

MELAPI KA MAGAYE

27.4.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 66, pp. 18-24.

Also present: Dinya, Njilo.

- 18 Melapi arrives with Dinya and Njilo (Melapi's eldest son). Melapi, Dinya and Njilo present.
 Magaye ka Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli ka Langa ka Sodi ka Ncumela (Nqumela) ka Maganga ka Ndosi ka Lugogo ka Cele ka Nyambose: these are our chiefs in proper order as well as I can give it.¹ [See order given by Melapi and Dinya 2.5.1905.]
*The Great Imkulutshane regiment - the composite one (inhlanganiso) where many sections were collected and called in this way. I am of the Izikulutshane - they were incorporated (telwa'd) into the Great Imkulutshane.*²
*I was taken in (tolwa'd) under Sotobe ka Mpangalala after the killing of my father by Dingana, i.e. subsequently to Tshaka's death.*³
 I saw Tshaka when he visited Emdhlazi to see his 'younger brother'
- 19 (*umnawe*), my father.⁴ He was with the Dibinhlangu (still *unmarried - izinsizwa*) and Gibabanye (still *unmarried - izinsizwa*) regiments. We peeped out at him through the hut-coverings while dancing was taking place. T. himself danced. He sang:⁵
*'The kraal of Nzala ka Mangqatshi
 Will no more be mentioned,
 Ask among the Nsomi people.'*
 After this he sang:
*'Kukuluku, the cock crowed,
 Who placed it there?
 Vutani and Gubetuka praised him,
 The husband enters,
 You must carry imincwazi berries,
 I am not a goat to be made terrified in the kraals,
 I am not a gate-keeper such as is selected by kraal-owners' (the owner of the kraal chooses the gatekeeper),
 'I am a great warrior there in the Zulu country,
 I am foremost in the place of headrings' (there where affairs are discussed).*
- 20 Tshaka made up songs for himself. He was dark-brown (*nsundu*) in colour. His buttocks looked as if they were drawn in. That is, his buttocks were small. He wore a bunch of lousy feathers. I did not see him close so I cannot describe his face. He was not tall; he was of medium size (*isidhlodhlo*).

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I do not know if I saw him before or after Nandi's death. I saw people going to the mourning for Nandi and heard the affairs respecting it.⁶

Dingana is the one who made the iziMpohlo; he put regiments together.⁷

When T. built Dukuza he said to my father he was to make up songs and that they would hold dances together.⁸ My father did so. Those given above are Tshaka's.

My father's songs for singing when dancing was going on (these are what my father made up):⁹

- 21 *'With what nations are you going to make war?
The elephant took what belonged to it,
You people refused it.
It had been challenged by Matiwane,
How great is Matiwane who challenges the elephant?
How big is your assegai, Matiwane?
For we took that of the Ndwandwe,
Broke it in pieces, and drove it into the ground.'*

My father was a great favourite with Tshaka.

Europeans' arrival. They came from the Isibubulungu.¹⁰ Matubane was at the Isibubulungu.¹¹ He said that their arrival should be reported to the chiefs. A report was sent to Magaye. To report to Magaye was as good as to report to Tshaka. M. referred the matter to T. He sent Lucunge, his induna of Mdhlaazi. He said to T., 'Nkosi, I have come to report that some people have arrived as if sprung from the earth.'¹²

- 22 *But I cannot tell you more; their speech is not understandable.'*

'Go, then, Lucunge,' said T., 'and fetch them. Say to my brother (ummawe) to fetch them. Bring them to me so that I may see them.'

- 23 *Magaye then fetched the Europeans and took them to Tshaka, who was at Bulawayo.¹³ They reached T. T. walked round them, looking at and surveying them. He was astonished at their colour. He then went and stood by Magaye. He said, 'My brother, you are clever indeed, for you have shown me these people. See them; though we are chiefs we are beneath their feet. Go, Magaye; take back these people of yours to the place from which they came, at the Isibubulungu,' which place belonged to T. and Magaye. M. took back the Europeans, and they stayed. There were other visits to T. They went via Magaye and so became regular subjects of Tshaka's.*

Their interpreter, Nhlamba, was an iXoza.¹⁴ I know Nhlamba well. He interpreted for Tshaka and Magaye. Nhlamba was tall. People soon saw he was a black man (umuntu), not a white man (umlungu).

At first, when they travelled in sailing ships, they were called abelumbi because of the things they made.¹⁵

- 24 *Some time went by, with the Europeans (there). (Tshaka) then said, 'Go, Sotobe, and observe the place where these people came from.'* Sotobe was put into a ship and crossed the sea. I saw Sotobe return from the Cape; he was on foot and accompanied by one wife. I know nothing of Mbozamboza.¹⁶

I never saw Febana ka Mjogi but heard about him.¹⁷ We people of the isilungu country used to make oath, 'By Febana.'¹⁸ We swore by him - also others - after coming out of the bushes. Refugees from Zululand swore by Febana on reaching Natal.

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I know Mbuyazi well. I am at present living among the izinkumbi - with *the people of Charlie Fynn*.¹⁹ I knew Wohlo well.²⁰ I never saw Venganya or Pobana. Venganya is a younger brother of Mbuyazi, I fancy.²¹ I have heard of Mis Aisis (Isaacs), but do not know the name Dambuza.²² I never saw Isaacs. I never lived at the *esilungwini* - I lived in the Zulu country. I was taken on the death of my father by Manqaba, my 'brother', son of Mande, to Zululand. Manqaba returned from the Zulu country.

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File 62, nbk. 67, pp. 1-4.

Also present: Dinya? Njilo?

1 Melapi ka Magaye continues.

When Manqaba took us to Zululand he was shortly afterwards killed. My brother Mkonto was also killed. Mkonto (was instated by Dingana) to look after our *umuzi* in Natal. D., in addition to killing Magaye, killed Mkonto after nominating him to take charge of the tribe. After this our people scattered and came under other chiefs.

Manqaba took me to Sotobe who lived at Kwa Hlomendhlini.²³ Zulu ka Nogandaya made an accusation against him but Dingana did not kill Sotobe.²⁴ He had charged him with thieving *Cele* cattle.

Hlomendhlini was so named because of Tshaka having been stabbed - *hloma'd endhlini*.²⁵

2 Dingana sent word to the Balule *impi*, whilst it was still on the way, to say Tshaka had been killed.²⁶

After killing T., Dingana looked and saw his brothers, and thought the same artifice he had adopted towards Tshaka, i.e. conspiring and assassinating him, would be followed by (them). Consequently he then killed the lot off.

We Celes are descendants of the Mtetwa tribe.

Mkokeleli built at oNgoye.²⁷ Langa lived at the Mhlatuze - downstream. We are said to be 'the great stem (*uhlanga*) from the Mhlatuze'. Mkokeleli left and settled at oNgoye. I do not know if M. had quarrelled with the Mtetwa. It is natural for members of a family to go and build in different places. I hear nothing of quarrels when the *Cele* people separated off.

3 I know Dibandhlela's grave is up the Mhlali river. I do not know of Mkokeleli's in Natal. Mkokeleli may be the one who crossed into Natal.

At Dukuza Tshaka built on an old site of Dibandhlela's. I do not know its name.

Magaye was born in the uNikela kraal. His mother was Siwetu, daughter of Kondhlo.²⁸

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

Today is the first time Melapi has ever been in a train.

4 Dinya (after Melapi goes out) says: Melapi's mother was a girl of the *Ticaka* (*isibongo* of a section of the *Cele* tribe). She was the great wife at the *eSokeni* kraal (Magaye's).

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The following are Melapi's brothers: Gongoloza, Gongwane - both of these are of *Melapi's house*. Melapi has, I believe, three kraals. Gongwane is still living, under Mtshwetshwe across the Mzimkulu - my age.²⁹

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File 62, nbk. 67, pp. 4-24.

Also present: Maziyana, Dinya, Njilo

Present Melapi, Maziyana, Dinya, and Melapi's eldest son Njilo.

I only saw Tshaka once. An *umjadu dance* was going on at my father's kraal. He carried no *war-shield* for he had come (for) an *umjadu dance*. Shields are only carried in war-time. The regiments had *decorated themselves* with the *umkoka plant* and the *isundu palm* - about the head and some about the knees. The men so *dressed* stood round in *semi-circle* fashion whilst others, also belonging to Tshaka, danced in the centre. These I noticed had no *umkoka* or *isundu leaves* but they had *strings of calf-skin round the limbs*. They also had girdles (*imitsha, umahlanyana*).



Assegais were not carried.

Magaye *danced* first - he must do so in order to *tshaya*, that is, prepare the ground for the king. Magaye's had *put on their imitsha*. His regiments were the uSoka, uRodi, ukuMangala, also the Mdhrazi (his main kraal). The *izinduna* of Mdhrazi were Lucunge ka Nodinga of the *Sitole people*, also Nhlasiyana ka Nomunga ka Mkokeleli. Lucunge is the person who went to *report on the arrival of the white people to Tshaka*. The Sitole people are a section of the Cele tribe.

The *dancing took place on a flat* near Mdhrazi kraal, about half a mile off. This was Magaye's great kraal. The *Mdhrazi kraal was built near the oNikela kraal, the place of Magaye's people* - was built on the *other side of the Mhlali river* - both of them.³⁰ The *Emfeni kraal of Mande* was not far off. The road from Natal *passed between the two sites*. The sites are on *this side of the Tete river and of the Mandelu* - a flat. The kraals were on the *eNtshisane flat* near the Tete. People washed in the Tete - it enters the sea itself.

Stamping feet - causing the ground to thunder; then shout, '*Tshwe!*' and say, '*He is called to Faku in the Mpondo country.*'

We Celes meet in Madango, the Mtetwa chief.³¹ There is a strong tradition in our tribe that we descended from Madango. I cannot understand how Madango is missing from our line of chiefs.

Baca is of the *eNgwazini kraal*. Lugcolo was father of Mayikane. Baca had a son, Mbaleki. Lugcolo was *fathered* by Zwana ka Mkokeleli. Vanywayo was *fathered* by Zwana; so also was Ntanjana.³²

Dibandhlela's *own kraal was emaSwazini*. When we made oath we said, '*Dibandhlela of emaSwazini!*' EmaSwazini was Mkokeleli's kraal. I do not know its kraal site.

When our (Cele) children are *hushed, they are told, 'Hush, Ndos; hush, Lugogo; you of Langa.*'³³

We are not *amaNtungwa*.³⁴ Our dialect is the Mtetwa. We say *inkonane* for *inkonyane*.³⁵ Dibandhlela was the son of Masivuba, daughter of

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Sivuba, the chief of the amaZuba section of the Tuli tribe. This alliance was what caused our tongue to alter.

We are Mtetwas. I do not know where we originally came from. We are *uMzansi*.³⁶ We are not *abeNguni*.³⁷ The amaXozas are *abeNguni*.

It is said that Mkokeleli *defeated* the amaMbili at oNgoye. We are *'the great stem from the Mhlatuze'*.

8 Mtshebwe lives with Mtshwetshwe across the Mzimkulu; Mbonisa (Gongwane) is with Mtshwetshwe - Mbonisa is *of the junior house of our people*, says Melapi; Zweekufa is *with Zibula in the Mpondo country*; Sikunyana lives with Mabojana at Ntumbankulu on the north side of the Mzimkulu; Melapi - these are the only sons of Magaye still living. I am the eldest of these. Zweekufa and Mtshebwe are the youngest. These *follow in age after Dinya*, who is of the *iziNgulube* regiment.

Mkokeleli had no regular regiments.

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Ketwayo ka Sozwela ka Mkokeleli is the chief at emaSwazini. People *make oath by Dibandhlela of amaSwazi*.

Emkitini was the *umuzi of Mkokeleli*. Nzaza ka Mkokeleli was *of the isizinda section*.³⁸ Nzaza is *the younger brother (umnase) of Sozwela*. Ketwayo's son was Mgqibelo.

9 Nzaza and Sozwela *quarrelled*. Nzaza wanted to leave emaSwazini and build his own kraal. Sozwela objected to this. He wanted Nzaza to remain under him in emaSwazini. Sozwela refused to give them up (cattle). The Cele questioned his right to appropriate the cattle to his own use. They thought he was, whereupon Sozwela took the cattle and gave them over to Dibandhlela to prevent its being said that he was robbing Nzaza. No fighting took place. Sozwela merely seized the cattle and gave them to Dibandhlela. Ketwayo ka Sozwela told me this.

Manyonyo ka Mqonjwana ka Mkokeleli - Manyonyo belongs to the Mkitini kraal.

Zwane *went off with the eNgwazini*, Mkokeleli's kraal, he being *a younger brother of Dibandhlela*. The *rib-meat (insonyama) was given over to Zwane by his younger brothers*.³⁹

Zwane *fathered* Lugcolo, and Lugcolo *fathered* Mayikane.

10 Mkokeleli had the eZaleni kraal. Nomunga ka Mkokeleli was chief of this kraal. Nomunga *fathered* Nhlasiyana who was Magaye's Mdhlazi *induna*. Nhlasiyana *fathered* Badhlu and Gebuza.

Sinqanda ka Mkokeleli belonged to the Emkitini of Nzaza.

The Cele tribe used to *practise circumcision* formerly. Mkokeleli *was circumcised*. This custom was discontinued because it was said people would not be able to fight. Magaye did not *become circumcised*.

The *use of the salutation 'Bayete!'* went on in our tribe before Tshaka's reign.⁴⁰

Bayete is an isitakazelo of the Cele people, as when people say, 'Bayete, Cele!'

Tshaka was *saluted*, says Dinya, *'Bayete! Ngoba Zita!'* because he had *overcome (goba'd) all his enemies (izita)*.

11 Maziyanana says: In the Tuli tribe we *salute* by saying to our chiefs simply, *'Nkosi'*.

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Magaye was always saluted by saying 'Bayete!'

The dispute among our people was between the Emfeni and oNikela kraals. The Emfe chief was Mande, the eldest son of the chief; the Nikela chief was Magaye. The cause of the quarrel was because Mande had not been designated heir by his father. His father had designated Magaye. Mande made out that he was the chief. Dibandhlela would not allow Mande to be chief.

Maziyana says that Emfeni was Dibandhlela's great kraal. Nikela separated off from there. Dinya agrees.

12 Melapi says: Mande was most anxious that Dibandhlela should leave and go to the Emfeni kraal and rule with him there. He took hold of D.'s arm and tried to pull him along, but D. strongly resisted and fell down. Upon this he swore by his sister Nonqina ka Mkokeleli that he would pit him against a young, poking bull.

Maziyana says: D. assembled all the Cele in order to tell them that as yet there was no chief, for Magaye was still a child. He had been taken away to the people of his mother's brother (Pakatwayo), to grow up there.⁴¹ Mande answered, 'Is there a people as large as ours that has no chief?' The fighting thereupon began. Mande succeeded eventually in defeating D. He then ruled and nothing more was said until Magaye was brought from the Qwabe, when the quarrel began afresh.

13 Melapi says Magaye returned from the Qwabe with three cattle and two sheep, and passed by the Emfeni umuzi. Mande was seated in the shade at the gate. He went off to sleep indoors prior to Magaye's arrival. The assembly remained seated. Magaye came to the assembly at the gate. They looked and looked at him and then remarked, 'How handsome is our brother!' Mande was still inside, it being a hot afternoon.

Magaye had been advised to go into the country secretly, but he took the bull by the horns and went straight to Emfeni. He took up a stand in the shade in which Mande himself usually sat.

When Mande got up it was reported to him that Magaye had passed by. He said, 'But why did not you bring him to me?' They replied that they could not do so as he, Magaye, had a cold (*umkuhlane*).

14 Magaye came to his father at eNyenyezini.

After D. had been defeated by Mande, and after all the people had deserted and gone to Mande, he said, 'Oh! I now give you the umuzi; it is yours!' D. thereupon left oNikela and built the eNyenyezini kraal, and it was there that Magaye found his father. D. said to the Celes, 'Here he is, then. Your chief has come. The people of Emfeni will have to take the chiefship by force; if they defeat you they will take it from you.'

When he had been made chief Magaye left and went into the bushes to be in readiness for action. Mande, finding he had been made chief, proceeded to attack him.

15 Magaye, says Dinya, ran away to the bushes in order to get an opportunity of seeing what forces he had. He found he had the men of three assemblies (*amabandhla*): a. Mgwazi, b. uLwasi (of Mpolazi ka Dibandhlela), c. uNikela. Fighting began. Magaye was driven back. Diba-

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ndhlela now called for two chiefs who had gone over to the Emfeni section. He called for the Nkungu of Jokazi ka Dibandhlela; he called for the amaBola of Mziboneli ka Dibandhlela. D. sent to Mziboneli and Jokazi to come to him, he then being at eNyenyezini. They arrived. 'Mziboneli,' said D, 'what did I say to you? Did I not say you are the father of Magaye? What do you mean by leaving the umuzi of your people, uNikela, and joining your age-mates? And you, Jokazi, you of my large kraal Nkungu, I gave Magaye over to you. What is the meaning of your conduct?' They, hearing this, hlonipa'd their father and returned.

16 My fathers cut sticks and sharpened them, making assegais of them, whilst herding cattle at oNikela, Lwasini and Ngwazini. When Magaye's side was got the better of, my father and the others went in, (these) still being boys, and drove them out. Magaye asked, 'Where is that assembly (bandhla) that drove them out?' He was told that they were boys of the Isokamlilo - they were grown up. The boys went and seized the cattle of the iziGqi and the oCayisweni imizi of Mande, and came back with them. Magaye then called for young steers, and presented them to the boys, who went off and built their own kraal, eSokeni. The chief wife there was Masongcase, a girl of the Ticaka people - Melapi's mother.

17 After this, Mziboneli and Jokazi returned to Magaye and the quarrel grew. It carried on for some years, and eventually Mande's party was overcome. Mande then retired to eNyangane - up the Mvoti. When Tshaka arrived, the fighting was still going on.

Tshaka sent a man to go to the chiefs across the Tukela and say, 'Tshaka is coming.' He began at Emfeni; he reported Tshaka's word to Mande. Mande said, 'Weu! He comes to us here? The umNtungwa who wears the tongwane fruit as a penis-cover?' The messenger then travelled westward and went to the various chiefs in Natal. He came to Nzala,

18 chief of the amaNdhlovu. When he left Nzala he came to Magaye. Magaye asked (what) the chiefs across the river were doing, seeing T. was coming across. Magaye asked what had occurred in regard to the Qwabe where he had been staying. The messenger said that Pakatwayo had been captured by T. and that his followers had offered no resistance at all. They had thrown not even a stick. Upon hearing this Magaye said, 'Take a beast and give it to Tshaka's man here, that he may eat.' The messenger returned home, Magaye being the last man he had visited. Magaye had given him food. He went back to T. I do not know the man's name.

19 T. asked his messenger what the various chiefs had given him to eat. 'Here I got boiled grain (izinkobe); there, pumpkins. Where I got wild vegetables (imifino) was at Dibandhlela's son's (Magaye's), who gave me a beast.' T. said, 'There, then, is one who is of our people, one who saw that you came from a chief.' He then gave praise. He reported what Mande had said. Mande, on being spoken to by the messenger, struck the ground with the stick of his assegai and made the statement above.

Tshaka then assembled the Zulu because Mande had insulted him. This was the year when the country this side of the river (Natal) was going to be destroyed. Tshaka crossed over at the time of the new moon. He then attacked. He crossed the Tukela with his forces. He camped between the Mhlali and Tukela. He then sent the same messenger to Magaye to say, 'Tshaka says you are to cook for him.' The messenger delivered the message. Magaye asked some of the old men of Mkokeleli's what was the

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proper thing to do. They said, *'Why do you ask? Do as he says.'* Magaye then took a lot of cattle off to T. and *cooked for him with them. They came to him.* Men of the Cele tribe were sent with the messenger and cattle to T. They returned and said he *gave praise 'for your cooking for him'*.

- After a while Tshaka's troops seized a beast belonging to the Makanya section. *He was provoking them, to see if they would take*
- 21 *action.* The Makanya people however refrained from taking action. The messenger returned to Magaye once again to say, *'Tshaka says that you are to show him the boundaries of your territory.'* The Celes could not understand that Tshaka's meaning was that he should be told where Magaye's territory began and that of Mande at Emfeni ended. The messenger then said that Magaye's people were to *gather bundles of wood* and put them at the mouth of the Mhlali, and *to the west.* *'When the sun goes down, make fires with them. All of you are to make fires so he (T.) can see where the boundaries are.'* They *did so.* T. *sent out his impi.* The Emfeni cattle ran away. They *were taken to the coast.*
- 22 They brought them *to the mouth of the river.* They could not understand how the *impi* came to be at the Tukela and at the Mhlali - seeing by the fires. The cattle returned from *the coast and went along the Umvoti.* Mande then *went off with them.* T. said, *'Now it is all right.'* T.'s troops attacked Mande and chased him north. This attack all arose out of the insult. Mande then went off to Nzala *among the emaNdhlovini people.* Tshaka *attacked both, surrounding them.* T. gave orders for his troops not to go beyond Nzala, and not to *go along the coast,* as Magaye's people might get hurt in the absence of the troops. They must turn back by the way they had come down. Mande was defeated *at Nzala's*
- 23 *place.* He, Mande, returned to the Tete stream [from Pondoland?], to his kraal sites. His women and children had *hidden,* and now returned to their homes. Finding he had returned, T. then directed his Iziyendane (regiment) to go and kill him. He was then killed. *The people of Mande's household then returned to Magaye.*

- After T. had *destroyed the nations* he summoned Magaye. T. had captured many cattle. M. came. T. held festivities. The old messenger M. had killed a beast for said to M. that he was not in any way to be concerned but to *be at ease.* *'Among the peoples here,'* said Tshaka, *'a fire will burn at two doors - among our people (the place of Nandi), and among your people (the place of Siwetu).'⁴² Both will be ours, so that when the fire of our people's place goes out, it will be made at*
- 24 *Siwetu's place, and when the fire goes out at your people's place, it will be lit at Nandi's place.'*

The word *'Bayete'* probably arose from the Mtetwa. Melapi says Magaye was accosted with it, and it is quite possible that the Celes, who are closely related to the Mtetwas, got it from them. It sounds very like a *tefula* word. Compare the combination *'Bayete! Ngoba Zita!'*, said by Dinya to have been addressed to Tshaka, where *'Bayete'* may well mean *'Ba lete'* - i.e. *izita.*⁴³

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File 62, nbk. 67, p. 24.

Also present: Dinya, Maziyana, Njilo?

I think, says Melapi, Masivuba - Mkokeleli's wife and Dibandhlela's mother - was *lobola'd*. *Lobolaing* was of course done in those days. Maziyana also thinks *lobola* passed - and many cattle.

I was *born before Tshaka had become known among our people*. I distinctly remember people running away when he fought south of the Tukela.

29.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 68, pp. 1-15.

Also present: Dinya, Maziyana, Njilo?

1 When they said, '*Ngqwaba, ngqwaba, go away!*' etc., the horse would be ridden off a short distance from a kraal and then back.⁴⁴ The rider 'played' the horse.

Dinya thinks there was clapping of hands as these (words) were said in order to frighten the animal.

The horse danced, says Melapi. It went backwards and forwards, and it was whilst that was being done that the people clapped their hands and spoke as stated.

2 The man who stabbed Tshaka was *trembling*.⁴⁵ The assegai did not penetrate. T. took out the assegai. Next day T. asked where this had come from. The Zulus said, this is a Qwabe assegai. They saw it by the *butt end*, the way of *carving* it. T. asked how the Qwabes had come to pass by the Zulus with this assegai. What were they doing? 'As you say it is a Qwabe assegai, *you will now go and do what needs to be done.*' An *impi* then went and killed the Qwabe and *filled a donga* with them. They were put into a donga when killed. That is where they were killed, namely in a *gully*. I was a young lad at this time and heard men speaking of the incident at the time.

Dukuza was built after the conquest of Natal, after establishing friendly relations with Magaye, and after the assegai incident.

During the *Izwekufa* we ran off into the bushes.⁴⁶ *While we were there, people pointed us out, saying, 'There are Zulu!'*

3 Tshaka attacked the Qwabe on this side of the river after killing *Pakatwayo*. The Qwabes ate our *gourds*. My father sent and reported the fact to Tshaka. T. said, '*O, they are doing things they shouldn't do behind my back. Why do they do this? Let these wrong-doers perish!*' The *gourds* were then *hidden*. Tshaka proclaimed a warning to the *wrong-doers* and the annoyance ceased, whereupon the *gourds* which had been hidden away were once more used openly. The *country* then became quiet.

The Qwabes used, from secret places, to watch us hiding our *gourds*, and after we returned from the bushes etc. they would go to where the *gourds* were and *eat* them. They, however, did not destroy them, well knowing that if they did so we would have nowhere to *pour* into and so they, the Qwabes, would suffer.

After this *this wrong-doing* came to an end, but *bandits* emerged. Cattle were stolen by them at night, and found missing in the morning.

4 The thieves had gone off with them *into the bushes* and killed them

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there. T. said *an announcement should be made to the people in the bushes*, for he thought he might be the cause of their behaving in this lawless fashion. So the proclamation was made in the bushes to the effect that all were to return to their homes and resume their natural ways of living. They thereupon returned home. T. did nothing to them.

5 Gcugcwa caused trouble in Tshaka's country (in Zululand); the others had caused trouble in our country (i.e. carried on their evil practices.) Gcugcwa ka Nqabeni [Ngcameni? - see Notebook 43] stole Tshaka's cattle. He was *chief of the Wosiyana people*. Gcugcwa was caught near the Tukela where he usually thieved. He was taken to T. T. said, 'We see you, Gcugcwa.' G. replied, 'We see each other, Nkosi. You see me now; they will see you tomorrow.' He said this because he 5 knew his death was imminent. G. was then tied across the gate and T. directed that all the cattle - those from which he was so fond of stealing - were to be driven over him and trample him to death.⁴⁷

I know nothing of *cannibals* in our own country, but heard of them. There were no *cannibals* prior to T. *destroying the country* - only after his devastating the country.

Dinya says *cannibals* were pointed out up the Mngeni at the Sangwane hills and precipices, on the iNanda hill.⁴⁸

Maziyana thinks the name of this hill was *hlonipha'd* on account of Nandi, but does not know what name was given.

Boiled grain (*izinkobe*) was called *izimpotulo*, to *hlonipa the father of Ndhlela*, prime minister, and *paths (izindhlela)*, says Dinya, were called *izinyatuko*.⁴⁹

6 Tshaka began on Mande when he devastated the whole of Natal. That is where his operations began, and these included Nzala ka Mangqwashi and Duze ka Mnengwa - also, says Maziyana, Sokoti ka Mdingi ka Magojolo of the Nganga people, also Nkuna ka Mbedu, *chief of the amaNsomi*.⁵⁰

Tshaka said, says Dinya, 'The son of Nzala ka Mangqwashi will no longer be called; ask for him among the Nsomi' - part of a war song.

Melapi says: I was at my *mother's brother's kraal* when Tshaka attacked the country.

Maziyana says the first people Tshaka attacked was the Butelezi, and, adds Dinya, the Sibiya and Makoba, the two tribes living in the same district.

7 Maziyana says: the amaNyuswa also were attacked by Tshaka. *There were troubles among them*. They went to Dingiswayo to ask for an impi, for Sirayo ka Mapoloba was being troubled by Mgabi ka Mapoloba.⁵¹ Dingiswayo then sent Tshaka to settle their affairs. T. went and built the iNtontela umuzi among them. All the Nyuswa became iNtontela.⁵² At this time Tshaka was still an *iduna of Dingiswayo*.⁵³

Saturday, 29.4.1905, afternoon. Melapi, Maziyana, and Njilo present.

I know Sotobe ka Mpangalala who was of the Sibiya people. I lived under him. He lived near Ntunjambili - on the Inadi stream.⁵⁴ He lived both in Natal and in Zululand opposite Ntunjambili.

Sotobe was very dark, with a sloping-back forehead, rather bald, protuberant chest, of medium size. He was sent on a mission by Tshaka. When he returned he passed me seated in the shade of an *umganu tree*

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with a baby on my back - Mbonisa (still living). This was at the Nsuze.
8 This was before Tshaka's death. I was at the Esitshweni kraal where my mother had gone to have her confinement. This kraal was near the Mdhloti. Mbonisa was the child then *being carried by me*. Mbonisa is Dinya's age (i.e. about 78). At this time I was old enough to herd cattle, say 10 or 12 years of age. I had not *reached the age of puberty*. I *did so* when Nqeto *deserted* and went off south.⁵⁵ [About December 1828. Now, as Nqeto's flight is fixed, and a boy *reaches the age of puberty* at about 14, so this makes Melapi's age as 91.]

When Nqeto went he took off with him a number of cattle. He left just as the *impi* from the Balule was returning. The *impi hastened after* him. A fight took place at the Ezimbokodweni (stream) near Durban. Nqeto got off to Pondoland. When the *impi* that attacked Nqeto returned, it killed my father Magaye. The reason why Magaye was killed was because
9 it was alleged he intended following his uncle Nqeto. My father however did not intend doing this. Nqeto, as he passed through our tribe, seized some of our cattle. We followed him up and recaptured them, and as we returned to our district we passed the Zulu forces then on their way after Nqeto. We passed the iNanda. Nqeto got the better of the Zulus at the Ezimbokodweni.

Dingana gave no orders to kill Magaye. His orders merely were that my father was to be watched to see he did not follow his uncle Nqeto.

The *impi* that did not go to the Balule is the one that *pursued* Nqeto, and the name of this regiment that remained with Tshaka was uFasimba. Mpande reported to Dingana that Magaye seemed to want to join Nqeto,
10 for when Nqeto passed through his district he did not attempt to stop him or aid the Zulus when they pursued the fugitive.⁵⁶

Tshaka was killed by Dingana. Magaye was killed by the Hlomendhlini regiment, so also were D.'s brothers. As soon as D. had killed Tshaka he called all those together who had taken refuge in the bushes, and called them the uHlomendhlini. Mpangazita ka Mncumbata was *induna* in the force that followed Nqeto. A fight took place near the Mvoti. In this fight Mpangazita was wounded on the front side of the head. During this first skirmish the Celes were observed seated *on a ridge* looking on and not assisting the Zulus, consequently they were accused of wanting to follow him.

11 The Qwabes under Nqeto seized vast numbers of cattle belonging to the late Tshaka. T. had been in the habit of keeping his cattle apart, i.e. those of one colour from those of another, *dark ones* here, *white ones* there. These and others Nqeto drove off, and those he felt unable to take off he cut the tails of, and left them *without the tufts*. This act was greatly resented by the Zulus, and it was always remembered against such Qwabes as remained behind. These tails were of course required as *imiklezo*.⁵⁷ Zulu ka Nogandaya was with this *impi* too.⁵⁸

Dinya says that Zulu *called out*, saying, 'Hey, Mdandaza, hey Mdandaza; there is the son of Kondhlo; look after him,' Mdandaza being chief *induna* to Nqeto, and the *son of Kondhlo* being Nqeto. Zulu jeered this after Nqeto, seeing he could not get him (he thus was *being sarcastic*).

I have not heard that Nqeto sent to my father to ask him to go along with him.

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Nqeto in his flight *camped at the iNanda below the place of Mtukwa*, a Cele man (father of Nqotshobana). During the night they *made fires*. The Zulus came on them before daybreak and decided to attack at daybreak. But the Qwabes made the fires on purpose to deceive, for they left long before daybreak and proceeded on their flight. The Zulus came up to the fires and found the enemy gone! Nowela ka Mteli ka Lufuta *of the Qwabe people* was living at oKikizeni, one of Magaye's kraals, at his *maternal uncle's*. This man decided to join Nqeto as he passed but he was killed by the Zulus at the Ezimbokodweni.

13 Mpangazita lived at the Mona beyond Verulam and overlooking the Tongati.

Maziyana says the *impi* that went after Nqeto was not *first drawn up*. They simply left their homes and followed up. Nqeto, on the other hand, had collected his men together. Thus at the Mvoti, in the fight, Nqeto succeeded in defeating the Zulus, and there it was that Mpangazita was wounded.

Only those, Melapi goes on, who did not go on the Balule expedition pursued Nqeto, and that is why he got the better of them. The Balule *impi* moreover had no shields, for most of them, having no food, had been obliged to *soak them in water* and eat them!

14 Tshaka gave orders to the Pondo *impi* south of the Mzimkulu and directed it to go to the north when he was there. When he was assassinated he was said to have *bunguleka'd*, i.e. gone mad by giving such an order.

Tshaka, says Maziyana, placed his Pondo cattle, seized on the second expedition, at many places, viz. *at the place of Lukilimba*, a notable warrior who lived at the Ntumbankulu on the Mzimkulu; with Maguca ka Jele of the Ndelu Tribe, living at the Mzombe; with Bebeni ka Jama *of the emalangenji people*, living between the Ifafa and Mzinto; with Mzobotshi ka Tambusa of the Ndelu tribe at the iLovu river; with Matubane at the Isibubulungu (the cattle were kept on the Mlazi river in a kraal which took its most commonly used name from the colour of the cattle kept there, viz. eMdubu); with Msekelo ka Ntambo *of the Majola people* - Cunu tribe.

Melapi goes on to say that these cattle were stationed at Ngoyi, across the Emahlongwa at a *cattle post* called Mpiyake; (also, at a *cattle post* somewhat below Emdhlazi, the great Cele kraal, the *cattle post* being known as Kwa Shiyabantu.

15 The Ndabenkulu, as Maziyana states, had been established previously among the Tulis, at Kwa Mpofu flat.⁵⁹

The cattle at the Emahlongwa were herded by Zulus proper, whilst those at the Mlazi were taken care of by Ngunuza ka -- <sic>, a warrior of the Fasimba regiment.

We see that these *cattle-posts* stretched from the Mzimkulu right away to the Mvoti.

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<30.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 68, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Dinya, Maziyana, Njilo

20 We Celes, says Melapi, never attacked surrounding tribes - we fought among ourselves.

Maziyana says that among all the tribes there was no attacking. If a fight occurred it took place *on a flat*. They fought one another and then went home, and only those would be killed who had happened to be killed by assegais in the fields. There was no attacking of kraals and killing of women and children. But the Tulis originally killed off women and stuck children on posts so as to *conquer* these territories, but that mode of warfare stopped then. The Tulis never crossed the Mkomazi or the Mgeni to attack other tribes. They were engaged with their own dissensions and this, as Melapi says, was the state of
21 affairs in the Cele tribe.

Melapi says there was always a *dispute* going on, but it was always fought out in the way stated, whereupon people would settle down once more to their ordinary avocations.

Melapi says: Mkalipi ka Nombuya told me that in the old days, prior to Tshaka's day, they fought in this way.⁶⁰ (They would) dig a slight *furrow* and the opponents would take up their stand on either side, each with a large supply of *cowdung*. They would then pitch this across at one another until their eyes became quite red. This was their means of settling differences in the Nyamvini tribe. On anyone crossing they would say, 'He has defeated it,' whereupon the others, who had failed to prevent the crossing, would run off.

Tshaka tried to defeat Mkalipi, but failed, as M. *hid from him in the bushes* when T. *hunted for him or searched for him*. M. also succeeded in evading Dingana. The Nyamvini people lived some way up the Mvoti. [See Shepstone's map.]

22 Magaye was a good deal younger than Tshaka.

Maziyana says Tshaka arrived from the Mtetwa when he had already *put on the headdress*, and *buta'd* the uFasimba. That was his *first ibuto*, his first experiment.

'He devoured the *izindhlabu nuts, shells and all*', i.e. when he killed Mudhli.⁶¹ Sigwebana ran away to Natal, joined J. Cane's party, and was killed at Ndongakusuka.⁶² Dinya knows him.

Isipezi (regiment) means, says D., '*I will make them stop (pezisa)*' - *when he was binding the nations together*.

Magaye wore a *headdress*. He was authorized to do so by Dibandhlela.

Maziyana says: Matubane, the Tuli chief, was *of the age of the Fasimba*. My father Mahlabeni said that when T. died a few grey hairs had begun to make their appearance. Matubane was not as old as Tshaka.

Maziyana says the Mgumanqa and the Isipezi were, in his opinion, *buta'd* by Senzangakona, copying the example of Dingiswayo, one of whose *amaduna* he was.

23 Tshaka, says Maziyana, once killed the wife of the Gwabalanda *umuzi*, belonging to Mteli ka Lufuta of the Qwabe tribe - not actually Mteli's

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wife. (See Ndunge ka Ngcukuca ka Mteli living at the Mzombe.)

Tshaka *cut open* a number of women *when their husbands were away on campaign* in order to see *how a child lay in the womb*. That was one of the reasons why Dingana put Tshaka to death. These women had done no wrong; he behaved thus as part of his policy of government.

Melapi has heard of this case, that T. directed (men) to catch hold of a wife of Mteli's. '*Cut her open* and let us see the position taken up by the child in the womb.' I do not know the actual name of the woman (of Mteli's kraal) who was cut open.

24 This happened at Dukuza. Maziyana says Mteli's other sons were Nowela (chief one) and Mnungose. Nowela was killed by the Zulus in the fight with Nqeto. The Zulus killed him, he being on Nqeto's side. Mnungose was killed by Tshaka *during the mourning for Nandi*. He was *informed on by another brother, Masauzana ka Mteli*. Masauzana told tales about Mnungose to T. Tshaka saw food being brought to Mnungose during Nandi's *mourning*. T. asked who the food was for. Masauzana said, 'For Mnungose, the chief you appointed over us.' Mnungose was then in Dukuza kraal. T. said, 'What does he mean by having food brought to him before I have given orders for my mother's mourning to cease?' The man was then put to death.⁶³

Klaju, says Maziyana, was Kam Kengi's interpreter, and Kam Kengi's *induna* was Sipongo. [Nasopongo - Isaacs book.]⁶⁴ I do not know his father. He was a man from Zululand, not a Tuli man.

Maziyana believes quite a number of women were *cut open* by Tshaka.

When Matubane went to *konza* Tshaka *he was at Gibixegu*. This was after the Ndwandwe had been *defeated* - after the '*Kisi*' fight.⁶⁵ This visit was prior to Fynn's and Farewell's arrival. When T. was stabbed he shifted the kraal Gibixegu to another site or built it on another site, calling the same establishment not Gibixegu but Bulawayo.

<30.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 7-11.

Also present: Dinya, Njilo, Maziyana?

7 Melapi and Dinya present (also Njilo).

Melapi: My mother's name was Nomahlungulu. Her father was Songcase - uMasongcase. [Melapi pronounces it Songcayase - curiously enough.] My mother *made oath by Gida of Mampanza* (name of kraal), so Gida was Songcayase's father.

8 When we, says M., *praise cattle* we speak of ourselves as '*the great stem of the Mhlatuze*'. We say of the cattle, '*E za le!*', meaning 'they belong away over there', referring to the Mhlatuze. We also had kraals on the Matikulu. (This name - a *tekeza* one - (was) given by the Celes or Mtetwa.)

Melapi knows nothing of the expression '*Se ku mpondo za mtini*', but used '*Se ku mpondo za nkomo*' and also '*Ukwanyisa kwe mtini*'.⁶⁶ Dinya agrees with this.

Tshaka had absolutely no issue - male or female. Tshaka is said to

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have killed his mother when he found her *holding in her arms* a child which she stated was his. *He then stabbed her in the stomach with a sewing awl* - he may have got this *awl* from his mother's hut, for women might *sew mats* with such an instrument.

9 All children were spoken of as *ingese, izingese*, not *umntwana, abantwana*, for Tshaka was the and only *mntwana*.⁶⁷ People throughout the country used the word *ingese*; *the word abantwana was not used*. If one accidentally spoke of *umntwana* another would instantly reply, '*Where do you see the umntwana?*'

Numbers whispered that Tshaka had himself killed his mother. Dinya does not credit the story.

Tshaka had no children. Any girl getting in a family way by him would be got away *to the outlying districts* to her home on the plea that she was ill. There she would be treated in order to bring about an abortion. When the abortion had occurred and she was well again she would return, her entire absence being attributed to illness and not to pregnancy, or she would surely have been put to death.

10 When Nandi died Tsaka gave orders that no children were to be borne throughout the country. After a time, seeing that the strength of his army would be seriously affected by such an order, he rescinded it. Some women continued after this not to bear children. The amaTuli sent to Magaye, being a relative of theirs through Masivuba, Magaye's grandmother, to ask for a beast to be killed so as to enable one or more of their women to go on bearing children, for they had, in consequence of T.'s order, remained barren. The beast was furnished and then killed. The women were told by their own people to *take some of the stomach contents, squeeze it into their mouths, and drink the liquid*. The treatment, it is said, met with success. Gadhla and Mavete of the Tuli tribe told me of this fact.

*'You do not ask the askers for us to agree with them,
We went and took out their eyes,
They went floundering about, falling into dongas.'*⁶⁸

11 This is one of Tshaka's songs, *made up* by himself, for he used to do so. People's eyes were taken out with *an awl*, and *sap of the euphorbia was rubbed* in the eyes (white stuff exudes from this tree and is very pungent in the eyes). Regiments used to sing this song. *It was a hunting song*.

I heard the story about Tshaka stabbing his mother with *an awl* from various people. The story arose during *the mourning for Nandi*.

1.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 16-19.

Also present: Njilo.

16 Melapi and Njilo (Melapi's son). Tshaka stories.

Kabingwe people are those whose eyes were taken out with *an awl* by Tshaka's orders.

Sotobe said Europeans *built their houses on cliffs* - this after his visit to eRini.⁶⁹ [Should be Port Elizabeth.] When Sotobe saw me in the shade nursing as previously stated he said, '*Get out of my shade.*' I

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was looking after an infant.

Tshaka did not *hold trials*. He simply killed a man off.

T. used to award warriors who showed courage in fighting, who were fearless, ten, twenty, or thirty head of cattle for their bravery.

'Take them, So-and-so,' would be said as the cattle were handed over.

- When the *impi* got back from a fight T. used to say, 'Pick out the cowards.' They would be picked and a semi-circle formed. They would be put inside and made to stand up. They would then be given assegais and told to stab one another. They would fight two at a time, and even if a man won two or three times, i.e. killing his man, he would himself presently fail and be killed, or he would be put to death by order of the king if he were the only one remaining.

These cowards used to be picked out whilst out on campaign.

T., when giving instructions to his *impi*, would direct them to make away with everything, even a dog or a hearthstone (what a pot stands on in the hearth). 'Let no one remain alive,' he used to say - every soul to be killed, even a child being nursed on the back.

T. was a Zulu and was an umNtungwa. He spoke their dialect, a dialect which I speak. The tongue lies flat (*qotsheme*) in the speech of the Zulu, e.g. 'Kona loku,' instead of 'Kona yoku.'⁷⁰

Mande's main kraal was Emfeni.

'You exactly imitate how Tshaka mouthed his words. I need not tell you how he did so.'⁷¹

- 18 Tshaka's *izimbongi* were differently dressed. One would put on two bushbuck horns in front at the top of the forehead; another would have an *impiti* hairstyle made at the back of his head and have it painted red (like a woman), the hair twisted in front and falling slightly over the face, with a woman's leather skirt on; another would put on two headrings, one at the back and the other at the front.⁷²

The man with the horns, as he *bonga'd*, would go about the crowds collected round and pretend to butt or stick them as a beast would do. Those standing about would scramble away - the noise would resound - as if afraid of being hurt.

- There were many *izimbongi* in the *mpakati*.⁷³ Magolwane was the great *imbongi*.⁷⁴ Many *bonga'd* when smoking the smoking-horn. Magolwane also *bonga'd* in Dingane's reign when the Mzilikazi *impi* went out.⁷⁵ Mhayi was an *imbongi* of Tshaka's. He was also *imbongi* to Pakatwayo, also to 19 Dingana. He was killed, says, Dinya, by Mpande on the ground that he had *bonga'd* three chiefs. He was a great *imbongi*. He said to D., 'This is an old *umtakati*! He is full of the *iziqu* medicines of his fathers,' by way of a complimentary joke.⁷⁶

2.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 19-24.

Also present: Dinya, Njilo.

.... <Praises of H.F. Fynn and Magidigidi omitted - eds.>

- 21 Cele chiefs: Mshweshwe ka Magidigidi ka Magaye ka Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli ka Langa ka Sodi ka Ncumela ka Maganga ka Cele ka Kumbuza ka Ndosi ka Lugogo.⁷⁷ Nyambose is probably the Mtetwa chief son of Lugogo.⁷⁸

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

- 22 Mkonto was installed by Dingana after he (D.) had killed Magaye. The *impi* arrived from Sotshangana *ill with fever (imbo)*. It was told of Tshaka's death. Magaye was then living. Nqeto escaped and ate cattle. He was *pursued by a small force that had remained behind with the king, i.e. with Tshaka*.
- Magaye was killed at the iNanda. He died *out in the open, at the river*. He was buried *on a flat at the iNanda*.
- The oxen whose white tails were cut by Nqeto were at the Mvoti - they were Tshaka's.
- Mkonto is *the eldest son of Magaye*. D. nominated him. Mkonto *watched over the umuzi of Magaye*, and after doing so some time he, D., killed him. D. directed that *a fence should be put up at Kwa Hlome-ndhlini, the umuzi with which he had killed Tshaka. It had armed (hloma'd) at the home (endhlini); it had not gone on campaign*. He summoned Mkonto to *build the fence*. He came and *did so*. This was above
- 23 Dukuza a little; that is where Hlomendhlini was first built. Mkonto then came to *take his leave*. He was told, 'No. Remain here. We will go to announce your departure.' It was the *izinduna of Kwa Hlomendhlini who said this - Zulu ka Nogandaya*. I do not know if it was the 'Black' or 'White' (Hlomendhlini). They went up to *announce his departure*. Presently one heard *people shouting down the Mvoti at the place of a man called Makehla, 'Ilelele! A lion has finished off the cattle.'* The Hlomendhlini *armed and went down the river; they rushed out on the alarm being given about the cattle*. They went out onto a flat. The messenger who had gone to announce the leave-taking had not yet returned.
- The arrangement about the leave-taking was a ruse (so that it could be shouted out) that *a lion was attacking the cattle*. It was required that they should *come out of their homes and be killed in the open*; that is why this plan was invented. It got them onto the flat. They said, 'Here are the lion's tracks in the reeds.' They formed a circle
- 24 round them; they were inside. That was the end of it. They were then stabbed. Mkonto was among them. Dingana was then at Mgungundhlovu. D. had given orders for M.'s death.
- Dinya says that Nongalaza was the man to whom departures had to be reported. Every soul was killed.⁷⁹

2.5.1905. Melapi continues, Njilo present.

The kraal Mkonto came from was ekuMangaleni. He went from this with his men. All were killed off. The whole tribe then *scattered*, some going to the Europeans at the Bay (not to Mnini, who was an unknown man), others to Zululand. I was one of those who went to 'Zululand'. I had *reached the age of puberty*. I had done so when Nqeto went off to Pondoland. When I speak of going to Zululand I mean to *konza* prominent Zulus. I went, for instance, to *konza* Sotobe who had kraals both south as well as north of the Tukela. We lived at oPisweni, a hill, at the iNadi, a stream entering the Tukela, just below Ntunjambili. I used to visit Sotobe's kraals *across the river*.

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2.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 70, pp. 1-9.

Also present: Dinya, Njilo.

1 Melapi continues.

Sotobe's kraals (those north of the Tukela) were at the Impapala, opposite the *iNkandhla*.⁸⁰

Mkonto died in the field; he was not buried. The whole tribe scattered now. Magidigidi went to Sondoda (might be of Dhlamini tribe) on the north side of the Tukela.

I knew Mkonto. I also knew Magidigidi well. Mkonto died before he had had any issue. He was *borne* by a woman of the *Qadi* people - the *Qadi* of our place. Her name was Mamuka (after her father). Nsimeko was Mkonto's own brother. He ran away when Mkonto was killed. He died among *Magidigidi's* people across the *Mzimkulu* river.

Dingana said that the Zulus had killed Magaye without instructions from him. 'All I said was, keep an eye on Magaye to see he does not go off with Nqeto.'

2 I cannot understand how Dingana came to kill Mkonto, seeing he had himself nominated him as Magaye's successor. We were *disliked* on account of Magaye being called '*my younger brother*' (*umnawe*) by Tshaka, for Tshaka did this in spite of the fact that his own brothers were living who were better entitled to that epithet. Dingana, I think, resented bitterly the extreme intimacy between Tshaka and Magaye. By killing Magaye, who was called *mnawe* by T., Dingana was simply *finishing off the house of Tshaka*. It was his plan completely to destroy Tshaka's house; hence his killing Magaye, the so-called younger brother.

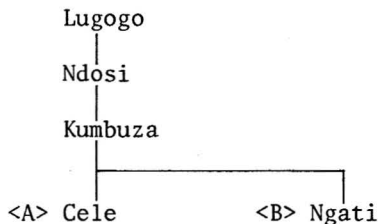
Xabashe lived where Ndunge now lives.⁸¹ Xabashe and Magidigidi never quarrelled. We are still on the best terms with Ndunge and his tribe. There are many Celes under Ndunge.

Xabashe's mother was Masilo. That of Magidigidi was Mambanga - her own maiden name was Mjikijelwa - she was a girl from the Makanya tribe.

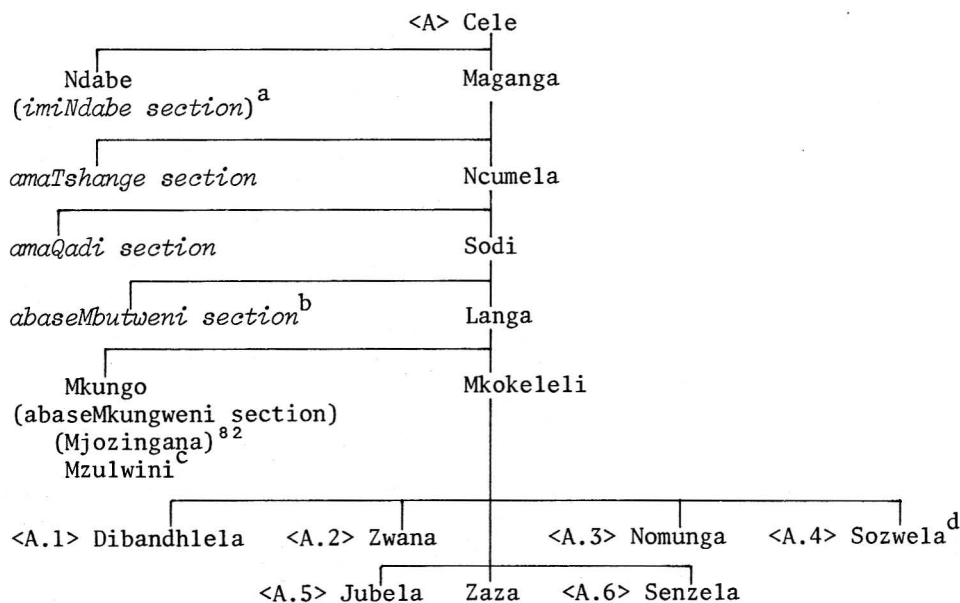
<Though Dinya was Stuart's principal informant for the genealogies that follow, they were recorded during Stuart's interviews with Melaphi, and relate so closely to the latter's evidence about the Cele chiefly house that we reproduce them here rather than separately under the name of Dinya. We use the symbols A, B, C etc. to indicate relationships which for typographical reasons cannot here be shown by means of conventional genealogical devices. We retain parentheses round names where they appear in the original - eds.>

3 2.5.1905, evening. Per Dinya, assisted by Melapi.

Cele chiefs



MELAPI



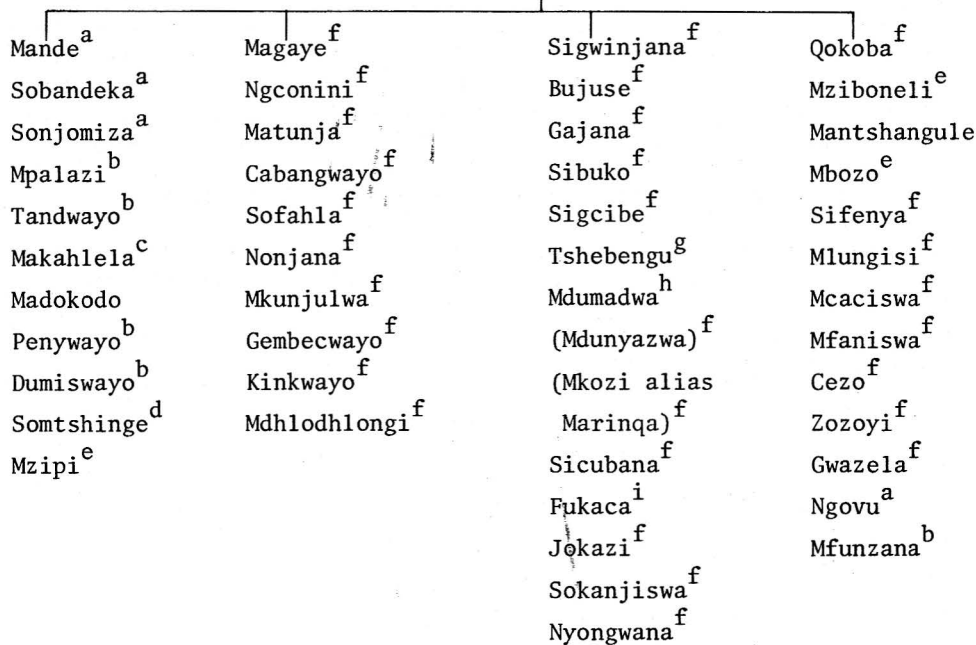
^aThere is intermarriage with this section now.

^bPika - chief. Died on Berea.

^cDead.

^dOf the emaSwazini kraal.

<A.1> Dibandhlela



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- ^aAt Emfeni.
- ^bAt eLwasini (uLwasi).
- ^cAt enKohliseni.
- ^dAt eNyenzezeni.
- ^eAt uMabola.
- ^fAt oNikela.
- ^gAlias Nomdhlondhlo. At oLomeni.
- ^hAt oLomeni.
- ⁱAlias, Mayiza. At oNikela.

<A.2> Zwana
|
Ntanjana
Vanywayo
Baca
Lugcolo (Luqolo)
Kwefunga
|
Mageza^a

^aMy informant.⁸³

<A.3> Nomunga
|
Nhlasiyana
|
Badhlo^a
Gebuza
Mnqunduzwa
Matshobana
Nombona
Faku

^aDied without issue.⁸⁴

<A.4> Sozwela^a
|
Ketwayo^b

^aOf the emaSwazini kraal.
^bDied without issue.⁸⁵

<A.5> Jubela
|
Mxakaza
|
Mkalipi^a

^aMy informant.

<A.6> Senzela
|
Lupuzi

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 Ngati
Mpipi
Sinqila
Velemu
Kwayimane

<The following notes appear in the original in the upper right-hand corner of the page on which Stuart recorded the Cele chiefly genealogy - eds.>

amaNgwabi: Ncetshe father of Zoti father of Mnyinywa.

amaMbasela

amaNdhlovu

amaNgwekazi: Sijewane ka Mjanyelwa of this section.

<The passages that follow were recorded during Stuart's sequence of interviews with Melaphi, and with Dinya present. It is not made clear in the original which of the two was the principal informant - eds.>

4 Cele had a brother Ngati. The latter was senior to Cele, but was *deprived of the chiefship* by the younger brother, Cele. Ngati *slaughtered a number of cattle. He then went off to hunt cane rats, even though he had slaughtered cattle. He left the meat which he had cooked. Cele arrived, took the meat in the absence of Ngati, and gave it to the people. Ngati returned. The people were giving praise for the meat to Cele. That is how Ngati lost the chiefship.* When Ngati arrived he found all the meat dished out. The people said, *'We give praise to Cele. As for you, Ngati, this is the end of your chiefship. You have now lost it.'* As this was being said, Ngati, who had just arrived from the hunt, was standing leaning on his *stick*. The people could not understand why, having slaughtered cattle, the chief should go off and hunt for *cane rats*. The amaNgati had Mpipi as chief etc.

Cele and Ngati were the sons of one man, probably Kumbuza or it may be Ndosi or Lugogo.

5 Vanywayo is junior to Ntanjana - both of eNgwazini kraal (Mkokeleli's kraal).

Dibandhlela was *placed in the chiefship* by Sozwela of emaSwazini kraal, Mkokeleli's kraal. Zaza was of the *isizinda*.⁸⁶ He wished to *separate* from Sozwela. Sozwela *sent out an impi and took cattle from Zaza. The amaCele said, 'So you are "eating up" his cattle?'* Sozwela then took the cattle and gave them all to Dibandhlela, on the ground, as he said, that he had heard what Mkokeleli had said as to Dibandhlela being his successor.

The Rodi regiment *was formed with cattle from Tshaka*. Tshaka said to Magaye, *'I shall give you an impi so that you can make war.'* When Tshaka began to *destroy the country he went as far as the Mkomazi*. He then *went home*, and it was then that he, T., spoke of giving Magaye an *impi* so that he could *make war*. T. gave him an *impi* and he, Magaye, *attacked across the Mkomazi*. M. then *'ate up' the cattle of the country of Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo* of the amaMbili tribe. When Magaye returned with the captured cattle, then the uRodi kraal *formed* and became his regiment.

6 Tshaka took a fancy to Magaye's young iNjanduna regiment, so he told Magaye that he would *buta* them. He then took the regiment and its name, and told Magaye to call his regiment the Rodi. Mxakaza,

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father of Mkalipi [my informant], was of this regiment. Mxakaza used to start a hunting song in the field, strike up, *and people would respond.*

I am of the same age as Maquza ka Gawushane.⁸⁷ [My informant.]

Mandiza is not a son of Dibandhlela, as Mkalipi etc. say. Majubane belongs to Emkitini, one of Mkokeleyi's kraals. He is not a son of Dibandhlela. I do not know his father's name. Kwefunga is not a son of Dibandhlela.

7 Dibandhlela grew to a great age. He even forgot his own children. Mzipi, Mpalazi, Sokanjiswa, Mande, Sobandeda, Mziboneli, and Qokola were among Dibandhlela's eldest sons.

OSwazini was one of Dibandhlela's kraals. EmaSwazini was one of Mkokeleyi's.

Magaye's sons. (This list is about complete.)

At oNikela
Maxopozi
Melapi
Mpondonde
Msindo (Gongoloza)
Mbonisa
Siyangapi
Sikunyana
Zwekufa

At eMdhlazi
Magidigidi
Songo
Mtshwebwe
Manhlwenga

At ekuMangaleni
Mkonto
Nsimeko
Ngcupe
Seyana
Sinqila
Beja
Cogi (Xogi)
Tangamu (Jojopenge)
Mloboli
Sifici
Zemunya
Nkulunkulu [notice this name] - of the Tulwana's age or so;
deceased.
Ndimbili

At oDabeni
Mntungwana
Magomba
Mangwazi

<The song that follows appears in the original in two separate sections. We reproduce it in translation according to Stuart's arrowed directions as to the correct sequence of lines - eds.>

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- 8 *The dance song (inkondhlo) of Mkonto:⁸⁸*
 'You of the place of Nkulunkulu, you have been sent by no one,
 The river (umyambo) of Myambo is becoming full.
9 *You sent the chameleon, you sent the lizard,*
 You know the lizard practises evil.
 Where will you konza now, you of Nkulunkulu?
8 *Where will you konza?*
 For you know the lizard practises evil, where will you konza?
 He sent the chameleon, you know the chameleon and the lizard,
 Where will you konza?

Nkunzenkulu of the Emfeni kraal made up this. He is dead. He was rather older than I was. I heard this song whilst I was still a boy - before the arrival of missionaries.

- 8 Nkulunkulu was born when my father was dead. We all congregated and stayed at Gwazela's kraal. *We went there just after my father's death.* Gwazela was a son of Dibandhlela. His kraal was on this donga; this donga was on either side of a stream, and this donga and stream were known by the name of Nkulunkulu. The stream is near the Mdhloti, but runs into a hole. *It is opposite the Kwa Sangwana hills above the iNanda.*

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File 62, nbk. 70, p. 9.

- 9 Melapi, Dinya and Njilo left for their homes at daybreak today. I gave Melapi 14s, Dinya 7s, also 14s for railway fares, and 2s food, or £1 17s in all. I had previously given Dinya £2 for previous services, also his railway fares.

Notes

¹The names given are those of the line of Cele chiefs. Cf. the genealogies and lists in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 544; Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 68, 232, 233, 309-10.

²The izikhulutshane *ibutho* was formed in the mid-1830s of youths born in the mid-1810s.

³Melaphi's father was Magaye kaDibandhlela, chief of the Cele.

⁴Emdhlazi (emDlazi) was one of Magaye's *imizi* in the Cele country in the present-day Stanger area.

⁵The original reads as follows:

O ka Nzala ka Mangqatshi
Umuzi au ngabu sa bizwa,
Buzani ku ba s'emansomini.

Uti-ke emwa -

Kukuluku ya kal' inkuku
Ya i bekwe ngu bani?
Wa m babaz' uwutani no Gubetuka,
U ya ngen' umyeni, twayanin' iminawazi.
Ngi nge mbuzi i ya ku totongwa emizini,
Ngi nge mwalasangwa won' a ketwa ngabanini muzi

(the owner of the kraal *keta's* the gate-keeper)

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Ngi yi ngwazi lapo kwa Zulu,

Ngi yi gwazela pambili emacocweni (lap' idhliwa kon' indaba).

- ⁶Nandi died in August 1827. For a description of the mourning observations that followed her death see Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 132 ff.
- ⁷'IzimPohlo' seems to have been used as a corporate name for certain male *amabutho* that, according to other sources, were closely associated with one another from early in Shaka's reign.
- ⁸Shaka's kwaDukuza *umuzi* was located near present-day Stanger.
- ⁹The original reads as follows:
U ya u hlaselani na zip' izizwe na?
Indhlovu ya tat' okwayo,
Nayi pikisa.
Ya yi bizwe uMatiwane
uMatiwan' o ngakanani
O biz' indhlovu?
U nam' kont' ongakanani Matiwane,
Inganti wa kwa Ndwandwe sa u tata sa u qoba,
Sa u tshonisa pansi?
- ¹⁰I.e. Durban Bluff.
- ¹¹Mathubane was regent for Mmini of the Thuli people living at Port Natal when the first white trader-hunters arrived in 1824.
- ¹²The original reads '*...abantu ba pume lapa emhlabeni*'.
- ¹³Shaka's kwaBulawayo *umuzi* was located between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni.
- ¹⁴Nhlamba (Hlambamanzi, or Jakot, or Jacob) was a man from the eastern Cape who achieved prominence as an interpreter in the service of Shaka and Dingane.
- ¹⁵The word *abelumbi* (from the verb *ukulumba*, to do wonderful things) was once commonly used by Zulu-speakers to denote white people. It later came to be superseded by the word *abelungu*.
- ¹⁶Sothobe's embassy to the Cape took place in 1828. He was accompanied by Mbozamboza, a minor chief. For accounts of the mission see Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 616ff.
- ¹⁷Febana was Francis Farewell, leader of the white hunting and trading expedition which came to Port Natal in 1824. Mjoji was King George IV who was on the British throne at this time.
- ¹⁸The *isilungu* country (loc. *esilungwini*) means the country occupied by whites (*abelungu*).
- ¹⁹Mbuyazi was H.F. Fynn, whose African adherents came to be known as the *izinkumbi*. His nephew Charlie Fynn later became their chief.
- ²⁰I.e. Henry Ogle.
- ²¹Phobana was Frank Fynn, a brother of H.F. Fynn.
- ²²Dambuza was the Zulu name for Nathaniel Isaacs.
- ²³There were two Zulu royal *imizis* of this name - the 'Black' and the 'White' - in the south-east of the kingdom. In the early 1830s they were moved from their positions south of the lower Thukela to positions north of that river. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 546.
- ²⁴Zulu kaNogandaya of the Ncwana section of the Qwabe people had achieved fame as a warrior under Shaka.
- ²⁵Literally, 'they armed in the home'.
- ²⁶Shaka was assassinated at his Dukuza *umuzi* in September 1828 while his army was absent on an expedition against Soshangane in the uBhalule (Olifants river) region of what is now southern Mozambique.
- ²⁷A range of hills south-west of present-day Empangeni.

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- ²⁸Chief of the Qwabe.
- ²⁹Mshweshwe kaMagidigidi was chief of the Cele in the Alfred and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ³⁰The structure of this sentence in the original makes it difficult to translate. Our rendering takes account of statements made by others of Stuart's informants that the emDlazi *umuzi* was established by people from the oNikela *umuzi*. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 119, vol. 2, p. 73.
- ³¹For Madango's position in the Mthethwa genealogy recorded by Bryant, see Olden Times, p. 85.
- ³²The names in this paragraph appear to be those of members of the Cele chiefly house.
- ³³The informant has previously given these names as those of ancestral Cele chiefs.
- ³⁴For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vols. 1 and 2, indexes.
- ³⁵I.e. calf.
- ³⁶Literally, people from down-country. Cf. Magidigidi kaNobebe's statement in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 97, where he refers to the uMzansi as 'one of the great dialects'.
- ³⁷For discussion of the term Nguni see the references as for note 34 above, and also Hedges, 'Trade and politics in southern Mozambique and Zululand', pp. 254-7.
- ³⁸The *isizinda* section of a homestead provided the son who remained as formal guardian of his father's homestead in the event of the latter's death or removal to a new homestead.
- ³⁹The *insonyama* is the highly prized meat covering a beast's ribs. It is the perquisite of the head of the homestead.
- ⁴⁰'Bayete!' ('Bayede!') was a salutation reserved for the chief or king.
- ⁴¹Phakathwayo kaKhondlo was chief of the Qwabe.
- ⁴²Nandi was the mother of Shaka, Siwethu the mother of Magaye.
- ⁴³'Ba lete' ('Balethe') means 'Bring them'; *izita* (*izitha*) means enemies.
- ⁴⁴For further information on the historical context in which the words 'Ngqwaba, ngqwaba, go away!' were used, see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 97, vol. 2, p. 79; Stuart, uBaxoxele, pp. 20-1; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 90.
- ⁴⁵This refers to an attempt made on Shaka's life by an unknown assailant in mid-1824. See the account in Fynn, Diary, pp. 83 ff.; also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 194, 209, vol. 2, pp. 93, 169-70.
- ⁴⁶*Izwekufa*, literally the destruction of the nation, refers to the upheavals south of the Thukela that attended Shaka's rise to power.
- ⁴⁷Stuart published this anecdote in 1923 in his Zulu reader uTulasizwe, pp. 99-102, from which Bryant presumably drew the account which appears in Olden Times, pp. 497-8. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 201. The reference to notebook 43 is to evidence given by Memi.
- ⁴⁸The iNanda lies some 30 kilometres north-west of Durban.
- ⁴⁹Ndlela kaNkobe (Sompisi) of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's chief *izinduna*.
- ⁵⁰Nzala was chief of the Ndlovini people, Duze of the Makhanya people. Cf. Maziyana kaMahlabeni's account in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 295-6.

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- ⁵¹ Mapholoba kaMbhele was chief of the Nyuswa in the early years of the nineteenth century.
- ⁵² I.e. members of the inTontela *ibutho*.
- ⁵³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 122, gives *iduna* as 'a highest-class *i-nDuna*'.
- ⁵⁴ The Ntunjambili mountain is marked on many maps as Kranskop.
- ⁵⁵ Nqetho kaKhondlo, chief of the Qwabe, seceded from the Zulu kingdom with a large body of adherents soon after Dingane's succession to the Zulu kingship towards the end of 1828.
- ⁵⁶ Mpande, brother of Dingane, was at this time living in the south-east of the Zulu kingdom and would have been in a position to report on Magaye's movements.
- ⁵⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 557, gives *unklezo - um-Rrezo* in Bryant's orthography - (pl. *imiklezo*) as 'covering of long cows'-tails...used at the *um-Kosi* and on the war-path'.
- ⁵⁸ For Zulu kaNogandaya see note 24 above.
- ⁵⁹ KwaNdabenkulu was a cattle-post established by Shaka among the Thuli people: see Maziyana kaMahlabeni's evidence in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 294.
- ⁶⁰ Mkhaliphi was chief of the Nyamwini people.
- ⁶¹ Mudli kaNkwelo was a regent for Senzangakhona in the Zulu chiefdom after the death of the latter's father Jama.
- ⁶² Sigwebana was a son of Senzangakhona. John Cane hunted and traded from Port Natal from 1824. After Dingane's killing of Piet Retief and his party of Voortrekkers in February 1838, Cane led a cattle-raiding expedition from Port Natal to the Zulu country in April of that year. A Zulu army attacked Cane's force at Ndongakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela and virtually wiped it out.
- ⁶³ Cf. the account in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 100.
- ⁶⁴ Kam' Kengi was Captain J.S. King, who was a prominent figure among the British hunters and traders at Port Natal from his arrival in 1825 until his death in 1828. The Isaacs book referred to is Nathaniel Isaacs's Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 vols., London, 1836.
- ⁶⁵ The reference is to an engagement that took place during one of the attacks made by the Ndwandwe on the Zulu c.1818. On the meaning of the term *kisi* (*khisi*), see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 194; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 17.
- ⁶⁶ These expressions, which in literal translation respectively read 'It is now the horns of the otter', 'It is now the horns of the beast', and 'It is the suckling of the otter', mean 'It is now early morning'. Cf. Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 54.
- ⁶⁷ *Umntwana* (pl. *abantwana*), literally child, was a term applied to members of the Zulu royal house.
- ⁶⁸ The original reads:
Ani buzi ku mabuza 'ce si ba vume,
Si hambé si ba giba amehlo
Be hamba be puputeka be tshon' ezindongeni.
- ⁶⁹ I.e. Grahamstown.
- ⁷⁰ Cf. Magidigidi kaNobebe's statements in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 92, 97.
- ⁷¹ Others of Stuart's informants state that Shaka had a speech impediment: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 8, 195, 282.
- ⁷² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 505, gives *i-mPiti* (*impithi*) as 'Fashion of dressing the hair...by first cutting it short and then...rolling it

- into little untidy tufts, which are afterwards...allowed to grow long'.
- ⁷³The precise meaning attributed to the word *umpakathi* varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counsellors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 481, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinDuna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would... be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, *Story of the Zulus*, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of Umpakati"'.
⁷⁴Magolwane kaMkhathini of the Jiyana people achieved fame as an *imbongi* to Mpande: see Baleni kaSilwana's statements in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 31.
- ⁷⁵Historians disagree as to the number and dates of the attacks made by the Zulu on the Ndebele under Mzilikazi in the 1830s: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', *Journal of African History*, vol. 10, 1969; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', pp. 26, 33, 38; Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom*, pp. 85-9. For an anecdote on Magolwane's participation in one of these campaigns, see Stuart, uTulasizwe, pp. 69-71 (from which Bryant draws the account in *Olden Times*, pp. 429-30); *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 318-19.
- ⁷⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 545, gives *isiqu* (pl. *iziqu*) as 'medicine... for preserving against or preventing all manner of evil emergencies...'
- ⁷⁷For Mtshwetshwe see note 29 above.
- ⁷⁸Lack of punctuation in the original renders the meaning of this sentence obscure. Cf. the informant's positioning of Nyambose and Lugogo in the chiefly line given at the beginning of his evidence.
- ⁷⁹See also Mageza kaKhwefunga's account in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, p. 71. Nongalaza kaNondela of the Nyandwini people was in command of the Hlomendlini *ibutho*.
- ⁸⁰The iMpaphala was a flat at the sources of the Matigulu river.
- ⁸¹Xabashe was a son of Mande. Ngunge was chief of the Cele in the Umlazi division.
- ⁸²We position this name and the one below it as in the original. The relationship between the two persons mentioned and the Mkhungweni section is not clear.
- ⁸³The evidence given by Mageza kaKhwefunga appears in volume 2 of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ⁸⁴It is not made clear in the original whether this note applies to Badhlo or to Ketwayo, whose name appears in the succeeding genealogy.
- ⁸⁵It is not made clear in the original whether this note applies to Ketwayo or to Badhlo, whose name appears in the preceding genealogy.
- ⁸⁶On the *isizinda* see note 38 above.
- ⁸⁷The identity of the speaker is not clear. From a comparison of ages it would seem to have been Melaphi rather than Dinya, both of whom, as previously noted, were present at the interview. For Stuart's

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estimate of Maquza's age at this time see Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 232; for his estimate of Melaphi's age see p. 91 above; for his estimate of Dinya's age see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 95.

⁸⁸The original reads as follows:

Nina ba kwa Nkulunkulu, a ni tunywanga muntu!

U ya gwal' umyambo (imfula - a river) ka Myambo.

Na tum' uNwaba, na tum' intulwa,

Ni ya yaz' intulwa ukub' iya kunkula,

Ni yo-ke ni konzepi nina ba ka Nkulunkulu na?

No konza-pi, loku ni ya yaz' intulwa iya kunkula (takata), no konzapi.

Wa tum' unwaba, ni ya lwaz' unwaba ne ntulwa, ni yo konzapi?