broke off from Uthlanga. For Unkulunkulu, the first man, sprang from—came out of—broke off from—a previously existing uthlanga or source of being, the nature of which is quite beyond the native philosophy; and having come out, he became the uthlanga or source of being of entire humanity.

17 *U kona*, is. We must not, however, understand this as a declaration of the ancients that Unkulunkulu has a present existence. But they mean to say, "Unkulunkulu was a *reality*; that which we say of him is not a fable, but a fact. Unkulunkulu is a reality; he made us, and is, as it were, in us his work. We exist because he existed." That this is the meaning we gather not only from the interpretation of it by natives, and from other accounts of the same tradition, but from the statement made below, "B' ezwa ngokutshiwo ukuti Unkulunkulu wa be kona," They heard it said that Unkulunkulu was, or used to be; the tense necessarily implying that he exists no longer.

18 *Abadala bendulo*, the ancients of long ago,—not merely ancients, but the ancients of primitive times; those who formed the first races of mankind.

19 The natives profess to be unable to give any account of the origin of things; but refer to a period when the ancients understood the history of creation.

p. 8

20 A large, green, harmless snake, which for the most part is observed in trees. It frequently enters the native huts.

p. 9

21 This account was given by a refugee recently arrived from Zululand, whose name I do not know.

22 *Umhlanga* is a bed of reeds. We must not confound *umhlanga* with *uhlanga*. *Umhlanga* is the place where they broke off—or out-came—from *Uhlanga*.

23 *Vela*, had our origin,—*out-came*, equivalent to "were created." It does not mean merely appearing.

p. 10

24 *Umoya*, spirit. The native who related this tale, though not a Christian, had lived with whitemen from his childhood, and for some years with a missionary. The untaught native would not use *umoya* (wind, air) in the sense of spirit, as this man uses it. They would apply it to the air we breathe, but not to the spirit or soul of man. Neither do they use *itongo*, *idhlozi*, *isituta* (ghost), or *isitunzi* (shade), of any power animating the body, but only of something,—a new or distinct existence,—which comes out of the body when dead.

25 Many misunderstandings of native traditions have arisen from the enquiry, "Unkulunkulu ubani na?" meaning who or what is Unkulunkulu. It really means, "What is his *name*?" The native cannot tell you his *name*, except it be *Umvelinqangi*.

26 *Bonga*, worship. It is necessary to give *bonga* this full meaning here, and not to restrict it to the offices of praising or thanking. It is equivalent to *pata*, which is used for all and every kind of adoration and worship.

p. 11

[27](#) The fat of the cawl or omentum is used with incense.

p. 12

[28](#) *Abapansi*, i. e., the Amatongo, they who are beneath. Some [p. 13](#) natives say, so called, because they have been *buried beneath the earth*. But we cannot avoid believing that we have an intimation of an old faith in a Hades or Tartarus, which has become lost and is no longer understood. *Subterraneans* is an exact translation of *abapansi*, and as we proceed we shall find that similar characteristics and actions are ascribed to the Amatongo as to the Subterraneans in the mythology of other people.

[29](#) *Abantu bansondo*, or it is sometimes said, *bakansondo*.

p. 14

[30](#) *Uthlanga* is also used to express beauty. "Si tshela ni uhlanga oluhle lapa lwentombi," Tell us which is the prettiest girl here. They also say, "Inkosi yohlanga," that is, a chief who refers his descent to Uthlanga, that is, to him whom they regard as the creator or source of all things. We may compare this with $\delta\iota\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ of Homer.

[31](#) By this we are to understand that at his death Unsondo uttered a prophecy of the future of his children, telling them by what kind of conduct, good and bad, they would be characterised. Thus it is said not only of a good man, "Wa muhle! umuntu wansondo!" How good he is! a man of Unsondo! to express the perfection of goodness, but also of the wicked, "Au! wa mubi! umuntu wansondo!" O! how wicked he is! a man of Unsondo! to express utter wickedness. We may compare this with the Hebrew idiom, which without being identical is remarkably similar; that of designating any thing of surpassing excellence as God's, e.g. "A very great trembling," lit., a trembling of God ([1 Sam. xiv. 15](#)); and in [Gen. xxxv. 5](#), "The terror of God (that is, an exceeding great terror) was upon the cities." (See *Gesenius*.)

p. 16

[32](#) This portion I wrote at his dictation in my study; the rest from memory.

[33](#) The native thus begins his statement because I had previously read to him what other natives had said on the subject.

[34](#) He means by this that he had heard that Unkulunkulu was the first that existed, and that existing he made others. But we shall see by and bye that this man is mistaken. Unkulunkulu is supposed to have a wife.

p. 17

[35](#) A mistake has no doubt often arisen on the question of whether Unkulunkulu is worshipped by the natives or not, from the failure to recognise the fact that there are many Onkulunkulu; and the statements of natives have been wrongly supposed to be contradictory. The Unkulunkulu *par excellence*, the first man, is no where worshipped. No *isibongo* of his is known. The worship, therefore, of him according to native worship is no longer possible. But the Onkulunkulu of tribes and houses, whose *izibongo* are still known, are worshipped, each by his respective descendents.

[36](#) He means by this that he is not sure whether in the beginning they worshipped him or not; but they no longer worship him, but the Amatongo, and thank the Amatongo for the things which they believe were created by Unkulunkulu.

p. 18

[37](#) This implies that he had a son; but the *isibongo* or praise-giving name of Unkulunkulu is lost; by the process of time and many wanderings, other names have been taken up, each house having its own *isibongo*.

[38](#) He here uses a metaphor comparing men, or their houses, to the grains on an ear of maize; Unkulunkulu is the stalk, which having done its work dies; the seeds are the men, who sprang from him and became centres of families, each having its distinct family name or *isibongo*, and the children of successive generations worship those who preceded them. But the native adds as I am making this note, "Lelo 'zwi lokuti izinhlamvu zi bongana zodwa loko ukuti i leyo 'nhlamvu endhlini yayo se i unkulunkulu enzalweni yayo, leyo na leyo njalo," As for the saying, Each grain worships those which belong to itself, it means that each grain in its own house is an unkulunkulu to its offspring, each to its own offspring throughout.—Thus although the First Out-comer, Unkulunkulu, is not worshipped, other Onkulunkulu are worshipped, that is, their names are known and used in acts of adoration. But we shall see this more clearly by and bye.

p. 19

[39](#) *Inkosi* may be translated king, lord, chief, &c. And we may either say, the king, lord, chief, &c., which is above,—or the king of heaven,—or the heavenly king.

[40](#) Is playing, or sporting, not angry. He is enjoying himself, as their chiefs do on great festivals, when it is said, "Inkosi i dhlala umkosi," The chief is playing a festival.

It is worth noting that So or Khevioso is the thunder god of the West African natives; and, says Capt. Burton, "according to Barbot, on the Gold Coast, (I have heard the same everywhere from that place to the Camaroons,) 'when it thunders they say the Deity—with reverence be it spoken—is diverting himself with his wives.'" (*Burton. A Mission to the King of Dahome. Vol. II., p. 142.*)

[41](#) That is, by lightning.

p. 20

[42](#) That is, we live in accordance with the laws and conditions of our nature.

[43](#) This implies that there might have been once other words which are now lost.

p. 21

[44](#) He means to say, It would not be right because you have told us what we did not before know about a heavenly Lord, that we should claim to have known more than we really did before you came. We knew nothing about him, but that he dwelt above, and presided over the thunder.

[45](#) This is the exact meaning of *wa ba*. He came to be, that is, came into being.

p. 22

[46](#) It is altogether blunt. The natives not only use our saying that a thing is without point, but also the opposite, it is blunt,—that is, it does not enter into the understanding; it is unintelligible.

p. 23

[47](#) This is a most difficult piece of Zulu, which has been necessarily translated with great freedom; a literal translation would be wholly unintelligible to the English reader. I have produced the above translation under the immediate direction of the native who first dictated it to me. What he means to say is this, that they really know nothing more about Unkulunkulu than that he made all things, and gave them to mankind; having made

men proper for the things, and the things proper for the men; but that there is not known to be any connection between the present state of things and the primitive gift of the creator.

p. 24

48 That is, we are not acquainted with any laws which he left us for the regulation of our lives.

49 That is, we do not trouble ourselves to ask what he willed or what was his purpose in creating us, but simply do just what pleases us, and make our own wills the measure and determiner of our actions.

50 Lit., abundance of food.

p. 25

51 This is said ironically in contradiction of statements which are sometimes made that Unkulunkulu is an object of worship.

52 All this is intended to show that the name of Unkulunkulu is only used as an excuse for evil, and never as an incentive to do good.

p. 28

53 Such as a dog mounting on a hut, or a snake coming and taking up its abode in it. We shall hereafter give an account of their "OMENS."

54 They suppose the omen is sent to warn them of something respecting the dead, either that he has been killed by witchcraft, or that he has sent it to comfort them by the assurance of his continued regard for them, he being one of the spirits.

55 Yesterday they saw death only and the loss of their friend; now an omen makes them believe in his continued existence, and that he has united with other spirits to be the rampart of his people.

p. 30

56 That is, by sacrificing to the Amadhlozi, and by paying the diviners and doctors.

57 Even those who really believe in the Amadhlozi, irreverently deny their existence in time of trouble. Compare with this the following extract from the French ballad, *Lénore*:—

—"O ma fille! invoquons le Createur suprême;
Ce qu'il tait est bien fait; il nous garde et nous aime.—
—Et pourtant son courroux nous accable aujourd'hui,
A quoi sert d'implorer ses bontés souveraines?
A quoi sert de prier? les prières sont vaines,
Et ne montent pas jusqu'à lui."

58 Lit., You perhaps open an old sore; as we say, We have opened his satirical vein, &c.,—that is, have set off on a subject on which they are fond of speaking.

p. 31

59 The reader should note that this is an account derived from an educated, intelligent, Christian native.

[60](#) Came into being,—sprang up,—appeared,—had an origin; with a slight shade of difference in meaning *vela* is used in the same way as *dabula*.

[61](#) Here my MS. says *dabula*, which makes Umthlanga the active agent in the origin of Unkulunkulu, just as Uthlanga is constantly represented in other forms of the tradition. But the native teacher thinks it a mistake for *dubuka*, a repetition of what is said just above.

p. 32

[62](#) I have hitherto given the several forms of the tradition in the order of time in which they were written, with the exception of the account given by the young Ibakca, [p. 15](#). This (1860) was the first intimation I received that there are many Onkulunkulu, that each house has its own, and is an object of worship, his name being the chief *isibongo* or surname, by which the Spirits or Amatongo of his family are addressed.

p. 33

[63](#) Matshange! that is, a plural of Utshange, meaning all his people.

[64](#) The prayer is either in this simple form of adoration, the suppliant taking it for granted that the Amatongo will know what he wants; or the thing he wants is also mentioned, as "Ye people of our house! cattle."

p. 34

[65](#) We are not to understand this as a tradition of the origin of men. It is a saying among the natives when they see an exquisitely handsome man, or when they wish to flatter a chief, to say, "Ka zalwanga; wa bohlwa inkomo nje," He was not born; he was belched up by a cow; that is, he did not go through the ordinary and tedious and painful process of being born, but came into being already a perfected man.

[66](#) Compare this with the Jewish simile, "Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn," that is, to Abraham, their father. ([Isaiah li. 1, 2.](#)) Here again we have the notion of Unkulunkulu being the *means of helping the human race into being*.

p. 35

[67](#) A common mode of commencing a narrative.

[68](#) He here speaks of the two women as being *one unkulunkulu* of primitive men. So in conversation with another heathen native, he spoke of the first man and first woman, together, as *one unkulunkulu*.

p. 37

[70](#) Lower-gate-man.

[71](#) This shows that the natives believe in a succession of emigrations from below of different tribes of men, each having its own Unkulunkulu.

p. 38

[72](#) That is, his name.

[73](#) Compare this with the fabulous monster Ugungqu-kubantwana (*Nursery Tales*, p. 176), or Usilosimapundu (*Id.*, p. 185).

p. 39

[74](#) That is, He-who-came-from-the-other-side-of-the-rock.

p. 40

[75](#) This is the nearest rendering we can give to *veziwe*; it is equivalent to *created*. It is passive, and necessarily implies an agent by which he had an origin given to him. No native would hear such a phrase as "Naye e veziwe," He too having had an origin given him, without putting the question, By whom?

[76](#) Unkulunkulu was an unbegotten though a created man. He was the first man; by this statement he is to be understood as deprecating the ascription to himself of something higher and more exalted. He is, as it were, telling his children the history of creation as he had witnessed it. They appear to be desirous of making him the creator; but he replies, "No; I too sprang from the bed of reeds."

[77](#) This is very precise. The first man and woman sprang, the man first and then the woman, from the bed of reeds; and both are called by one name, Unkulunkulu; that is, Great-great-grandparent. According to Moses, the male and female were both called Adam. ([Gen. v. 3.](#))

p. 41

[78](#) He is called "he who sprang up at first" to distinguish him from the many other Onkulunkulu who in the progress of generation sprang up after him.

[79](#) Lit., worked into form as a potter works clay.

[80](#) The simile here is that men were existing as young bulbs ready to separate from the parent bulb.

p. 42

[82](#) The account here given of Uthlanga is peculiar. The native who gave it, clearly understood by it a reed. Yet one cannot avoid believing that he did not understand the import of the tradition. It is said that Umvelinqangi made the reed, and that the reed gave origin to Unkulunkulu and his wife. It is said also that Umvelinqangi begat them with a reed (*nohlanga*); and from a reed (*eluhlangeni*). Both these forms are used of the female in generation. A child is begotten from the woman, or with her. And it is the belief of the native teacher that the real meaning of this tradition is that Umvelinqangi made Uthlanga, a female, and with her became the parent of the human race. Uthlanga, therefore, in this form of the tradition, has a feminine import; whilst in others it has a masculine. Yet the same men in speaking of the origin of Umvelinqangi (pronounced by this tribe Umvelikqangi) said he sprang from Uthlanga.—There is really no contradiction in such statements. For the term Uthlanga is applied not only to the Primal Source of Being, but to any other [p. 43](#) source of being, as a father, or to a mother, as in the following sentence:—

Who is the Uthlanga of such a family? They answer by giving the name of the man, who is the head of that house. But he is not the Uthlanga by himself; he is the Uthlanga in conjunction with the female; for there is not a man who is an Uthlanga by himself, there being no female.

Compare this with the following legends of the Hindus, where Brahma corresponds with Umvelinqangi; and where there is the same confusion between Brahma the Creator,—the First Man,—"and the male half of his individuality." Umvelinqangi is both the Primal Source of Being and the First Man; he is the creator of the first woman and her husband. And Satarupa, "the great universal mother," is equivalent to Uthlanga, the female Unkulunkulu,—the great-great mother of the human race:—

"According to one view, Brahma, the God of Creation, converted himself into two persons, the first man, or the Manu Swayambhuva, and the first woman, or Satarupa: this division into halves expressing, it would seem, the general distinction of corporeal substance into two sexes, and Satarupa, as hinted by the etymology of the word itself, denoting the great universal mother, the one parent of 'a hundred forms.'" (*Hardwick. Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 297.*)

"As the old traditions of their ancestors were gradually distorted, the Hindus appear to have identified the first man (Manu Swayambhuva) with Brahma himself, of whom, as of the primary cause, he was the brightest emanation; while Satarupa, the wife and counterpart of Manu, was similarly converted into the bride of the creative principle itself. Brahma, in other words, was 'confounded with the male half of his individuality.'" (*Id., p. 305.*)

A similar apparent contradiction to that which runs throughout these Zulu legends is also found in the Myth of Prometheus, who though a man—the son of Japetus—is said to be the creator of the human race:—

"Sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo:
Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.
Quam satus Iapeto, mistam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum."

(*Ovid.*)

p. 44

[83](#) *It being in the water.*—That is, according to the notion of the narrator, the reed which Umvelinqangi made and by which he begat the first parents of the human race, was in the water. It is probably only another way of saying men sprang from a bed of reeds. But some forms of the tradition represent tribes at least, if not the human race, as being born in or derived from the water. See [p. 36](#).

p. 45

[84](#) It is worth notice that the female of animals is represented as preceding the male.

[85](#) *Ndini*, here translated *true*, is a word rarely met with; it is used as an appendage to a vocative; it ascribes reality or speciality to the name to which it is appended. "Mfazi ndini," Thou who art my wife indeed,—*very* wife. Should a bridegroom address the bride thus, it would be an insult, and imply a loss of virtue, and if not founded in truth, would be resented probably by absolute refusal to marry.

p. 46

[86](#) Viz., for grinding.

[87](#) Viz., that all were not to be domestic animals.

p. 47

[88](#) This makes it perfectly clear what the natives understand by Unkulunkulu coming out of the earth. The earth is the mother of Unkulunkulu, the first man, as of every other creature. Compare Milton:—

"The Earth obeyed, and straight
Opening her fertile womb, teemed at a birth
Innumerable living creatures, perfect forms
Limbed and full grown."

Compare also *Ovid. Met.*, B. I., l. 416-421.—This, too, corresponds with the Scripture account of Creation; [Gen. i. 20](#), 24. It is also philosophically correct to refer the origin of things secondarily to the earth. The material organisms of all living things consist of elements derived from the earth. The poetic imagination, to which time and space impose no limits, represents as occurring at a point in time what, it may be, took myriads of years for its production in accordance with laws imposed on the Universe by the fiat of the Creator.

[89](#) Lwenkomo, i. e., uthlanga. This is worth noting, the uthlanga of cattle,—that is, either the reed—primal source—from which they came; or it may mean, the first pair from which all others sprang.

p. 48

[90](#) As the question has been raised whether the natives do not call the First Man, or Being, Unkulunkulu, and an Ancestor Ukulukulu, in order to prevent all misunderstanding I asked him if he was not speaking of Ukulukulu. He replied Ukulukulu and Unkulunkulu is one and the same word; the Amazulu say Unkulunkulu; other tribes Ukulukulu; but the word is one. I enquired what he meant by Unkulunkulu; he answered,

We have employed the word great [father] to designate the father of our father; and we call that man great [father]. And there was a great-great [father], to wit, one who was before him.

We do not speak of power when we say Unkulunkulu, but especially of age. For the word great does not say he was old by twice, but he is old by once; and if the children of that man has children, they will speak by the reduplicated name, and unite their father's name with his, and say Unkulunkulu, that is, one who is very old.

What has been said above, then, together with what is here stated, is sufficient to settle all doubt on the subject. I shall not therefore give all the similar statements derived from a great number of different natives to confirm the fact, that by Unkulunkulu or Ukulukulu they mean a great-great-grandfather, and hence a very ancient man much further removed from the present generation than a great-great-grandfather. Hence it is applied to the founders of dynasties, tribes, and families. The order is as follows:—

Ubaba, my father	Umame, my mother
Ubaba-mkulu, or Ukulu	Umame-mkulu, or Ukulu
Ukoko	Ukoko
Unkulunkulu	Unkulunkulu

Ukoko is a general term for Ancestor who preceded the grandfathers. And Unkulunkulu is a general term for Ancient Men, who "were first" among tribes, families, or kings. See [Appendix](#).

p. 49

[91](#) Let us note this plural of Umvelinqangi; and that the Omvelinqangi are the fathers of the generation

preceding that of the Onkulunkulu; that is, they are the fathers of the Onkulunkulu; that is, the great-great-great-grandfathers.

Usobekase, a petty chief over a portion of the Amabele, when speaking of the origin of things, said they were made by Umvelinqangi; that there was a first man and a first woman; they were Abavelinqangi, and that men sprang from them by generation. He did not use the word Unkulunkulu at all,—Umkqumbela, also, a very old man of the Amangwane, spoke of the Omvelinqangi in the plural, and used the word as strictly synonymous with Unkulunkulu, and, like that word, applicable not only to the first man, but to the founder of families, dynasties, tribes, &c.

[92](#) The origin of Undaba is thus given by Uncinjana, an Ibele:—

Undaba sprang from Upunga, and was the father of Usenzangakona. Usenzangakona sprang from Undaba, and was the father of Utshaka. Undaba is the Unkulunkulu.

The attention of the Zulu scholar is directed to the use of *dabuka* in this statement.

Whilst travelling lately among a wholly uncultivated tribe, on asking what they meant by the *ukudabuka* of men from Unkulunkulu, they replied, "Ba dabuka esiswini sake," They broke off from her bowels; that is, of the first female Unkulunkulu.

[93](#) Or, from Uthlanga.

[94](#) In this remarkable sentence the origin of things is ascribed to the joint word of the man and woman.

p. 50

[95](#) This and two or three other statements are the only instances I have met with of the word Umdabuko for the source of creation, but its meaning is evident. It is equivalent to Umdayi of the Amakqwabe, the Umdali of the Amakxosa, and the Umenzi of the Amazulu.

Umdabuko, however, is derived from *ukudabuka*, to be broken off (see [Note 3, page 1](#)), and therefore has a passive signification, and thus differs from Umenzi and Umdali, which are active. It more resembles Uthlanga, and though in some places apparently used for an active creator, would mean rather a passive, though potential source of being,—passive, that is, as a female, or as a seed, which have however wrapped up in them potentially the future offspring.

We may compare with this the legend of the Bechuanas:—

"Morimo, as well as man, with all the different species of animals, came out of a hole or cave in the Bakone country, to the north, where, say they, their footmarks are still to be seen in the indurated rock, which was at that time sand. In one of Mr. Hamilton's early journals, he records that a native had informed him that the footmarks of Morimo were distinguished by being without toes. Once I heard a man of influence telling his story on the subject. I of course could not say that I believed the wondrous tale, but very mildly hinted that he might be misinformed; on which he became indignant, and swore by his ancestors and his king, that he had visited the spot, and paid a tax to see the wonder; and that, consequently, his testimony was indubitable. I very soon cooled his rage by telling him that as I should likely one day visit those regions, I should certainly think myself very fortunate if I could get him as a guide to that wonderful source of animated nature. Smiling, he said, 'Ha, and I shall show you *the p. 51 footsteps of the very first man.*' This is the sum-total of the knowledge which the Bechuanas possessed of the origin of what they call Morimo, prior to

the period when they were visited by missionaries." (*Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*,. Moffat, p. 262.)

See also a corresponding legend among the Basutos:—

"A legend says that both men and animals came out of the bowels of the earth by an immense hole, the opening of which was in a cavern, and that the animals appeared first. Another tradition, more generally received among the Basutos, is, that man sprang up in a marshy place, where reeds were growing." (*The Basutos. Casalis*, p. 240.)

[96](#) That is, at a certain period the tribe divided into three, each having its own Unkulunkulu. So Umahhaule, who has formed a small tribe, says, in a few years he shall be an Unkulunkulu.

[97](#) That is, the Onkulunkulu whose names he has given not only belonged to the Amangwane, but to the family of Umatiwana.

[98](#) Umdabuko, Creator. See above, [Note 94](#).

p. 52

[99](#) Lit., The corn went home and was cultivated; that is, became a cultivated article of food.

p. 53

[100](#) By this is meant, that they denied the existence of a Creator whom they could not see; and declared their belief that their kings, whom they could see, were the Creators of all things. Just as at the end this old woman declares that the whitemen made all things.

[1](#) *Inkosi* may be rendered chief, king, lord. We can therefore say either Chief of Chiefs,—or King of Kings,—or Lord of Lords.

[2](#) That is, the lightning had struck.

p. 54

[3](#) This is a very common occurrence. Very old Amazulu, when asked about Unkulunkulu, are apt to speak, not of the first Unkulunkulu, but the onkulunkulu of their tribes.

Mr. Hully, a missionary for some years connected with the Wesleyans, went up to the Zulu country as interpreter to Mr. Owen, in 1837. He says the word Unkulunkulu was not then in use among the natives; but that Captain Gardiner introduced it to express the Greatest, or the Maker of all men. Mr. Hully refused to use it in this sense. He allowed that the word *kulu* meant great, but denied that Unkulunkulu existed in the language to express that which Capt. Gardiner wished. But he persisted in using it through a young man named Verity.

The following remarks from Captain Gardiner's work appear to justify this statement of Mr. Hully:—

"The conversation which took place I will now relate, as nearly as I can, in the precise words:—

"Have you any knowledge of the power by whom the world was made? When you see the sun rising and setting, and the trees growing, do you know who made them and who governs them?"

"Tpai (after a little pause, apparently deep in thought)—'No; we see them, but cannot tell how they come: we suppose that they come of themselves.'

"To whom then do you attribute your success or failure in war?"

"Tpai—' When we are unsuccessful, and do not take cattle, we think that our father' [Itongo] 'has not looked upon us.'

"Do you think your father's spirits' [Amatongo] 'made the world?'"

"Tpai—'No.'

"Where do you suppose the spirit of a man goes after it leaves the body?"

"Tpai—'We cannot tell.'

"Do you think it lives for ever?"

"Tpai—'That we cannot tell; we believe that the spirit of our forefathers looks upon us when we go out to war; but we do not think about it at any other time.'

"You admit that you cannot control the sun or the moon, or even make a hair of your head to grow. Have you no idea of any power capable of doing this?"

"Tpai—'No; we know of none: we know that we cannot do these things, and we suppose that they come of themselves.'" (*Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country. Capt. Allen F. Gardiner, R.N.; undertaken in 1835, p. 283.*)

He thus speaks of a tribe on the Umzimvubu:—

"On the subject of religion they are equally as dark as their ^{p. 55} neighbours the Zoolus. They acknowledged, indeed, a traditionary account of a Supreme Being, whom they called Oukoolukoolu" [Ukulukulu] "(literally the Great-Great), but knew nothing further respecting him, than that he originally issued from the reeds, created men and cattle, and taught them the use of the assagai. They knew not how long the issitoota," [isituta] "or spirit of a deceased person, existed after its departure from the body, but attributed every untoward occurrence to its influence, slaughtering a beast to propitiate its favour on every occasion of severe sickness, &c. As is customary among all these nations, a similar offering is made by the ruling chief to the spirit of his immediate ancestor preparatory to any warlike or hunting expedition, and it is to the humour of this capricious spirit that every degree of failure or success is ascribed." (*Id.*, p. 314.)

⁴ That is, she assents to the statement that Unkulunkulu sprang from the earth. But asserts also that he is the heavenly Lord, of whom she has been speaking.

This account is in many respects very remarkable. It is not at all necessary to conclude that the mind of the old woman was wandering. There appears to be in the account rather the intermixture of several faiths, which might have met and contended or amalgamated at the time to which she alludes:—1. A primitlve faith in a heavenly Lord or Creator. 2. The ancestor-worshipping faith, which confounds ^{p. 56} the Creator with the First Man. 3. The Christian faith again directing the attention of the natives to a God, which is not anthropomorphic.

But she may intend to refer to the supposed ascent of Usenzangakona, the father of Utshaka, into heaven,

which is recounted in the following izibongo, that is, flattering declamations by which the praises of the living or the dead are celebrated:—

There were lauds of Usenzangakona, by which he was lauded by his people; they said,

Child of Ujama, who twisted a large rope which reached to heaven, where the Spirits of the Amageba will not arrive. They will again and again make fruitless efforts, and break their little toes."

Amageba is an ancient name of the Amazulu. It means the shadows caused by the departing sun; they recline on the mountains. Amageba are the people of Umageba, the Unkulunkulu of the Amazulu. Umageba begat Ujama; he begat Usenzangakona; he begat Utshaka. And as regards Umageba, there is his unkulunkulu where we know not.

[5](#) The chief, that is, myself. A respectful mode of addressing the enquirer, as though the answer was being given to a third person.

[6](#) *Indoda*, that is, a male.

[7](#) That they may not be injured by the hail.

p. 57

[8](#) *A ku zalwane*. Lit., Let children be begotten or born one with another. An allusion to a supposed period in which if blood relations did not marry there could be no marriage. The meaning really is,—Let brothers and sisters marry, that in the progress of time there may arise those who are sufficiently removed from close relationship, that there may be *abalanda*, that is, persons who may lawfully intermarry.

p. 58

[9](#) Here very distinctly Uthlanga is a proper name,—that of the first woman. But the origin of Uthlanga is not known; it is suggested that she came forth from Uthlanga together with Unkulunkulu—that is, an anterior Uthlanga.—Compare this with the legend above given, where it is said Umvelinqangi made an Uthlanga and begat children by her. See below, where it is said, "Uthlanga ka se ko;" Uthlanga is dead; not, *A lu se ko*.

[10](#) This is a mode of asserting his belief that since the fathers said Unkulunkulu begat men, he could not do so without a wife, and that therefore Uthlanga was a woman.

[11](#) *Zala* is to beget and to give birth to: they were derived, viz., by generation from Unkulunkulu, and by birth from Uthlanga.

p. 59

[12](#) *Umdabuko*, Source of Being,—local or personal,—the place in which man was created, or the person who created him. But if a place, it is possessed of a special potentiality. See [Note 95, p. 50](#). But here the Umdabuko is called "the lord which gives them life."

[13](#) The argument is, since we see that life-giving influences,—the rain and sun,—come from heaven, we conclude that there too is the original source of life.

[14](#) It is supposed that black cattle are chosen because when it is about to rain the sky is overcast with dark clouds. When the ox is killed, its flesh is eaten in the house, and perfect silence is maintained till the whole is

consumed, in token of humble submission to the lord of heaven, from whom, and not of the chief, the rain is asked. The bones are burnt outside the village. After eating the flesh in silence, they sing a song. The songs sung on such occasions consist merely of musical sounds, and are without words.

p. 60

[15](#) Contrast this with what Arbusset says of the superstition found among the Lighoyas:—

"When it thunders every one trembles; if there are several together, one asks the other with uneasiness, 'Is there any one amongst us who 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 saying that the Lord is delighted (that is to say, he has done right), with killing that man; they say also that the thief eats thunderbolts, that is to say, does things which draw down upon men such judgments. There can be no doubt, they suppose, that the victim in such a case must have been guilty of some crime, of stealing most probably, a vice from which very few of the Bechuanas are exempt, and that it is on this account that fire from heaven has fallen upon him." (*Exploratory Tour in South Africa*, p. 323.)

Casalis says that, among the Basutos, "If any one is struck dead by lightning, no murmur is heard and tears are suppressed. 'The Lord has killed him,' they say; 'he is, doubtless, rejoicing: let us be careful not to disturb his joy.'" (*The Basutos*, p. 242.)

p. 61

[16](#) See [Note 95, p. 50](#).

[17](#) *Or, out of Uthlanga*; "and so we said the Umdabuko is Uthlanga," either regarding Umdabuko as a female, or referring to that Uthlanga or Source of being from which Unkulunkulu himself and all things else sprang. But we are here, no doubt, to understand the latter, for above he states that the old men believed in an Umdabuko which is above, and which he calls, "the Lord which gives them life."

[18](#) Intimating that there are other Onkulunkulu about whom he might wish to enquire.

p. 62

[19](#) I see that it was *said* and nothing more; there, was no truth in it.

[20](#) It is clear that this reasoning is the result of a certain amount of light. When once he had been induced to think, he said that the things around him could not, as the old men said, have had a mere human author, who came into being and passed away.

[21](#) This chief and his people live in the neighbourhood of the Roman Catholic Mission about fifteen miles from this place.

p. 63

[22](#) Some years ago whilst travelling I had had a conversation with him on the subject.

[23](#) This is rather obscure, but I prefer not to give a free translation. The meaning is, Our old men told us that it was an ancient man who created all things; but we hear from the missionaries that the heavenly Lord is he who created.

p. 64

[24](#) Just as among other people sneezing is associated with some superstitious feeling. In England and Germany old people will say, "God bless you," when a person sneezes. Among the Amazulu, if a child sneeze, it is regarded as a good sign; and if it be ill, they believe it will recover. On such an occasion they exclaim, "Tutuka," Grow. When a grown up person sneezes, he says, "Bakiti, ngi hambe kade," Spirits of our people, grant me a long life. As he believes that at the time of sneezing the Spirit of his house is in some especial proximity to him, he believes it is a time especially favourable to prayer, and that whatever he asks for will be given; hence he may say, "Bakwiti, inkomo," Spirits of our people, give me cattle; or, "Bakwiti, abantwana," Spirits of our people, give me children. Diviners among the natives are very apt to sneeze, which they regard as an indication of the presence of the Spirits; the diviner adores by saying, "Makosi," Lords, or Masters.

p. 65

[25](#) It may be worth noting here that what the Amazulu say of the lord of heaven, for whom they have no name, the Amakxosa say of Utikxo.

[26](#) This is to be understood as expressing his utter contempt for the Hottentots, and unwillingness to admit that the Kafir could learn any thing from them. It cannot, however, be doubted that he is mistaken in supposing that they did not derive the word from the Hottentots.

[27](#)

The isivivane consists of stones which are collected together in one place, and form a large heap; [p. 66](#) those who pass by the isivivane cast stones on it; the stones which are thrown on it are both small and great; and it is said, "Isivivane of our ancestors, may live without care."

UMPENGULA MBANDA.

The isivivane, then, is a heap of stones, the meaning of which the natives of these parts are unacquainted with. When they pass such a heap, they spit on a stone and throw it on the heap. Sometimes they salute it by saying, "Sa ku bona, bantwana bakasivivane," Good day, children of Usivivane; thus personifying Isivivane, and acting in correspondence with the Kxosa salutation to Unkulunkulu.—Sir James E. Alexander relates the following of the Namaquas:—"In the country there are occasionally found large heaps of stones on which had been thrown a few bushes; and if the Namaquas are asked what they are, they say that *Heije Eibib*, their Great Father, is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"—Among the Hottentots there are many such heaps, which they say are the graves of Heitsi Kabip, who, according to them, died several times and came to life again. (*Bleek. Hottentot Fables*, p. 76.)—Thus the Heitsi Eibip of the Hottentots appears to have some relation to the Unkulunkulu of the Kafirs.

Such heaps of stones are common in the South Sea Islands, and are there memorial heaps, as, it appears from the Scripture narrative, was that which Jacob raised ([Gen. xxxi. 45-55](#)); or they may have been raised over graves, as is still the custom among the Bedouins.

"The bearers of the corpse reached the newly dug grave at the head of the procession, and standing over it they slowly lowered the body, still rolled in its rough camel-hair shroud, into it, as the solemn chant suddenly ceased, and the silence which ensued seemed rendered deeper by the contrast. The corpse having been stretched out in its sandy couch, all those nearest the spot, with hands and feet, raked back the loose earth over the grave and closed it up. Ali and the other chieftain with him, each taking up a stone from the ground,

now cast it in turn on the tomb, uttering, 'Allah yerdano,' God have mercy on him! Naif, silent and brooding, approached the spot, and with the same prayer cast his stone likewise over his brother's tomb, adding, 'The duty of revenging thee weighs upon me.'

"All the other members of the tribe present followed their chief's example, and pressed forward to pay their last tribute to the dead, a stone cast on the grave, and a muttered prayer for his peace; [p. 67](#) the multitudes crowding in succession round the spot, or spreading over the plain to find a stone to cast on the tomb in their turn. A high mound of loose stones rose fast over the grave, increasing in size every minute as men, women, and children continued swarming around it in turn, adding stone after stone to the funereal pile." ("Sketches of the Desert and Bedouin Life." *The Churchman's Companion*. No. XII. December, 1867, p. 524.)

Is our ceremony of throwing earth into the grave a relic of this ancient custom?

{ See also the [additional note](#). }

[28](#) This is a very concise and simple explanation of the way in which the First Man came to be confounded with the Creator.

[p. 68](#)

[29](#) That very one,—that is, all that relates to or concerns him.

[30](#) Compare this with [Note 13, p. 59](#).

[p. 69](#)

[31](#) The following is the translation of the hymn alluded to given by Appleyard, *Grammar*, p. 48:—

Thou art the great God—He who is in heaven.
 It is Thou, Thou Shield of Truth.
 It is Thou, Thou Tower of Truth.
 It is Thou, Thou Bush of Truth.
 It is Thou, Thou who sittest in the highest.
 Thou art the Creator of life, Thou madest the regions above.
 The Creator who madest the heavens also.
 The Maker of the stars and the Pleiades.
 The shooting stars declare it unto us.
 The Maker of the blind, of thine own will didst thou make them.
 The Trumpet speaks,—for us it calls.
 Thou art the Hunter who hunts for souls.
 Thou art the Leader who goes before us.
 Thou art the great Mantle which covers us.
 Thou art He whose hands are with wounds.
 Thou art He whose feet are with wounds.
 Thou art He whose blood is a trickling stream—and why?
 Thou art He whose blood was spilled for us.
 For this great price we call
 For thine own place we call.

[p. 70](#)

[32](#) A very common answer received from a native when asked who Unkulunkulu is, is, "Ukoko wetu," Our ancestor. But now, through the course of years, no one regards him as a relative; he is so far removed from all at present living by intervening generations.

p. 71

[33](#) That is, no one can trace up his ancestry to the First Man. Such a notion manifests the utter ignorance of the natives of the lapse of time since man was created.

[34](#) We know that Unkulunkulu was the first man, but if we were to attempt to give the names of his children we could not make up a genealogy, for we are at once lost, and cannot in any way connect him with people who are now left.

p. 74

[35](#) He means to say, that as regards the natives themselves, Unkulunkulu was something so far off that they never thought of him; but that now this old man is being brought forward by others as the object of a reverence which they never rendered to him.

p. 75

[36](#) By this he means, that praying to Unkulunkulu, the first man, would prove just as great a deceit as children's calling to him; for as he could not appear to them, so he cannot hear our prayers, for he is but a man like ourselves, dead and buried long ago.

p. 76

[37](#) The native gives the following explanation of his words here:—

I would say as regards the worship of Unkulunkulu, if we are made to leave our own Onkulunkulu, whom we worship, and are told to worship him whom we left long ago, we shall never assent; for he too is a man—the first, and those which we call our people are men like him; we do not see in what way he can help us; they are all alike.

[38](#) We have already seen how prevalent is the tradition that man and all other things came out of the earth. The natives of these parts confess they do not know where this place is. But among other south African tribes, the tradition is associated with a certain locality. Thus the Basutos and Lighoyas point to a place which they call "Instuana-Tsatsi," which means the East. Arbousset says:—

"This spot is very celebrated amongst the Basutos and the Lighoyas, not only because the *litakus* of the tribes are there, but because of a certain mythos, in which they are told that their ancestors came originally from that place. There is there a cavern surrounded with marsh reeds and mud, whence they believe that they have all proceeded." (*Arbousset. Op. cit.*, p. 198.)

And among the Baperis, "at the base of a small mountain which they call *Mole*, is a deep cavern called *Marimatle*, *fine bloods or pretty races*, because they maintain that men and the other animals came out of it; and not only so, but that the souls return thither after death; an opinion which reminds one of the old pagan doctrine of the infernal regions." (*Id.*, p. 255.)

Campbell also gives us a similar account:—

"With respect to the origin of mankind, the old men had given him no information; but there is a great hole

in the Marootzee country out of which men first came, and their footmarks are still to be [p. 77](#) seen there. One man came out of it long ago, but he went back, and is there yet. Morokey never saw the hole himself, but his uncle, who is dead, had seen it, and saw the footmarks very plain. The cattle also came from the same hole." (*Travels in South Africa. Cambpbell. Vol. I., p. 306.*)

[p. 79](#)

[41](#) There is no doubt that *Itongo* is Spirit; it is the general word employed to express spiritual power, and, I think, ought to be used instead of *umoya*.

[p. 81](#)

[42](#) The metaphor here is borrowed from the peeling off of the skin of a new born child, or the casting off of the skin by a snake, that it might be, as the natives think, more perfect. The white man cast off the skin of imperfection before leaving the source of being. The coloured man came out with the skin of imperfection still adhering to him, and it has not been cast off to this day.

[p. 82](#)

[43](#) Pringle describes Makanna, the great Kafir prophet, as referring his mission to "Uthlanga, the Great Spirit:"—

"By his spirit-rousing eloquence, his pretended revelations from Heaven, and his confident predictions of complete success, provided they would implicitly follow his counsels, he persuaded the great majority of the Amakxosa clans, including some of Hinza's captains, to unite their forces for a simultaneous attack upon Graham's-town, the head-quarters of the British troops. He told them that he was sent by Uthlanga, the Great Spirit, to avenge their wrongs; that he had power to call up from the grave the spirits of their ancestors to assist them in battle against the English, whom they should drive, before they stopped, across the Zwartkops river and into the ocean; 'and then,' said the prophet, 'we will sit down and eat honey!' Ignorant of our vast resources, Makanna probably conceived that, this once effected, the contest was over for ever with the usurping Europeans." (*Narrative of a Residence in South Africa. Pringle, p. 299.*)

It would be interesting to know what were the exact words used by Makanna. Did he really use the words ascribed to him? or has Pringle paraphrased for him? However this may be, it is clear that Pringle had been led by his investigations among the Frontier Kafirs to conclude that their idea of God is to be found in the word Uthlanga.

Shaw also remarks:—

"Before Missionaries and other Europeans had intercourse with the Kaffirs, they seem to have had extremely vague and indistinct notions concerning the existence of God. The older Kaffirs 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." (*Story of My Mission, p. 451.*)

There can be no doubt that whilst Uthlanga is used by some to mean a reed, which is supposed to have given origin to all things; and others speak of Uthlanga as the place from which all things came out, yet the majority give it a personal signification; and in tracing the tradition backwards, we rest at last in Uthlanga as the word which of all others has wrapped up in it the native idea of a Creator.

[44](#) This notion of successive egressions from the centre of creation, which is a new idea among the natives of this country, having arisen from a wish to explain the difference between themselves and us, has its

counterpart among the native tribes of South America:—"They believe that their good deities made the world, and that they first created the Indians in their caves, gave them the lance, the bow and arrows, and the stone-bowls, to fight and hunt with, and then turned them out to shift for themselves. They imagine that the deities [p. 83](#) of the Spaniards did the same by them; but that, instead of lances, bows, etc., they gave them guns and swords. They suppose that when the beasts, birds, and lesser animals were created, those of the more nimble kind came immediately out of their caves; but that the bulls and cows being the last, the Indians were so frightened at the sight of their horns, that they stopped up the entrance of their caves with great stones. This is the reason they give why they had no black cattle in their country till the Spaniards brought them over, who more wisely had let them out of the caves." (*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*. Tylor, p. 313.)

[45](#) In accordance with the answer invariably given by natives when referring to Unkulunkulu, the first man.

[46](#) The native teacher thinks he must here refer to the legend of the ascent of Usenzangakona into heaven. [Note 4, p. 55](#). This is quite possible; and that in the statements which follow he might be referring to supposed creative acts, which he ascribed to that chief. Compare Ukoto's statement, [p. 50](#), with that of Ubapa's mother, [p. 55](#), who sums up her faith with the statement, that "the whitemen are the lords who made all things."

[p. 84](#)

[47](#) Compare what is said, [p. 25](#). The worship of Unkulunkulu consists in rejoicing at what is supposed to be his gift, good or bad, and by casting on him and his ordinance the responsibility of their own evil doing.

[48](#) *Amadumbi*, edible tubers, a kind of arum, which the natives cultivate. *Umthlaza* is also an edible tuber.

[49](#) Or, Lord, or King.

[p. 85](#)

[50](#) This is the only instance I have met with in which even apparently a native has said that prayer is made to Unkulunkulu, the first man. On the contrary, every previous account implies the reverse. I cannot personally enquire of the native who related the above, but there can be little doubt that he was not alluding to Unkulunkulu, the first man; but to the head of the Zulu nation, or of his own family—Onkulunkulu which are admitted on all hands to be objects of worship and of prayer among the other Amatongo. Mr. Shooter, in his work on Natal, says:—

"The tradition of the Great-Great (Unkulunkulu) is not universally known among the people. War, change, and the worship of false deities have gradually darkened their minds and obscured their remembrance of the true God. Captain Gardiner states that the generality of the people were ignorant of it in his time." (*p.* 160.) See [Note 3, p. 54](#). Captain Gardiner doubtless would find "the generality of the people" utterly ignorant of an Unkulunkulu in heaven, except as a part of their faith in such legends as that of the ascent of Usenzangakona. But I have never yet met with any native old or young, of Natal or Zululand, or from any part between Natal and the Cape, who was ignorant of the tradition of an Unkulunkulu who came out of the earth, the first man, who lived, gave laws to his children, and died.

Again, Mr. Shooter says:—

"There is a tribe in Natal which still worships the Great-Great (Unkulunkulu), though the recollection of

him is very dim. When they kill the ox they say, 'Hear, Unkulunkulu, may it be always so.'" This statement also appears to be the result of inaccurate investigation and misapprehension. I never met with a case, neither have I met with any native that has, in which Unkulunkulu is thus addressed. But the Onkulunkulu of houses or tribes are addressed, not by the name Unkulunkulu, but by their proper names, as Udumakade, Uzimase, &c. Instances of this worship of the Onkulunkulu have been already given. When we come to the "AMATONGO" we shall see more clearly what is really the nature of their worship, and that Unkulunkulu, the first man, is of necessity shut out.

p. 86

51 This was the first time I had met with the word Unkulunkulwana ^{p. 87} in my intercourse with the natives. It is a diminutive, and means the lesser or inferior Unkulunkulu. But Captain Gardiner mentions it in the following extract:—

"It is agreed among the Zoolus, that their forefathers believed in the existence of an overruling spirit, whom they called Villenangi [Umvelinqangi] (literally the First Appearer), and who soon after created another heavenly being of great power, called Koolukoolwani, [Unkulunkulwana,] who once visited this earth, in order to publish the news (as they express it), as also to separate the sexes and colours among mankind. Duling the period he was below, two messages were sent to him from Villenangi, the first conveyed by a cameleon, announcing that men were not to die; the second, by a lizard, with a contrary decision. The lizard, having outrun the slow-paced cameleon, arrived first, and delivered his message before the latter made his apperance." (p. 178.)

In an earlier part of his journal, after an interview with Udigane, he says:—

"But what was God, and God's word, and the nature of the instruction I proposed, were subjects which he could not at all comprehend." (p. 31.)

p. 88

53 These three were great chiefs,—amakosi ohlanga,—who left their names as izibongo of their respective tribes.

p. 89

56 *Ukqili*, ikqili made into a proper name. The-wise-one.

It means a man of exceeding knowledge; therefore on account of his wisdom he is not merely called in general terms wise, but by the proper name, "The-wise-one" (or Craftman). The first man is called Ukqili because he made all things.

Just as he is called *Umdali*, the breaker off, because he is supposed to have been the instrumental agent by which all things were broken off or separated from the source or place of being; and *Umenzi*, the maker, because he is supposed to have made all things, so the personal name *Ukqili* is applied to him to denote the wisdom manifested in the act of creation.

p. 90

57 This notion appears to be frequently intimated in the legends of the origin of man,—that not only Unkulunkulu came out of the bed of reeds, but primitive men also (abantu bendulo). Unkulunkulu simply came out first; they followed with cattle, &c. The abantu bendulo therefore were not his offspring, but came out as they were from the same place as Unkulunkulu. An old Ikqwabi, in relating the legend, said that

Unkulunkulu was a great man; he sat in a hole, somewhere near the Umtshezi, a river in Zululand, appearing with his body only above the ground, and thus sitting moulded all things. By this we are to understand that the Amakwabi's traditional centre from which they sprang is on the Umtshezi.

[58](#) By Uthlanga meaning apparently the place from which Unkulunkulu and all other things came.

[59](#) Milisa, lit., caused to grow; but = bumba, enza.

p. 91

[60](#) I had never before met with a native who thus separated Ukulukulu from Unkulunkulu. It is the reduplication of *ukulu* which is never, so far as I know, nasalised; and is equivalent to unkulunkulwana, the diminutive of unkulunkulu. Below we shall find another native making a similar distinction. But the majority of natives deny the correctness of this distinction.

[61](#) By this he means to say that Unkulunkulu no longer exists; that he has died like all others, young and old.

[62](#) *Isitunzi*, shade.—This is, doubtless, a word formerly used for the spirit of man, just as among the Greeks, Romans, &c. And scarcely any thing can more clearly prove the degradation which has fallen on the natives than their not understanding that *isitunzi* meant the spirit, and not merely the shadow cast by the body; for there now exists among them the strange belief that the dead body casts no shadow; and when they say, "Isitunzi si muke," The shade has departed, they do not mean that the soul has left its tenement, but that the body has ceased to cast a shadow.

{ See also the [additional note](#). }

[63](#) He said Uhhadebe was an Ithlubi, that is, one of the tribe of the Amathlubi.

p. 92

[64](#) Compare this with the account given [p. 84](#), which it entirely corroborates; the Unkulunkulu of each tribe is the object of that tribe's veneration and worship. It may be as well also to note that, according to Burton, the Dahomans salute their king by crying, "Grandfather, grandfather."

[65](#) Black cattle are chosen because they wish black clouds, which usually pour down much rain, to cover the heavens.

[66](#) This song consists of musical sounds merely, but imperfectly represented by the above, without any meaning.

p. 93

[67](#) *Ezomzimu*. The cattle of Umzimu, that is, of the Itongo—especially dedicated to the Itongo. Captain Burton mentions a word very much like this, as being used for Ancestral Ghosts,—Muzimos,—among the people to the South-east of Dahome. (*Op. cit. Vol. II., p. 20.*)

p. 94

[68](#) Compare [p. 80](#).

Here we say, "You remained." Black men frequently say this; when they see white men perfect

in wisdom, they say they remained with the great Itongo, but we did not remain, but came out and went away without any thing. We say, at our creation together with you, you remained behind and perfected wisdom; we went out as though we should find it where we were going.

[69](#) *Isanda selizwe*.—*Isanda* is breadth which supports something upon it. Thus a table, bed, or sofa may be called an *isanda*. But here it means not only breadth supporting; but *the power underneath*, from which the support comes. The following was given as an explanation:—

The up-bearer of the earth is said to be the Lord, for there is no place where he is not; he is every where; he is therefore called the up-bearer of the earth. Just as there are many up-bearers of corn; the corn is put upon the up-bearer that it may not rot by lying on [p. 95](#) the ground, but lie on a high place. For the same reason the native hut also has made for it an up-bearer of rods, that the roof may rest upon it, and be held up and not fall.

In like manner, then, it is said the Lord is the up-bearer of the world, for the world is upheld by him.

When he says you remained with the great Itongo, he means the Lord; for among black men, when they say, "The Itongo looks on a man," they do not mean that the Itongo is a certain man; for the word Itongo is not used of a dead man only. We see it has two meanings, for the ancients said, "There is a great Itongo." And now we continually hear about that Lord which is mentioned to us. Black men say, "Great Itongo of my father!" And another asks, "Do you mean the ancestral spirit?" He replies, "No, I mean the great Itongo which is in heaven." So then the Itongo is made a great person.

[p. 97](#)

[70](#) Or, Unsondo, see [p. 13](#).

[71](#) *Umdali* is the same as *Umdabuli*, from *ukudala*, the same as *ukudabula*. The creator, in the sense understood by the natives. (See [Note 3, p. 1](#).)

[p. 99](#)

[72](#) Here we have a native distinctly stating that the founder of his tribe was the first man,—that is, he confounds the first Unkulunkulu with the founder of his own tribe, who, he asserts was the creator of all things, in the native sense of creation. Let the reader consider how easy it is entirely to mistake the meaning of such statements. And how unmistakably it proves that the natives believe that the Unkulunkulu of all men was himself a man.

[73](#) Comp. Umdabuko, [p. 50, Note 95](#).

[74](#) *Uthlabati*, that is, Earth-man, as Adam means "earthy" or "red earth."

Zulu people

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

The **Zulu** (Zulu: *amaZulu*) are a Bantu ethnic group of Southern Africa and the largest ethnic group in South Africa, with an estimated 10–11 million people living mainly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Small numbers also live in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. Their language, Zulu, is a Bantu language; more specifically, part of the Nguni subgroup. They remain today the most numerous ethnic group in South Africa.

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Zulu People



Total population

10,659,309 (2001 census)^[1]

Regions with significant populations

 South Africa

KwaZulu-Natal	7.6 million ^[1]
Gauteng	1.9 million ^[1]
Mpumalanga	0.8 million ^[1]
Free State	0.14 million ^[1]

Languages

Zulu

(many also speak English, Portuguese, Afrikaans and Xhosa)

Religion

Christian, African traditional religion

Related ethnic groups

Nguni, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele, other Bantu peoples

Person	umZulu
People	amaZulu
Language	isiZulu
Country	kwaZulu

Origins

The Zulu were originally a major clan in what is today Northern KwaZulu-Natal, founded ca. 1709 by Zulu kaNtombela. In the Nguni languages, *iZulu/iliZulu/liTulu* means *heaven*, or *sky*.^[2] At that time, the area was occupied by many large Nguni communities and clans (also called *isizwe*=nation, people or *isibongo*=clan).

Nguni communities had migrated down Africa's east coast over centuries, as part of the Bantu migrations probably arriving in what is now South Africa in about the 9th century.

Kingdom

The Zulu formed a powerful state in 1818^[3] under the leader Shaka. Shaka, as the Zulu King, gained a large amount of power over the tribe. As commander in the army of the powerful Mthethwa Empire, he became leader of his mentor Dingiswayo's paramourcy and united what was once a confederation of tribes into an imposing empire under Zulu hegemony.

Conflict with the British

On 11 December 1878, agents of the British delivered an ultimatum to 11 chiefs representing Cetshwayo. The terms forced upon Cetshwayo required him to disband his army and accept British authority. Cetshwayo refused, and war followed at the start of 1879. During the war, the Zulus defeated the British at the Battle of Isandlwana on 22 January. The British managed to get the upper hand after the battle at Rorke's Drift, and subsequently win the war with the Zulu being defeated at the Battle of Ulundi on July the 4th.

Absorption into Natal

After Cetshwayo's capture a month following his defeat, the British divided the Zulu Empire into 13 "kinglets". The sub-kingdoms fought amongst each other until 1883 when Cetshwayo was reinstated as king over Zululand. This still did not stop the fighting and the Zulu monarch was forced to flee his realm by Zibhebhu, one of the 13 kinglets, supported by Boer mercenaries. Cetshwayo died in February 1884, killed by Zibhebhu's regime, leaving his son, the 15 year-old Dinuzulu, to inherit the throne. In-fighting between the Zulu continued for years, until Zululand was absorbed fully into the British colony of Natal.

Apartheid years

KwaZulu homeland

Under apartheid, the homeland of KwaZulu (*Kwa* meaning *place of*) was created for Zulu people. In 1970, the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act provided that all Zulus would become citizens of KwaZulu, losing their South African citizenship. KwaZulu consisted of a large number of disconnected pieces of land, in what is now KwaZulu-Natal. Hundreds of thousands of Zulu people living on privately owned "black spots" outside of KwaZulu were dispossessed and forcibly moved to bantustans – worse land previously reserved for whites contiguous to existing areas of KwaZulu – in the name of "consolidation." By 1993, approximately 5.2 million Zulu people lived in KwaZulu, and approximately 2 million lived in the rest of South Africa. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, from its creation in 1970 (as Zululand) was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. In 1994, KwaZulu was joined with the province of Natal, to form modern KwaZulu-Natal.



Shaka, king of the Zulu.
After a sketch by Lt. James King, a Port Natal merchant



Zulu warriors, late nineteenth century
(Europeans in background)



Zulu man performing traditional warrior dance

Inkatha YeSizwe

Inkatha YeSizwe means "the crown of the nation". In 1975, Buthelezi revived the Inkatha YaKwaZulu, predecessor of the Inkatha Freedom Party. This organization was nominally a protest movement against apartheid, but held more conservative views than the ANC. For example, Inkatha was opposed to the armed struggle, and to sanctions against South Africa. Inkatha was initially on good terms with the ANC, but the two organizations came into increasing conflict beginning in 1976 in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising.

Modern Zulu population

The modern Zulu population is fairly evenly distributed in both urban and rural areas. Although KwaZulu-Natal is still their heartland, large numbers have been attracted to the relative economic prosperity of Gauteng province. Indeed, Zulu is the most widely spoken home language in the province, followed by Sotho.

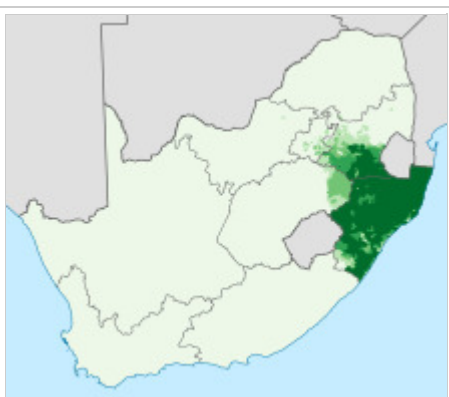
Zulu is also spoken in many rural and small-town areas of the Mpumalanga province, in addition to other parts of Southern Africa. There are Zulus in Zambia known as Abangoni, Mozambique known as Xigubo, and in Zimbabwe known as Amandebele.

Zulus also play an important part in South African cultural, political, academic and economic space. The African National Congress (Pixley KaIsaka Seme) and Inkatha Freedom Party (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) were both established by the Zulus. Pixley KaIsaka Seme's philosophy was to form a non-tribal political movement that would fight for the freedom of black people, whereas the Inkatha Freedom Party was initially a Zulu cultural movement but later became a political party.



Zulu mother and child

Language



Map of South Africa showing the primary Zulu language speech area in green

The language of the Zulu people is "isiZulu", a Bantu language; more specifically, part of the Nguni subgroup. Zulu is the most widely spoken language in South Africa, where it is an official language. More than half of the South African population are able to understand it, with over 9 million first-language and over 15 million second-language speakers.^[4] Many Zulu people also speak Afrikaans, English, Portuguese, Xitsonga, Sesotho and others from among South Africa's 11 official languages.

Clothing

Zulus wear a variety of attire, both traditional for ceremonial or culturally celebratory occasions, and modern westernized clothing for everyday use.

The women dress differently depending on whether they are single, engaged, or married. An unmarried woman who is still eligible is proud of her body and is not ashamed of showing it. She only wears a short skirt made of grass or beaded cotton strings and spruces herself up with lots of beadwork. An engaged woman will let her traditionally short hair grow. She will cover her bosom with a decorative cloth which is done out of respect for her future relatives and to indicate that she has been spoken for. The married woman covers her body completely signalling to other men that she is taken.

Religion and beliefs



Zulu village women in traditional clothing.



Zulu worshippers at a United African Apostolic Church, near Oribi Gorge

Most Zulu people state their beliefs to be Christian. Some of the most common churches to which they belong are African Initiated Churches, especially the Zion Christian Church and United African Apostolic Church, although membership of major European Churches, such as the Dutch Reformed, Anglican and Catholic Churches is also common. Nevertheless, many



Interior space of a traditional beehive hut, or *iQhugwane*

Zulus retain their traditional pre-Christian belief system of ancestor worship in parallel with their Christianity.

Zulu religion includes belief in a creator God (*Unkulunkulu*) who is above interacting in day-to-day human affairs, although this belief appears to have originated from efforts by early Christian missionaries to frame the idea of the Christian God in Zulu terms.^[5] Traditionally, the more strongly held Zulu belief was in ancestor spirits (*Amatongo* or *Amadhlozi*), who had the power to intervene in people's lives, for good or ill.^[6] This belief continues to be widespread among the modern Zulu population.^[7]

Traditionally, the Zulu recognize several elements to be present in a human being: the physical body (*inyamalumzimba* or *umzimba*); the breath or life force (*umoyalumphfumulo* or *umoya*); and the "shadow," prestige, or personality (*isithunzi*). Once the *umoya* leaves the body, the *isithunzi* may live on as an ancestral spirit (*idlozi*) only if certain conditions were met in life.^{[8][9]} Behaving with ubuntu, or showing respect and generosity towards others, enhances one's moral standing or prestige in the community, one's *isithunzi*.^[10] By contrast, acting in a negative way towards others can reduce the *isithunzi*, and it is possible for the *isithunzi* to fade away completely.^[11]

In order to appeal to the spirit world, a diviner (*sangoma*) must invoke the ancestors through divination processes to determine the problem. Then, a herbalist (*inyanga*) prepares a mixture (*muthi*) to be consumed in order to influence the ancestors. As such, diviners and herbalists play an important part in the daily lives of the Zulu people. However, a distinction is made between white *muthi* (*umuthi omhlope*), which has positive effects, such as healing or the prevention or reversal of misfortune, and black *muthi* (*umuthi omnyama*), which can bring illness or death to others, or ill-gotten wealth to the user.^[7] Users of black *muthi* are considered witches, and shunned by society.

Christianity had difficulty gaining a foothold among the Zulu people, and when it did it was in a syncretic fashion. Isaiah Shembe, considered the Zulu Messiah, presented a form of Christianity (the Nazareth Baptist Church) which incorporated traditional customs.^[12]

Notable Zulus

Politicians and activists

- Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma - Chairperson, African Union Commission
- Credo Mutwa - Spiritual leader of the Zulu people.
- Pixley ka Isaka Seme - Founder of African National Congress and the first black lawyer in South Africa.
- Jacob Zuma - President of the Republic of South Africa.
- Chief Albert Luthuli - President of the African National Congress and first South African Nobel Peace laureate.
- King Shaka ka Senzangakhona - Founder of the Zulu Nation
- Princess Constance Magogo Sibilile Mantithi Ngangezinye kaDinuzulu - Artist and Zulu Princess
- John Langalibalele Dube - first President of the African National Congress, founder of Ohlange Institute, Educator.
- Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party President
- Ben Ngubane, Former SABC Chairperson
- Jeff Radebe, Minister of Justice
- Blade Nzimande, Minister of Higher Education
- Malusi Gigaba, Minister of Public Enterprises
- Nathi Mthethwa, Minister of police
- Sibusiso Ndebele, Minister of Correctional services

Business and professional figures

- Bongani Khumalo, Bidani CEO
- Phuthuma Nhleko, Former MTN CEO

Academics

- Professor Njabulo Ndebele, Former University of Cape Town Vice Chancellor & Writer.

Sport figures

- Doctor Khumalo, Soccer player
- Lucas Radebe, Soccer player



Zulu sangomas (diviners)

- Samkelo Radebe, Paralympic runner and gold medal winner
- Bongani Khumalo, Soccer player
- Siphilwe Tshabalala, Soccer player

See also

- Gumboot dance
- Inkatha Freedom Party
- List of Zulu kings
- List of Zulus
- Nguni
- Shaka Zulu
- Zulu language

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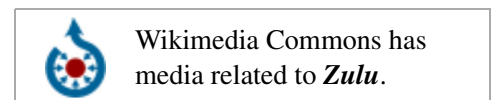
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External links

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- People of Africa, Zulu marriage explained (<http://www.africanholocaust.net/peopleofafrica.htm#z>), africanholocaust.net
- Izithakazelo (<http://www.wakahina.co.za/>), wakahina.co.za

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