

## DINYA KA ZOKOZWAYO

27.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 8-18.

8 Dinya comes from Ifafa mission station. Mr Wilcock is the present missionary. He is of the Ingulube regiment's<sup>1</sup> age - 78 or so years old - but was not *butwa'd* nor was he in Zululand when *butwa'd*. He was born at Mhlali. Magaye was Cele chief at the time. Many Qwabes *konz'a'd* the Cele there at the time, and *vice versa*. The father of Dinya was Zokozwayo ka Mancenga ka Tshwaku ka Belesi ka Ncwama ka Sishi ka Mahlobo ka Qwabe ka Malandela. I am not quite sure of the father of Mahlobo, but fancy it must be Qwabe.

My father died in the Balule *campaign* (Tshaka's). My father also went through the Pondo campaign.<sup>2</sup> He was of the Dukuza regiment.<sup>3</sup> On the troops' coming from Pondoland to the Mkomazi, the princes  
9 wanted to kill Tshaka. Dingane and Mhlangana wanted to kill Tshaka, but were afraid of the forces. It was now reported to Tshaka that Hlangabeza ka Mabedhla of the amaNtshali tribe had *deserted* and gone northward after Sotshangana, with people and cattle. The *impi* went on with Mdhlaka. Dingana and other princes went too. The object was to 'bring back' Sotshangana, though the more immediate object was to overtake Hlangabeza.

The Zulus accordingly pursued Hlangabeza, and eventually found out where he had temporarily erected his kraals. He built alongside a forest. Mdhlaka's *impi* divided into two after being *prepared for action* at night-time. One division advanced on the far side of the forest, whilst the main body came on before daybreak to make a frontal attack. The forces closed in simultaneously, followed by their *mat-bearers*. Every member of the amaNtshali tribe was put to  
10 death, and cattle seized. Hlangabeza himself escaped and got to a pond where he tried to conceal himself by getting into the water up to his neck. He was, however, observed by the *mat-bearers*, who thereupon attacked and put him to death. Prior to this attack, the princes had returned to Tshaka at Stanger, their object being to kill him.

Dinya now gives an account of Tshaka's death which corresponds with Fynn's. He says, however, the Pundos had come from Faku with a small drove of oxen in order to tender their chief's allegiance; that some of these cattle were killed in order to be eaten; that Dingana, Mhlangana and Mbopa arrived at night-time; that seeing the messengers from Faku the following morning talking to the king (seated on his 'throne' or seat of kingship), he ran up to them and struck them with the stick end of his assegai; that he did this to rouse Tshaka's anger, Tshaka being of course helpless without his forces; that the Pundos ran off at once for their homes, leaving

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- 11 their assegais and the meat which was cooking for them unconsumed; and that those who buried Tshaka probably never *survived*, for in accordance with custom they were '*stones for burying the king*'.

Tshaka said when stabbed, '*Is it the sons of my father who are killing me? How is this, seeing I never put to death any of my brothers ever since I became king? You are killing me, but the land will see locusts and white people come.*' He then fell. True enough, locusts and Europeans subsequently came. This is evidence of Tshaka being a prophet.

- The first white man arrived with Nhlamba at the kraal of Sinqila ka Mpipi, chief of the Amangati tribe (offshoot of Cele tribe). Sinqila went out to look for his beast which had *calved in the veld*. He found all his women and children running away from the wild beast, viz. a white man who was mounted on a horse. This man had, in  
12 Sinqila's absence, arrived at the kraal, causing women etc. all to run away. They said his hair was like cattle tails, and the horse some strange bogey. (*Hasazi comes after Sinqila in order of birth. Hasazi's other name is Koviswayo.*) This European, Dinya says, must have been Fynn.

The extraordinary thing to the natives was this strange being on top of another strange animal. The white man was accompanied by Nhlamba, who acted as interpreter. Sinqila sent at once to report the incident to his chief Magaye. Magaye was then living at Mhlali in his Mdlazi kraal. Sinqila gave a full account of the white man, saying how he was dressed, that he had an *imbenge*<sup>4</sup> on his head, that something (a bottle in which he carried milk asked for at the kraals visited) was very peculiar, inasmuch as it shone, and the gun he carried. All these features were surprizing, and all this Sinqila, *having brought a gift of food for the small children*, reported to his chief (also of the Amangati tribe) as he (Sinqila) stood outside his hut.

- After hearing this, Magaye sent for the principal members of his  
13 tribe. He called his *induna* Nhlasiyana ka Nomunga ka Mkokeleli, the *induna* Cunge ka Nodinga, Mvivyeki of the Emanhlokweni tribe, and Mpangu of the Gumbi, a section of the Qwabe tribe which *konza'd* to the Cele. Others came in addition to these. Sinqila once more stated exactly what he had seen, causing a great impression on those who listened. Magaye proposed the man should be brought to him to see. Sinqila said he must not run away on seeing the monster. Magaye, after Sinqila went off to conduct the stranger to him, called up his regiments and set them on both sides of him as he sat *in the open space* in front of the cattle kraal. His children and relatives stood behind.

- Presently the stranger arrived, mounted on a horse, with hat on head, gun in hand, hair like cattle tails, and so forth. All present were moved with wonder and awe, so much so that the regiments shuffled back as far as the *fence*, whilst Magaye himself moved backwards with such vigour as to sprain <sic> one of the children  
14 (girls) behind him. When the white man halted and got off and stood, the onlookers were reassured, the more so when he did as asked by Magaye through his interpreter, namely to remove his hat, to turn round and so forth in order that full opportunity should be given of surveying him well at a distance.

Magaye now ordered that an ox should be presented as food to the stranger. A *dark-brown* one was got and given him, and he was told to go and pass the night at Mziboneli's kraal, this man being a brother of Magaye and son of Dibandhlela. Mziboneli was much concerned at having to receive the monster into his own homestead, but did in accordance with orders, namely at his kraal known as kwa Mabola. Here the *dark-brown* beast (ox) was slaughtered. It was not stabbed, it was shot, and as the shot was fired all lay down on the ground. The white man proposed this, and after warning all to be on the lookout for a report like a thunderclap, fired at and killed the beast without touching it. He then cut its throat to let it bleed freely. He asked what part should be presented to the chief. They told him the *meat covering the ribs*, (as well as) the ear. So the white man, after having these parts carefully cut out, himself took and presented them to the chief. Magaye was much impressed with this stranger, and in view of what had occurred decided at once to report to Tshaka.

Magaye observed that he had previously heard of a stranger like this riding on a peculiar animal, when on a visit to the Qwabe tribe in Zululand, for his mother Siwetu was a sister of Nqeto. He had heard the white man had come from the Cape and was bound for the coast, and that he had been put to death by the Mtetwa people over whom Dingiswayo was chief. This is the white man of whom people sang, '*Ngqwabangqwaba, go away!*'<sup>5</sup> to keep him from approaching their kraals.

Magaye was advised to go and report to Tshaka in person. He did so. He directed Nhlasiyana to take a *detachment* of 30 to 40 men with him and conduct the white man to Bulawayo kraal at which Tshaka was then staying, whither he would himself go on ahead and be present when the party arrived. When the party got to Bulawayo they found Magaye there, seated with Tshaka. They had been directed by Magaye to enter the kraal by both gates and then to advance up the *meeting place of the council* towards the *isigodhlo*. They were to halt with their charge as soon as they got a short distance off it, and then one and all to raise their right arms into the air and together exclaim, dwelling a long while on each syllable, as if singing, '*Magaye says that the cockroaches are crossing the council place!*' This expression was to be sung out three times, each time as before. [This is an expression meaning that good luck has befallen one.]

They did as ordered. No sooner did Tshaka hear them exclaim thus than he ran out of his hut, dragging his *skin cloak* with him, to see what it meant. He said, '*Hear, my people! Magaye says the white men have arrived in his country.*' He presently noticed the white object among them. He gave the bystanders various orders as regards making the white man do this and that. He took it into his head to cause the white man to undress and put on his, Tshaka's, *loin-cover*, which was fetched from his hut. Having a sense of decency, Tshaka ordered 30 or 40 men to stand round about the white man so as to hide him whilst he undressed. This was done, and Fynn presently appeared in the garb of a Zulu, his flesh as white as milk, only to be called '*Mbuyazi (Mbulazi) of the Bay, the long-tailed finch that came from Pondoland*', this being the *praise-name* made up by Tshaka. The *loin-cover* was of *blue monkey skin* with *genet skin* in front. He was told by Tshaka to *take off the clothes which he was wearing* - Tshaka spoke of course through the interpreter - and to *put on the*

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*loin-cover*. He was hidden by the men out of respect to the *umdhlonkulu* gathered round Tshaka and looking on.

Durban in those days was spoken of as *Emateku* or *Esibubulungu*.

Tshaka presented Fynn with three lots of cattle which were driven to his home (Port Natal), one herd after the other, to enable Fynn to *set up a kraal*.

18 We draw the conclusion from what has gone before that the European was feared as much when he arrived as he is nowadays.

Hasazi was a younger brother of Sinqila and not of so much importance. He may and probably did accompany Fynn to Tshaka. Fynn was the first white man ever seen by the Celes. [The date would be about June 1824.]

28.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 18-20.

Also present: Mtimkulu, Dhlozi

Per Dinya, Mtimkulu, and Dhlozi.

Mtimkulu ka Tshotsho ka Duze ka Mnengwa ka Makanya ka Zingelwayo ka Simamane etc. (Qwabe tribe), aet. 54.

.... <Praises of Zulu ka Nogandaya omitted - eds.>

19 Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo is of the Amambili tribe, an offshoot of the Mtetwa tribe. The Amambili are now, for the most part, of the Fingo section. Ngoyi crossed into Natal and built between the Mkomazi and Mtwalume rivers. He was subsequently *driven out* by Tshaka's *amaMpondo impi*.

Mtimkulu thinks Xozas and Zulus and Mtetwa came down the east coast from Central Africa. The Xozas are spoken of as *abaNguni*.

*Isivivane*<sup>6</sup>..., *mtshopi*,<sup>7</sup> *izinkuni zo bane*,<sup>8</sup> *tshis' impepo*<sup>9</sup> are essentially Jewish customs and (serve) to prove Jewish ancestry. *Izinkuni zo bane* are used for *impepo*, i.e. is incense.

We are anxious to find out where we came from. These Jewish customs of ours are evidence that we came from the north, for this evidence was in existence before we came in contact with the Europeans.

20 The Bacas built at Pasiwe, a hill near Greytown. The Bacas are part of the Zulu people. They ran off, and so were spoken of as *amaBaca*.<sup>10</sup>

The Xozas are said to have *driven their cattle to grazing grounds*. They drove along from one nice *plain* to another - a nomadic existence. These people used the bow and arrows, learning this from the Bushmen. It is said the Xozas sprang from the Qwabe people, who are also *abaNguni*. The Xozas are *abaNguni* <sic>. Xozas *went down* by going along the *Drakensberg* into the Cape Colony. The Zulus are *abaNguni* too, though they are *insulted* by calling them *amaNtungwa*.<sup>11</sup>

On the whole it seems probable that the *abaNguni* came from the east coast, from Ngungunyana, Gasaland, and Lake Nyasa. Sotshangana, Nqaba, Hlangabeza, all turned back to Portuguese territory. This gives the impression that that was the route taken. The *amaNtungwa*

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probably came from the Mabunda people.

1.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 53, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Mtimkulu? Dhlozi?

21 The first Europeans who came to Natal were persons in debt or in poor or questionable circumstances at the Cape. They came to Natal, hunted etc., and became prosperous.

Fynn's great *induna* was Juqula ka Nqawe of Emapemvini section - I don't know of which tribe. Mjosingana ka Mboli of the Mkungweni *kraal* in the Cele tribe was of rank in the tribe. He was an *umunanzana* living under Fynn. When Fynn ran away, Juqula went to live at Isipingo where his descendants still are. Mjosingana also lived at Isipingo when Fynn left.

22 After Fynn left Natal consequent on Nqeto's revolt, there was great famine in the neighbourhood of Port Natal, for the Zulus had devastated the country, driving off the inhabitants. It seems that a mealie seed was dropped by the Europeans who were fleeing. Mjosingana found this single seed and planted it. It *flowered, dried*, and had a *cob*. He planted all the seeds of this cob. The resulting cobs gave him sufficient seed to plant a *garden*. When this was *reaped*, he distributed the seed among his own kraal. In this way food increased and people came to *konza* him or to buy seed there. Many refugees from Zululand were *taken in* there. Juqula also got a number of adherents. Mjosingana built above or to the west of Isipingo as it now is, whilst Juqula built across the Izimbokodwe stream, near the sea, where he *gathered mussels* to eat. Makokela is one who built at the Lovu - this side. He planted gardens where sugar cane is now being planted. This man was of the amaNdelu tribe. He too got a following on account of having mealie seed, viz. what he got from Mjosingana.

23 Kofiyana ka Mbengana was the great *induna* of John Cane. Mangelemana of the Duma (Dumisa) was a minor *induna* of Cane's. Kofiyana had his kraal on the Durban side of the Mbilo. I (Dinya) have seen Kofiyana. His son Mbotshwa has a tribe on the Mzimkulu. Kofiyana's tribe was the Tshabeni.

Mjosingana's son is Mafa and is *induna* of Ndunge (chief). Mafa's mother is a daughter of the Makanya chief Duze, and so is related to Mtimkulu.

24 John Cane lived near Kangela. Fynn lived at Isipingo. I do not know the site of his home. Juqula's descendants might know. John Dunn's father lived at South Coast Junction. He had many Hottentots and native followers. There was plenty of liquor at his place. His native name was Misdoni. Dunn came with Collis. Collis came by his death by a powder magazine exploding. He was smoking a cigar, it is said, and threw it down, for in those days (powder) was not kept with the same care as now. Collis had one store, on the left side of a stream running from the market past the Natal Bank and Pardy's house into the Bay. Collis's was the only store. He sold powder, sugar, etc.

There were herds of wild pigs over the site of Durban.

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1.3.1905, evening.

File 61, nbk. 53, p. 24.

Also present: Dhlozi? Mtimkulu?

Dinya says: I was in Natal when Mpande crossed into Natal from Zululand in October 1839. At that time I saw Mpande. He had on a *headring*, and had several children by that time. Mpande left his *impi at the Hlawe river*, this side of Tongati and beyond Mdhloti, and came to see the Boers near the Mlazi river, on the north side. The Boers had a camp there as well as at Kangela.

I also saw Mawa, the Zulu princess. She was quite bald but had hair cut from children and stuck on to her head with *red clay*, making it appear as if the hair was her own. *Hard cattle fat*, i.e. fat round the paunch, was also used to stick hair down.

*Cambusaiing* is a characteristic of the Zulus, i.e. cutting the ears. The Pondos use an *awl* and have only a small hole.

1.3.1905, evening.

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 1-3.

Also present: Dhlozi, Mtimkulu?

- 1 Dinya says on the occasion of *the mourning for Nandi*, food belonging to Masawuzana was brought to Tshaka's kraal (Bulawayo). Tshaka inquired who that was who, when mourning was on, dared to have food brought to the royal kraal. Masawuzana, hearing of these inquiries, at once told Tshaka not that it was for him but for his elder brother Mnongose, who had been installed as chief by Tshaka. Tshaka thereupon put Mnongose to death and Masawuzana got off. Both Mnongose and Masawuzana were the sons of Mteli ka Lufuta (Qwabe chief).

- 2 Masawuzana was a *warrior of Tshaka* and *induna* at Vungameni kraal (Tshaka's). He went on the Balule campaign but came back all right. He killed beasts as an offering to the spirits on his return. Nowela ka Mteli said to the men, 'Go and partake of the meat. When you have done so, take note of the hut he sleeps in and then kill him off for me.' They went, lay in wait and, after carefully surrounding his hut in the early dawn, stabbed him to death. Nowela got authority from Dingana, who was then king, to kill Masawuzana.

Masawuzana frequently got Qwabe people killed by Tshaka through telling tales about them.

Customs of Zulus analogous to Jewish ones.<sup>12</sup> [Compare with paper in 'Natal Missionary Conference' about 1880-1885 - 9.2.1916.]

*Isivivane*

*Mtshopi*

*Impukane*<sup>13</sup> - when a person has stabbed a beast the *impukane* is cut out.

*Impepo*

*Izinkuni zo bane* - burnt offering

*Mswani*<sup>14</sup> - is thrown inside the hut - each hut - if a woman has lost a child, she goes to her home, a beast is killed, she is washed with *mswani* and is then cleansed.

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- 3 Dhlozi says a girl washes her hands in ashes and water. This mixture is thrown into her hands, she pretends to wash, spills water, then the *spoon* carrying the water and ashes is thrown on the ground and the woman stamps on it, breaking it. This happens at her own kraal.

*Ukusoka*<sup>15</sup>

*Ukungena*<sup>16</sup>

*Isitembu*<sup>17</sup> and patriarchal system

*Lobola*

Persons killed for theft

Persons killed for adultery - *stoned to death*

Persons killed for *practising witchcraft*

*Hlonipa*<sup>18</sup> - mother-in-law *hlonipas* son-in-law; wife *hlonipas* father-in-law.

2.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 4-7.

Also present: Mtimkulu? Dhlozi?

- 4 Njanduna. Kokela, a *Ndwandwe* of *Zwide's Pela* regiment, was *induna* of Njanduna.<sup>19</sup>  
Ngxangaza - the name of one of Dingana's kraals. (It was in the, charge of Tshibilika, and was *in the bush country on the Mhlatusze, the country of the izinqawe trees* - trees with very long thorns.  
Nzwakele was Dube chief.<sup>20</sup>

Dinya says: Pahla and Gumbi were twins. The woman said, '*Hold me! There is another at the side*', and so when they delivered her again Gumbi was born, and he was named because of his being taken from the side (of the womb),<sup>21</sup> Pahla having been born first and thus being the principal *twin*. To this day the Gumbi and Pahla people do not intermarry. Pahla, Gumbi, as well as Sishi (my ancestor), are the sons of Mahlobo; hence I differ from Mmemi. Ciyi (Cili) seems to me to come before Gumbi, Pahla, Sishi etc., and to rank in age with the amaNgadi.

The amaNganga do not belong to the Qwabe tribe; they are not an offshoot of it.

Dinya speaks: The Ncwane is the section to which Zulu ka Nogandaya belongs. This section seems to have come from the north say the Mtetwa tribe. This Zulu became a *warrior of Tshaka*. This name was moreover not his; it was given him by Tshaka. This man

- 5 Zulu was *born among the Qwabe*. His proper name was Komfiya. He was an *inceku*. When a fight was about to take place between Zulus and Ndwandwes, Tshaka, at Bulawayo, one day took a *long staff* and stuck it into the ground *in the council place* and challenged anyone from among his regiments to seize it, this meaning that he equalled Tshaka's bravery when (he was among, the Mtetwa and (so would be) entitled to his praises. Komfiya came forward through an *opening in the isigodhlo fence*, with cowdung on his hands, for he had been smearing floors, and took the stick, to Tshaka's and everyone else's surprise.<sup>22</sup>

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When the battle with Zwide came on, Komfiya took part, and in a most heroic manner, until they stabbed him between the shoulder-blade and the arm, thereby causing him to drop his shield. Though he had lost his shield he continued to fight, and he did so in so determined a manner that his own side took hold of him and prevented him from needlessly exposing himself. When later on Tshaka came to discuss the battle and he came to hear of Komfiya's deeds of valour, he formally spoke of him as 'Zulu' and said he was entitled to praises Tshaka himself had earned among the Mtetwa. Zulu ka Nogandaya subsequently became *induna* at the Black Hlomendhlini kraal under Nongalaza ka Nondela (at the place of Mngunyana of the Qwabe tribe).

Zulu ka Nogandaya died at the Mkunya near Springvale in Natal. He deserted from Mpande when this king started killing off the bigger *izinduna* like Mpangazita ka Mncumbata. Zulu feared being killed, so ran off, and yet Mpangazita was not killed by Mpande, for the regiments did so on his trying to lay down the law at the Hlawe river between the Tongati and Mdhloti. They said, 'You are not going to lay down the law in this council as well as in that of Zululand.' He was then mauled about by the men until he died.<sup>23</sup>

Zulu ka Nogandaya crossed into Natal with Mpande. Mkehlanguana is a son of Zulu and is still living; he pays hut tax in Mzinto (and is) in charge of the Ncwane section of the Qwabe tribe.<sup>24</sup>

Komfiya, being an *inceku*, may have been advised by Tshaka to take the *stick* as Tshaka wanted to raise him to a position of rank. It is difficult to see how a mere *inceku* could have dared to take Tshaka's place, and no one else in all the regiments could be found of equal pluck. He must have been encouraged by Tshaka himself for the act of extraordinary daring. And yet as the man was one of courage he may have done it of his own accord after full opportunity had been given to the regiments.

Zulu was of the Mgumanqa regiment.

I have seen Zulu. He was of medium height, black, had a *headring*, and was *induna* of the Mpohlo regiment at the Black Hlomendhlini kraal.

2.3.1905, afternoon.

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 7-12.

Also present: Madikane

Madikane ka Mlomowetole arrives. He thinks Dinya's statement about Zulu ka Nogandaya's taking a *stick* set up by Tshaka is incorrect as this is not what Tshaka would have done. Tshaka used to set up a *stick* on some flat, level space and then call on anyone of his warriors to jump it. Anyone who cleared it might be given a heifer. Tshaka also invited anyone to lift a *young beast*. If he succeeded it would be given him. Manqondo (Qetuka's father) ka Zwana of the Magwaza tribe lifted the *beast* and was presented with it.

Dinya agrees to what Madikane says but affirms in Madikane's presence what he has already said. Tshaka stuck the *stick* in when a fight with Zwide was imminent. My father was of the Dukuza regiment. When the *stick* incident took place the troops were *vying with one another in displays of audacity* in accordance with custom, Tshaka being present. Tshaka then took a *stick* and went with it into the



council place where all the *impi* had assembled. He said, 'See now, I thrust this stick into the ground. My praises, when I was with the chief Dingiswayo at Yengeni, were, "Heavens that thunder in the open, where there is neither mimosa nor thorn tree; willow tree which overhangs the deep pools." Let there come forward a warrior to pull out this stick. My praises will be given to him as the first to attack in battle.' Komfiya no sooner heard this than he came in through the opening which Tshaka used in going to the *isigodhlo*. He had been smearing the floor in Tshaka's hut, being an *inceku*. He went and pulled out the stick. Tshaka said, 'I shall now watch and see how my dark friend will conduct himself when it comes to the point to see if he will deserve the praise "The heavens that thunder".'

Next day it was reported Zwide's *impi* was at hand. Tshaka's cattle were driven off. The troops asked why the cattle were driven off. Tshaka said, 'Keep quiet; you know nothing. We will get the better of Zwide. He does not feed his troops; they carry only small provisions.' He told Mdhlaka, 'You must prepare the army for battle tomorrow.' Tshaka said (he would) station (himself) on a hill nearby and look on, in company with the chiefs of tribes subject to him. Tshaka said (Mdhlaka should) lead out with the Iziyendane regiment, made up of various chiefs' forces. Their *induna* was Nonzama 'who does not fight but to destroy'. The forces met. Mdhlaka put on the Iziyendane first. Mdhlaka then set on the Intontela, Dhlangezwa, Mgumanqa, and others.

At one part Mvundhlana ka Menziwa entered the Ndwandwe forces and attacked them; also Nkayitshana ka Kuzwayo entered; then others assisted them.

This fight took place this side of the Mhlatuze and lasted till nightfall.

Komfiya was stabbed in the upper left arm between the shoulder blade and armbone. He killed a number and then got hurt. He thereupon earned Tshaka's praises.

'Isibiba' (refers to) the *izinsizwa* forces who closely support the king, i.e. remain with the king until the fight is turning; then they follow on.

Dinya says when he was a little boy the river of that name was called Amanzimtoti. It may have been so called by Zulus when going on the Pondoland *impi*.

.... <Linguistic notes relating to names omitted - eds.>

We are crushed by this; we are crushed by that - i.e. the various kinds of work natives are obliged to perform for Europeans.

We came running empty-handed (in wartime).

We are governed as if we are slaves.

Indians can buy land, Indians can keep stores, but natives have not similar rights, and yet the former are newcomers.

We do not care for the Tshaka regime. We were all killed off there.

Dr Adams got reserves for us on which we were to be taught the word of God, the land to be inalienable.

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We have no place to go to and are resigned to our lot and would follow Europeans if they were to leave, but we should be treated better than we are.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

3.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 54, pp. 12-14.

Also present: Madikane

- 13 Kwa Malinde is the Durban flat (which extends) from the Umgeni to Kangela - a flat with *monkey oranges*, fruit eaten by elephants, and still growing in Greyville. Amalinde is a very old name, existing before Europeans came.

Formerly all the kraals in Durban were hidden away in the bushes. 'On the *Mayinde* flat there is a rolling movement of the sea.' This is a song that used to be sung by *Mkatayi ka Mpalazi ka Dibandhlela*. Mkatayi belonged to the Cele tribe. Dinya says, 'I heard this dance-song when I was still a boy.' [It might therefore be about 60 years ago, as he is now 77 or 78.]

Madikane says Tshaka tended to discontinue the word '*Bayete*' and substitute that of '*Wen' o ngang' ezwe*'.<sup>25</sup>

Madikane (also) says that '*Nina ba kwa Lufenulwenja, ba kwa Ntontontwana*'.<sup>26</sup> was the way Zulus were addressed.

- 14 Tshaka got (the term) '*Ndabezita*'<sup>27</sup> from the Cunu. Zulu and Qwabe are spoken of by outsiders as *amaNtungwa*.

*Mtshopi* and *umgonqo* are customs which become like laws.<sup>28</sup>

Under Tshaka ornamental incisions were cut in the calf of the leg, i.e. up the sides, inner side. The Fasimba and Mvutwamini (regiments)<sup>29</sup> were so marked. The skin would be pricked with a thorn, lifted, and then cut. Not all people were dealt with in this way, only certain sections of Zulus.

29.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 1-7.

- 1 Dinya arrives on his second visit.

Nqeto's great *induna* was Mdandazi of the right-hand house of the Qwabe. This man was sent with oxen to Faku (Pondo king) to tender Nqeto's allegiance. Faku accepted his allegiance but directed Nqeto not to cross the Mzimvubu on any raid, or he would be 'covered with a blanket', by which was meant that the Pondo people, far more numerous than his men, would attack him.

Ngololo ka Mjanyelwa ka Sigwegwe of the Cele tribe was one of Nqeto's greatest heroes.

.... <Ngololo's praise omitted - eds.>

Magaye was buried at Inanda, at ekuKekezeni, his kraal. That is where the Zulus killed him.

2 Although Nqeto had been specially directed not to raid across the Mzimvubu, his *induna* Mdandazi did so, in spite of the remonstrances of his men. He seized cattle belonging to the Pondos. One morning the Qwabes woke at dawn to find a great dark mass encircling them on all sides. This turned out to be the Pondo forces, and so the statement was fulfilled that the Pondos would cover the Qwabes as with a blanket should they cross the Mzimvubu with any hostile intentions. A bloody battle ensued on the banks of the Mzimvubu. Many who escaped the spear were either drowned or killed by hippopotami, which were at that time numerous. In this battle, Nqeto's forces were greatly outnumbered.

3 A man escaped to where Nqeto was, and informed him of what had occurred, saying that he alone remained of all the forces. He told of the utter defeat of the force. Nqeto now decided to go off with such of his forces as remained to tender his allegiance to the Bacas. With this object in view he set forth, driving along with him a very large number of cattle. To his amazement, before he had had an opportunity of tendering his allegiance, the Bacas set onto and attacked him, no doubt supposing he intended acting aggressively. They, of course, defeated his already reduced numbers (for apart from those slain in the recent battle, the greater bulk of the Qwabes had remained behind in Zululand and Natal). They moreover seized his vast stock. In this conflict the famous hero Ngololo was stabbed in many places and left for dead on the ground. Nqeto himself took refuge with some of his household in some reeds. When word 4 was brought to him of what had occurred he saw that all was up. He bade farewell to his scattered forces, such as remained, and told them to save themselves; as for himself, he would become a wanderer. He still had four fat heifers by him.

After hearing of Ngololo's condition he was not satisfied, so he dispatched some men to where the hero was lying in order to carry him to a place of safety, for word had come that, though at first taken for dead, Ngololo had showed signs of life. He gave orders that one of the heifers should be slaughtered for Ngololo in order that the bile might be sprinkled over the wounds. He added that a door was to be got and, after affixing poles thereto, the wounded hero was to be carried away to a place of safety. All this was done.

5 Nqeto now wandered forth alone with practically no more than his personal household. It is said that near the Drakensberg he was put to death by the Bele people (that might be their name),<sup>30</sup> and his wives etc. seized by them. As for Ngololo, he got over his wounds and found his way back to Zululand.

Now it so happened that a man named Msekelo ka Ntamo of the Mtetwa tribe, who lived on lands between the Berea, Durban, and Pinetown in Farewell's day, witnessed the Mzimvubu fight between the Pondos and Nqeto's men. He was Dingana's spy. He returned to Dingana to report that Nqeto was completely routed, and that if he were not killed many of his men would find their way back into Natal and Zululand. Dingana was annoyed on hearing this and at once gave orders that any followers of Nqeto were to be killed as soon as they got back. Magaye, chief of the Cele people, was closely related to Nqeto. (His mother Siwetu, one whom the Cele people always *swore* by, was 'own sister' of Nqeto.) It was therefore natural that Nqeto's men should take refuge with him. [See (below

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- under date 30.3.1905, where it will be seen Magaye was put to death previous to this and for a different reason.]
- 6 Magaye secretly received some of these stragglers, whereupon he was attacked by the Zulu forces and routed, he himself, after being killed, being eaten up by his own dogs [as I have related elsewhere in my notes]. Magaye's remains were buried at Inanda at or near his kraal ekuKekezeni. All such stragglers from Nqeto's men as were not killed by the Zulus now resolved on taking refuge in the Tshongeni bush or forest on the south bank of the Tukela near the sea. From this forest they occasionally sallied forth to raid cattle from the neighbourhood. They became marauders. When it became too hot for them there they moved to other natural cover from whence they continued their depredations. As for Ngololo, he found his way back to Pondo-land. In Mpande's reign he settled in Natal at the Ifafa, subsequently moving to the Tongati, where he died.
- 7 Dinya says he knew Ngololo well. Ngololo was so much liked and so trusted by Nqeto that that chief always required him to live in a hut next to his own, so that in the event of night attack he would have someone on whom he could absolutely depend.
- There is good ground for thinking that had Nqeto, after his defeat at the Mzimvubu, gone unarmed straight to Faku and thrown himself on his mercy, Faku would have extended his protection over him, for the Pondos are not a vindictive people.
- Dinya says that his grandfather Ntonjana was with Nqeto during these stirring times. His, Dinya's, father, Zokozwayo, remained behind with Tshaka and died on the Balule expedition, prior to Nqeto's revolt.

30.3.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 7-8.

- Nqeto wanted Magaye, his nephew, to accompany him. Magaye, hearing this, held a meeting of the Cele tribe, who refused to allow him to join Nqeto on the ground that the latter would put him to death and seize his tribal lands. He would, they urged, do this in spite of his close relationship. Nqeto went forth alone, taking with him a number of Magaye's cattle. Magaye was reprimanded by Dingana for permitting Nqeto to pass through his district, taking with him large numbers of the royal cattle. He took those known as the *mdubu* or *mpofu*<sup>31</sup> ones which the late Tshaka had seized in his last Mpondo campaign.
- Dinya says Magaye was killed for allowing Nqeto to pass through his district with the king's cattle, not, as previously stated, because refugees from Nqeto, after the battle of the Mzimvubu, came and took refuge in his tribe. By that time Magaye was dead, having been succeeded by Mkonto. It was by Dingana's direction that Mkonto, Magaye's son, was made chief, even though he was not the rightful heir.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

1.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 9-13.

Also present: Norman Nembula

9 The Cele dialect arose in the day of Masivuba, wife of Mkokeleli, his *inkosikazi*, a daughter of the Tuli tribe (present chief Mcotoyi).  
 10 Dibandhela<sup>32</sup> grew up among the Tulis at his mother's home, where he was hidden away. Magaye strongly objected to the Cele dialect being changed to that of the Tulis. He directed the young generation to follow him and desist from following that of Masivuba who was a girl from another tribe. He failed, however, in bringing about the desired reform. Nowadays they speak the Zulu dialect. Cele people now under Mshweshwe,<sup>33</sup> however, still speak the old Masivuba dialect. This dialect is that of the Tuli tribe. Magaye wanted to keep to the Mtetwa tongue.

Ndengezi-mashumi was a great *warrior* of Tshaka's. He fought in the battle against Zwide. Tshaka rewarded him with a number of cattle. Ndengezi was dissatisfied with the number given him because of the heroism he had displayed and the many he had killed. Tshaka said, 'But Ndengezi, are you the only *warrior* among all my people?'  
 11 Ndengezi invited Tshaka to tell off a section of Zulus to fight him single-handed. Tshaka did not accept the challenge, knowing Ndengezi would kill them off. Ndengezi's contention was that his reward should be such a number that a stick might be laid on their backs and be carried off some distance towards his home without falling to the ground. That was a sign of a worthy reward for such services as he had rendered. Tshaka was unable to comply, so Ndengezi went home, picked up a few milch cows and fat oxen from his herd, left the others behind, and came to Tshaka to say goodbye, as he was going off elsewhere where his services would be better appreciated. Tshaka allowed him to go, thinking he would return again and was only joking; or he might have thought it better to do that than run the risk of losing a number of men if he accepted the challenge thrown out by Ndengezi. Ndengezi accordingly went forth and, it is believed,  
 12 settled in Sotshangana's country, where he remained. Dinya says: I do not know his regiment or tribe.

Nkaitshana ka Kuzwayo was another of Tshaka's great heroes; also Gcogcomo of the Ngatini of the Cele.... <Praise omitted - eds.>

Nkonde (Norman says) was one of Zwide's great heroes. He was killed at the Mhlatuze when the great battle between Tshaka and Zwide took place.

Mvundhlana ka Menziwa was also a great hero. He was of the Biyela tribe, and was short in stature. Dingana made him *induna* of the Zinyosi.

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

13 Tshaka would call on him by these *praises* and invite him to come out and 'play' before the forces. He would *do a war dance, pleasing the king*, after this. Tshaka would first say, 'I summon you, "you who are hemmed in by assegais!"', and go on through the *praises* given. It is understood the hero must not come forth from his hut or where he may be until the king had actually finished exhorting him.

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Ndhlela ka Sompisi was also a great *warrior* in Tshaka's time.

2.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 13-20.

14 Amabaca. Dinya says: I hear these people *sprang from among the Zulu*. They modified their dialect. Their old residence was about the Pasiwe hill, Ntabakayikonjwa, near the sources of the Umvoti and not far from the Karkloof [but see Bird's Annals, i, 136]. Their chiefs are, beginning from the existing one, Bekukupiwa ka Cijisile ka Mdutshana ka Sonyanga (alias Mayekiso) ka Madikane ka Kalimetshe. Dinya says the cause of the separation was the finding of new grazing and pasture lands for their cattle. This caused the separation, which took place amicably. Kalimetshe ka Diya ka Wabana. [See short list of names in Cape Native Laws and Customs on sheet facing p. 413.]

Nyuswa was *the offspring* of Mafunze, and Nyuswa *fathered* Ngcobo. These are not the names of persons, except in the case of Ngcobo.

.... <Notes on names of objects used by witchdoctors omitted - eds.>

15 On one occasion a section of the Imihaye (regiment, (itself a large section of the Imikulutshane) was ordered to go and fetch *ukova* (i.e. bananas) from near Mbonambi on the coast and bring the fruit to Mgungundhlovu. Somuntsha was the *induna* in charge. When they got back to Mgungundhlovu, where Dingana was, they were singing an *inkondhlo* (a loud, exciting chorus). They came up to where Dingana was seated and then *saluted*. Dingana afterwards called to Ndhlela to ask who those were who had come in singing, and directed them to repeat their chorus. They did so. Whilst standing before Dingana, one of the men stepped forward and bitterly complained of his *induna* or officer, Somuntsha, accusing him of cruelly beating those under him. The accusation was supported by others. In the meantime Somuntsha backed away, afraid of the possible consequences; that is, he *retreated cringing*. Nothing more was said then. Dingana directed the men to return to Kangela, including those from Dhlangezwa, Ntontela, Mgumanqa, Njanduna, Hlomendhlini Omhlope, Hlomendhlini Omnyama, etc.<sup>34</sup> He said he would look into the matter.

16 Next day, two *kehlas* were seen to arrive at Kangela, one an *inceku*, the other a member of the Ndabenkulu section of the Izimpohlo (regiment). The latter's name was Buto. Dingana was *bonga'd* in a loud voice by the *inceku*. Somuntsha was now called out to come back to where he had just come from, that is Mgungundhlovu, i.e. he was 'recalled'. The *kehla* (latter), whose name was Buto, son of Vumazonke, was then set up as *induna*. Somuntsha, ever since the complaint made against him, had been kindness itself to his men, and when he saw he was called back to headquarters he feared the worst. However, nothing happened. He simply rejoined his regiment (also the Ndabenkulu - part of the Izimpohlo), being relieved of his command. The Imihaye at this time were *izinsizwa*. Dinya's brother Sivande ka Mhluzeli was one of the Imihaye. He witnessed this incident and told Dinya of it. Sivande died over 10 years ago.

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*Iminaka (izimbedu)*. These were large, roughly made copper rings allowed by the king to be worn. Anyone allowed to wear them could not remove the rings except with the permission of the king obtained through the *izinduna*, and permission would be sought only in cases of urgent necessity. Hide was put between the neck and the metal to prevent it burning and chafing. A man would be compelled to wear it for three or four months at a time and, when once on, it would have to be kept on night and day. It would have to be polished while still round the neck - polished with hide. It looked very well, and sometimes as many as four of these heavy rings would be put round one man's neck. Some of this was native copper; some  
18 of the metal came from Delagoa Bay. A whole regiment might be given permission to wear *iminaka*. The Izimpohlo, for instance, wore *iminaka*.

Dinya says: I was interpreter in Dutch and Zulu on the occasion of the Boers having their meeting with Mpande on the Durban side of the Mlazi river and just above the present railway bridge.<sup>35</sup> (There were many hippopotami in the river at the time.) I was a young boy then.<sup>36</sup> When Mpande came, he left his *impi* at the Hlawe (river, (Tongati). He was with Nkunga ka Sitayi, Sotobe ka Mpangalala, Mbilini ('*wo Dhlolo*' - his praise-name). Mpande was seated on a chair. Sotobe and Nkunga *knelt down*, leaning on their sticks in front of them. The principal Boer was Wessel Wessels. I was called up. I was told to interpret. 'Where do you come from?' 'I am running away, running away from my brother.' This was then written  
19 down by Karl Landman. 'What do you want done?' 'I am running away from my brother and seek protection.'

This took place in a wattle and daub room. Four plates, spoons, forks and knives were put on the table.

I was told to tell Mpande his affairs could not be discussed there, and that he was to go up to Pietermaritzburg, whence the waggons would trek the following day. Mpande went up with the waggons. I went up too, and was hurt on the big toe, left foot, by a barrel when jumping up whilst the waggon was going over stones. At Pietermaritzburg I was not present at the big *conference*<sup>37</sup> as I  
20 remained with the waggons. I returned with Mpande. He walked both up and back. The waggons, however, carried his things and food. He was told to go back to the Hlawe, and from thence he went straight back to Zululand.

3.4.1905

File 61, nbk, 55, pp. 20-3.

.... <Note on potential informant omitted - eds.>

Kwa Malinde is the name of the flat Durban is built on, as far as the Mngeni. This includes the Berea.

Dinya (continues): Our kraals were placed under John Cane. My father, of course, was dead, having been killed in Tshaka's Balule *campaign*. Farewell's natives were left in Cane's charge. There was only one store in Durban at that time. It belonged to Singqungu  
21 (European name 'Coby'). Collis died before I arrived here. He was killed by accident by a powder magazine blowing up. I heard the

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report of this bursting - it was very loud - and saw the cloud of smoke. It took place about midday and in winter-time. I was eating *monkey-oranges* on the racecourse at the time with other boys. I soon heard Collis had been killed and that an arm of his was eventually discovered near a bush on the south side of the Mhlatusana river.

The magazine was situated on the left side of the present Pietermaritzburg railway line just after it leaves that of the south coast (South Coast Junction). Dunn afterwards built near where this magazine exploded. Dunn was probably a relation or clerk of Collis's.

The native names of Europeans of those early times known to me are: Febana (Farewell), Jana (John Cane), Hohlo<sup>38</sup> (Ogle) - the two last made the waggon which went to Dingana and was *drawn* by the Dhlambedhlu regiment; one of these was Makuta Mtambo's father -

- 22 Misdoni or Kwa Doni (Dunn), Kolise (Collis), Peterman (a short Englishman), Tom Cara? (a tall Englishman with a temper). Dr Adams lived just across the Mlazi river, above the road. Gadeni (Dr Gardiner) lived on the Berea; he elected to live on the place he called Berea because there were many native kraals there, but all hidden in the forests, which were very thick. (Another was, Singqungu ('Coby')). These names are of those who lived in the immediate vicinity of Durban.

Cato and Beningfield arrived after the Boers had come. Cato (was called) Kito. Beningfield was called Mangcingci '*of the people of Saoti's place, the knife that is sharp even among the "kaffirs"*'.<sup>38a</sup>

At Isipingo was *Mbuyazi of the Bay* (H.F. Fynn). He had his house on the south side of the Izimbokodwe. When he ran away, afraid of Dingana, he left Juqula ka Nqawe, his *induna*, in charge. This man was of the Amapemvu tribe. Fynn lived with his brother Pobana.

- 23 Mbuyazi's kraal was known as Mpendwini. Damuse, a European, of slight build, tall, lived with John Cane. He was borrowed by Dingana so as to interpret between them and the Boers (Piet Retief). This man Damuse was killed at Mgungundhlovu. This caused John Cane to become very angry. He, after this, *campaigned* against the Zulus, joining Biggar. They took a force of Natal natives and proceeded across the Tugela, where they were killed.<sup>39</sup>

Another European of note was of course Dick King, (who was the same age as Damuse; i.e. (both were) young men. John Cane and Ogle were grown-up men.

5.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 55, pp. 23-4.

Dinya: Damuse was well-known to Dingana as belonging to the Englishmen at Port Natal, and John Cane was strongly of the view he ought to have been saved. It was the allowing of this young man to be killed off which led to Cane's taking up arms against the Zulus.

- 24 [On p. 212 of Bird's *Annals*, vol. 1, I see Thomas Halstead was the interpreter to Piet Retief's deputation, and this is undoubtedly the man Dinya refers to. I see on p. 167, Russell's *Natal*,<sup>40</sup> that young Biggar was killed as well as Halstead. In Bird's *Annals* it appears Biggar resented the killing of his son and decided to lead forth the force referred to on p. 170 of Russell, and no doubt Cane's motive for going was because Halstead had been killed.]



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Damuse's (Halstead's) kraal was called Otshayaneni and was situated at the Ilovu, on the near side, above the railway and on the river flats.

Mabiya, a native, took charge of Damuse's kraal after his death. Mabiya is dead; so also is his son Nkondhlwana. Nkondhlwana's son Sibewu is now living.

John Cane's kraal was called esiNyameni, and was built on the Berea (south side). Cane had his own waggon-making establishment at Congella. The esiNyameni *induna* was Kofiyana ka Mbengana of the Tshabeni. There was another esiNyameni kraal (Cane's). The *induna* was Nkayitshana ka Lujoloba of the Xaba. This kraal was between (the Mzinto and the Ifafa, nearer the Ifafa).

5.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 56, pp. 1-5.

- 1 Dinya continues: Nkaitshana died leaving his son Mtshwankeyana (deceased) leaving a son Mpola (now living).<sup>41</sup>

Damuse's kraal, under Mabiya, moved to the Mzumbe (both sides). The Isinyama (Cane's) has also moved from the Berea to the Mzimkulu (north side). They belong to Port Shepstone magistracy. They are at present in the charge of Mbotshwa ka Kofiyana of the Tshabeni. They are living near Zitulele (Royston). They have bought land of their own. Although these kraals removed, still some of their adherents remained behind.

H.F. Fynn's kraal was Mpendwini, built beyond the Isipingo at the Mbokodwe.

Ogle's kraals were three in number. His kraal Kwa Toyana, where Joji (George) was born, was just above the railway drift and south of the river, near Damuse's Tshayaneni. Wohlo's great kraal however was Bekane, built on the Mlazi (north side) and near the sea. The chief now is John Ogle. Bekane removed to Ixopo Division and is there now. Another kraal of Wohlo's is Zembeni, of which Tshaka is now in charge. Tshaka is a son of Wohlo by Sibadi, a daughter of Sicubana ka Dibandhlela (Cele chief).

Peterman (Pitimane) had a kraal on the Mlazi (north side), far above the railway, and under the forests. It was called Esibanyeni. His people *broke up* after his death. He was killed at the Tugela with Cane and Biggar. He was an Englishman. He used to trade in ivory, which he used to send forward to the Cape.

Braunberg (?), a Boer, I think, had a kraal at Clairmont.

All these Europeans built on this plan: they all had a number of wives and ordinary native kraals, but also differently constructed
  - 3 houses not far off, where they actually lived and at which they received European visitors. Wohlo and Mbulazi are the two who had the largest number of wives. Collis had no *establishment of wives*. I think he had his own wife.
- The sexual intercourse with these wives took place on the Zulu plan; that is, any woman required would be specially sent for. She would at nightfall come to the man's house. The man would not go about to each woman's hut from time to time, carrying his blanket with him, as less important men are in the habit of doing.
- Joyce (Joyisi) - I think Robert (Christian name) - had a kraal at the Mzinto. He was, I think, Cane's servant, for I have heard Cane calling out to him, 'Robert!', whereupon he would reply, 'Yes,

4 sir', and run to him. It is evident that Joyce, like Dick King, had come with Cane from the Cape. Joyce was known by natives as Bobe (Bob). Bobe's kraal was called Embeyebeyeni, named after Tshaka's.

Dick King lived at the Isipingo, nearer Durban than Fynn. He lived with Mbuyazi and Pobana. Dick King was afterwards given land by the Government south of the Mlazi in reward for his services. Dick King had an *establishment of wives*, but I do not know its name.

Captain Gardiner had no *establishment of wives*. But he had an establishment named Vimbindhlela. He received adherents from Zululand, i.e. refugees. Many came and settled under the various Europeans, including Gardiner.

5 Cane, Ogle, and others traded in ivory and buffalo hides. Mbulazi was the greatest trader in ivory. Cane also traded in buffalo hides, for which much salt was brought by ships to Natal.

I knew Captain Gardiner. He was tall, as tall as Dr Adams. John Cane was the tallest of all the Englishmen, and was very strong and industrious. Gardiner, I think, shaved; Cane also *shaved*.

6.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 56, pp. 5-11.

I worked, says Dinya, for Dirk (Froyi?) who was killed at Amanzimtoti by Ndinisa and Bulushe, followers of the English. I worked at Kwa Dolomakala (i.e. where many are congregated together), a temporary township of Boers on the Mlazi - north side and just above the railway line. Dolomakala is a name given by natives. The houses were of wattles, reeds and daub. They were square. The Boers had no *establishments of wives*. They would not associate with even a good-looking girl. They joked, not with native womenkind, but only with men. They used to wear trousers made up of sheep or goat skins tanned by them in a particular way and called 'feld-broek'(?). 6 These trousers were very durable and had to be used until the English traders arrived. They treated their natives very well, fed them from their own table food, and gave lads slices of bread thickly covered over with butter to take into the field to herd cattle. They gave them coffee etc. It was owing to such treatment that natives stuck to them as they did.

The tanning of sheepskins etc. took place thus: the skins were first of all buried in the ground for four or five days. The hair or wool would then come off readily. They would be washed and put into a tub intermixed with bark of the *isihlakoti* (very red bark) or *amangamazi* (red). The skins would be put in one on top of the other. There would also be water in the tub - filled up with it. Stones 7 would be placed on top to keep (the skins) down. The skins would be in about a month and then spread out on the grass as we now do with clothing, and be turned over and over until dry. As a rule no further action was necessary as the skins would be quite soft, but if it were required to make them softer, a spade would be laid on the ground with the foot on it. The hide would then be drawn up in contact with the edge of the spade, i.e. the inner side of the hide. The skin would now become quite *soft*. After being sewn up and worn, these trousers could be washed with what Boers call 'suerim' (?) and become very red and in first-class condition. The trousers were sewn up with sacking twine after being pulled through something like wax etc. Awls would be used for sewing. The Boers, both men and women,

## DINYA

did the sewing. Two pairs of these trousers could be worn in a year.

- 8 The matted *inner skin* etc. would be removed from the inside of the hide with a *scrubbing stone* - free stone.

The women wore clothing, but of the most durable kind.

For (making) soap the Boers used two kinds of trees, viz. *imbidhla* and *ipahla*. They used the ashes of these trees. The *ipahla* is obtainable on the coast, the *imbidhla* near the coast but 15 to 20 miles from the sea.

- 9 First, ashes were procured of either of these trees in large quantities. These would then be placed in very large iron pots containing water already at the boil. They would then be cooked for some time. When (this had) gone on long enough, the floating ashes would be skimmed off and those in solution allowed to precipitate. They would then put a large quantity of cow fat in another pot and pour into it the now cold, clear ash solution, taking care that no ashes got in. The solution and fat would then be cooked and kept cooking for fully a week, day and night, ash water being added whenever necessary. The mixture would then become like thick porridge. The fire would be removed and the soapy mixture allowed to cool and settle for a couple of days. It would then be carefully cut up into pieces and laid on one side to dry. The result would be excellent soap. The soap made from *imbidhla* appeared to be better than that from *ipahla*.

Dinya says: I have myself made these soaps.

Another of Mbuyazi's kraals was Ensimbini. This kraal is now south of the Mzimkulu. The kraals attached thereto pay hut tax at Port Shepstone.

- 10 Carl Landman, Wessel Wessels, Hans Potgieter, John Moulman, Almans Fourie (?), Gert Kemp, Kurt Kemp, are the names of some Boers (who were) living at or near Durban.

The following are the places where Boers specially lived: Dolomakala, Kangelala, at the Mngeni (south side, close to Durban), up the Mlazi under Hans de Lange (tall, red hair), at the Mkomazi and Mkobeni, also at Maritzburg.

- 11 Boers would take hold of a man by his *headring* and pull it off for nothing, and beat him. They liked having young boys and girls to work for them. Natives used to build in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, in bushes, forests etc. so as to get out of the way of the Boers. Dr Adams used to advise natives to be quiet, and things would right themselves when the English arrived. Boers would think nothing of halting their waggons beside mealie gardens and half filling their waggons with the new mealies in spite of the women's remonstrances. Any man interfering would be lashed and skinned with the whip.

Boers did not severely beat boys but they flogged men in the most cruel manner. Sometimes they would tie them on the ground, back uppermost, by strops to stakes in the ground, and proceed to flog.

People withdrew to the bushes to keep as much as possible out of sight of the Boers, and even then took care not to drive their cattle out the same way day by day for fear that they might create tracks which would enable Boers to find their kraals.

Boys were paid at the rate of 1s a month, and at the end of the year the boy's father would be sent for and the money given to him.

8.4.1905, evening.

File 61, nbk. 56, pp. 12-24.

- 12 Stories regarding Tshaka's rule. A woman, *dirty and without a good skirt to wear*, came to Tshaka. Tshaka expressed astonishment and said, 'Mame! Does your husband *konza me*?' The woman said, 'He does, my father.' 'Why then, mother, do you go about naked?' 'My husband is poor, *nkosi*.' Tshaka said, 'Mdhaka, pick out two heifers which are dripping milk, with full udders. Pick out also for me a fat ox with "udders" '(i.e. through being so fat). The two heifers and the ox were got. Tshaka then sent for the woman. She came. The king said, 'These heifers, take them off, and mix up some fat. I give them to you; I do not impose on you any kind of responsibility in regard to them. When they calve, pour the fat in one calabash and smear it on yourself. The other cow must furnish curds so that  
13 you can get fat and not go on being dried up as you are. I give you this ox and call your husband to whatever military kraal he may be attached. Tell him that I have given you these cattle. Say (that the king says that he must, kill this ox, skin it, and make you two coverings, two skirts. The meat to be cooked for the fat is plentiful and must be used for softening these things. You will have a calabash of fat.'

Tshaka then directed a man to be sent along to drive the cattle to the woman's home. This was done. The man in due course came to give praises to the king. Tshaka reprimanded him for allowing his wife to come to the great one's place not properly dressed. 'You do me a dishonour,' he said. 'I want women to bear the looks becoming the wives of those who *konza me*.'

I heard this story from Sivande. [See next (paragraph) but one on.]

- 14 Another matter. Tshaka said, 'Seize hold of so-and-so!' 'Only wait and let me praise the king,' said the man, thinking he was about to be killed. The man said, 'It is good that I am being killed by our king, "the ferocious one from whom people do not court trouble,"' etc. Tshaka then said, 'Leave him, he is praising his king. By my father the chief! Mdhaka, send boys to fetch two fat oxen from the herd.' The oxen arrived. 'Fellow, come forward!' The man advanced. 'Your cries have been heard,' said Tshaka. 'Praise your king until the day you die, for he forgives you. Take these, the oxen of Tshaka, and go with them. When you come to your home, do not go to your hut, but seat yourself in the council place in the cattle enclosure. Call the men, and let them kill one of the oxen; then give praises to the ancestral spirits of your people, for  
15 they have saved you from the wild animal that is the ferocious one of Mbelebele. Then, when this ox has been killed, call forth your 'mothers'. You will be seated near the calf enclosure. Let them enter from the isigodhlo through the narrow opening. Let them seat themselves around you. Then you will relate this matter to them. Say that these cattle were given you by Tshaka the king after you had been seized. Say you gave praises to the king and felt his power, and then you heard the king ordering you to be released and setting aside punishment.' I do not know the man's name.

My cousin Sivande (dead) was of the Mkulutshane regiment of Kangela, and was the son of Msizilo, my father being Zokozwayo ka Mancenga.

16 Another story about Tshaka refers to his *settling the case of Mande* (father of Xabashe and son of Dibandhlela) and Magaye ka Dibandhlela.<sup>42</sup>

Mande belonged to Emfakuceba kraal. Magaye belonged to Nikela kraal, both kraals being Dibandhlela's. Each kraal had a large territory attached to it. Dibandhlela appointed Siwetu (Magaye's mother) as the *inkosikazi*. Emfakuceba is sometimes called simply Emfeni - short form of the word. Mande *exercised authority* at Emfakuceba.

Dibandhlela then took Magaye and *hid him among the people of his mother's brother, Pakatwayo*. Magaye grew up. He was fetched and came back when an *insizwa*. He was then installed as chief of Nikela kraal. Mande roused himself and resisted his portion of people being

17 swallowed up by Magaye. Mande gained as adherents many large kraals of Dibandhlela's. The result of this separation was that only three of Dibandhlela's kraals remained with Magaye, viz. Nikela, Ngwazi (of Zwana ka Mkokeleli), and Lwasi (*of the people of Mpalazi ka Dibandhlela*).

Mande took to arms, having *the men of many kraals* to fight for him, whereas Magaye had those of only three kraals. Dibandhlela *became angry*. He *fetched back* two kraals from Mande, viz. Nkungu (*of the people of Jokazi ka Dibandhlela*), and Amabola (*of Mziboneli ka Dibandhlela*). They returned. Dibandhlela said they belonged to Nikela (kraal). They were *senior sons* of Dibandhlela's. Mzipi ka Dibandhlela was another *senior son* of Amabola kraal and under Mziboneli. Sokanjiswa (*of the people of Jokazi of Nkungwini kraal*) was also a *senior son*. Mande said, 'I should have had no objection if my father had appointed Mzipi the *successor*. I refuse to have appointed as chief over me a mere child.' They failed to see that the reason for this appointment was because Magaye's mother was Dibandhlela's *inkosikazi*, who at her marriage was *danced for* (*with genet tails tied to sticks*) and she was *lobola'd* with tribal cattle, thereby indicating she was the *inkosikazi*. These ceremonials had not occurred in regard to any other of Dibandhlela's wives.

18 Ill-feeling sprang up between Mande and Magaye, and civil war was fought. Magaye was treated with contempt by Mande. He looked on him at first as not having a *force* which could in any way compete with his. The Nkunga and Amabola (kraals) came over, and then the forces to some extent became equal to one another.

Whilst fighting was still going on Tshaka *crossed over* to Dukuza. He then *mediated* by calling all the chiefs, viz. Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo of the Dube tribe, Nqeto ka Kondhlo, Mepo ka Ngwane of the Ngcolosi, Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe, Duze ka Mnengwa of the Makanya, and Nodokwana ka Dibandhlela ka Lubeleni of the Mapumulo (*not Dibandhlela, son of Mkokeleli*), Nodokwana having been *appointed* by Tshaka over the Mapumulo tribe in succession to Mtinkulu ka Dibandhlela ka Lubeleni. All of these had *konza'd* Tshaka; all had *paid tribute*.

20 All these *assembled* at Dukuza. All the Celes arrived at Dukuza too. Dibandhlela was still living but too feeble and old to attend. The meeting took place *on the flat outside the kraal*. They became very anxious, wondering what was to happen.

Mazangane ka Mfaniswa ka Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli said, 'I was present when this *case* was *heard*.' I heard this from him. He said

that the chiefs all arrived and sat down. Tshaka then came forth, dragging his *kaross* on the ground, accompanied by Mhlaka ka Ncidi. A seat was placed. He sat. He had no sooner seated himself than he said, 'I speak not to you, Nodokwana ka Dibandhlela; I speak to Mande ka Dibandhlela of Mfakuceba, and to Magaye ka Dibandhlela of Nikela.' He said, 'I shall put questions to Mande of Mfakuceba; let this man Magaye remain silent. I make enquiry, seeing that you are always fighting. I want to know who is the chief of you two.' Mande replied, 'I am far older than Magaye. His mother was appointed *inkosikazi*, but I object to his youth.' Tshaka said, 'Were you present when (she) was appointed?' 'Yes,' replied Mande. 'What did you say, Mande, for at that time, of course, Magaye had not been born and you were already a man. What did you say?' Mande answered, 'What could I say, Sir?' 'But what, then, do you say today? How do you account for your fighting in this way?'

Tshaka then looked towards Nzwakeli, Mepo, Nqeto, Zihlandhlo and Nodokwana, and called on them to speak. Before they answered he said, 'Let me speak first. Has a chief ever been made? A chief is not made; a chief makes himself. It is the calf of the cow which is picked out and has its place assigned to it.' When he had said this he said, 'Let the matter of the fighting be discussed. I call on you, Mande; I say, "Let the matter of your fighting be discussed".' Mande said, 'On the first occasion on which we came into conflict with one another I defeated my brother; I got the better of him. (We) again clashed, and again I defeated him.' 'What do you say, Magaye?', said Tshaka. Magaye said, 'My brother is right but I had but few followers, for my brother had deserted with the majority of the tribe. I fought nevertheless. The Nkungu and Amabola (kraals) deserted and joined me. I called up the men attached to our home kraal, the *isokamlilo*.'<sup>43</sup> [(Dinya says his) father Zokozwayo belonged to this regiment, for (his people) *konza'd* to the Cele.]<sup>44</sup> 'We fought. Let my brother say if he still defeats me.'

Tshaka then said, 'Now answer, Mande; your younger brother has spoken.' Mande then said the boy was right. 'Strength had not accrued to him when I got the better of him.'

Each of these chiefs - Mepo, Nqeto, Nzwakele etc. - had a hut set apart for his occupation in the royal kraal, Dukuza. 'Go away, Mande; go back to your hut' (i.e. in Dukuza). Mande left. Tshaka then said, after Mande had gone, 'Let us talk confidentially as to how I shall decide this case.' Nzwakele, Nqeto, Zihlandhlo etc. said, 'The king has heard what the young chiefs have said. The course is clear enough. Let the king give his decision.' Tshaka then said, 'See now, children of the king! I stand in awe of this man Mande; he is a chief indeed. When he looks at me, though I am Tshaka, my eyes drop to the ground and give way before him. My decision in this case is this: Let me and Magaye rule alone. I shall remove this man Mande of Mfakuceba, and this man Duze ka Mnengwa, and take their two followings and join them to Magaye, and we shall hold dances together.'

That was the end. Mande and Duze were thereupon put to death, I do not know if at Dukuza or their own homes. Their two sections were taken and given to the Nikela kraal under Magaye, and the Mfakuceba and Makanya (kraals) came to an end. These kraals, later on, under the European regime, rose up after having been lost sight of and looked on as Magaye's. Nowadays there is a good deal of ill-

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feeling between them and the Cele tribe. They have feelings of humiliation because of being formerly subservient to the Cele.

*He was likening Mande's position to his own when saying, 'A chief is not made.'*

*'Do not misbehave when you come to Magaye's. I have taken an oath. Show humble respect in giving salutations and thanks for favours.'*<sup>45</sup>

8.4.1908

File 61, nbk. 57, pp. 1-3.

- 1 Dinya continues re Tshaka's relations with Magaye, chief of the Cele tribe.

Tshaka entertained great affection for Magaye, and spoke even of taking him onto his lap. He was, however, afraid of doing this on account of the ill-feeling that would be given rise to. It seems that Tshaka and Magaye used to hold dances together. At these, on one occasion, Magaye's men sang a chorus about '*The one who is choked with meat*' and '*The circle of men will turn round*'. Tshaka could not understand what was implied by these phrases. He was apprehensive lest Magaye meant that the time would come when Tshaka's own men (*circle*) would leave him and join Magaye, presumably in the same way that Mande's men had come round to him. Tshaka did not like this, especially as, with the recent additions referred to, the tribe had become a very large one, and questioned Magaye, who thereby became frightened. Tshaka would have put him to death but for an oath he had taken in the presence of Nzwakele,

- 2 Nqeto and other neighbouring chiefs to the effect that Magaye should come by no harm at his hands 'until he were to drink milk.' ('Not until you are helped to drink milk' is an expression meaning 'never' or until he reached second infancy.)

The decision come to by Tshaka in regard to the case Mande vs. Magaye was remarkable for the pronouncement that kings are not born, they make themselves. From this it seems he had in mind the method by which he had risen to the throne. He therefore secretly approved Mande as the *de facto* 'king' or chief of the Cele tribe and, because of his having made himself king, feared he might in time have designs on Tshaka himself.

- 3 Whenever men came over from Zululand to see Tshaka he would not allow them to help themselves, as was their wont in Zululand, to the property of the kraals they stopped at when passing through Magaye's territory. He gave Magaye the right to protect himself. This Magaye did, and occasionally put offenders to death, reporting thereafter to Tshaka what he had done. Tshaka, loath to take any step against Magaye, acquiesced in his action and warned visitors from across the Tsekela to be careful and *make formal salutations*, and not to take any kind of food unless it had been presented to them.

<9.4.1905>

File 61, nbk. 57, pp. 7-13.

- 7 Dinya: I believe the people ousted by the Tulis, when they took the Ifenya<sup>46</sup> and adjoining territory, were called amaMpfana. They

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went south towards Pondoland. They would probably have belonged to what we call amaZosha (offensive epithet). We baNguni speak of amaLala as Inyakeni (this displeases them too) - i.e. those who know nothing. The Bacas are also called amaZosha because they have adopted a form of speech which is not their original dialect.

Amazosha are Mpondos, Bacas, Nhlanguwini, Imizizi (across the Mtamvuna), amaNgutshana, Izilangwe.

The Cele are called Mzansi; the Qwabe and Mtetwa are also called Mzansi.

The Kumalo, Butelezi, Ndwandwe are all called amaNtungwa because they are in the north - also the Mabaso people.

- 8 The Tulis came to settle at the Bluff etc. under their chief Tshatwa (Tshadwa) or Shatwa.

The amaLala were so called by the Zulus and Qwabes because they speak in the *tekela dialect* and thereby speak with their tongues lying down (*lala*). They don't care for the name and ask, 'When we are asleep, what do you yourselves do at night?' It is also said that it is because they sleep (*lala*) with their fingers up their anuses.<sup>47</sup>

The eMbo people. The eMbos are Swazis, real Swazis. The Pondos were the first to come from Swaziland. The abaMbo came on last. Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe was the abaMbo chief. He was liked by Tshaka and treated like Magaye. The abaMbo, like the Swazis, are all known as amaLala. Tilonko ka Ngumezi ka Siyengele ka Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe is an eMbo chief. Sikukuku ka Ngumezi ka Siyengele etc.

- 9 These two (brothers) fought and separated. They first built on the north side of the Tukela. They settled at the Mkomazi when the Boers came to Natal.

Gumede is not one of the Qwabe polite address forms, nor is it a special title of distinction of that tribe's chief only, but of all chiefs. There is, however, a dispute on this point; some say it is a Qwabe address form. The Qwabe forms of polite address are Kuzwayo, Mahlobo.<sup>48</sup>

The old people warned us not to swear by chiefs not known to us; e.g. we were told not to swear by Pakatwayo or Magaye, but Musi and Mamfongonyana or Magidigidi etc. Only the chief grown up with is the one sworn by. This seems to be a rule among Qwabes, Celes, Zulus, Mtetwas, and others.

Godongwana (Dingiswayo), like other chiefs, was addressed as Gumede. I am of opinion this is not Malandela's clan name<sup>49</sup> - the

- 10 word is too generally employed by other chiefs for that.

'Bayede!' - this is a formal salutation for the supreme chief, used in praising chiefs who have subdued other peoples. I do not know the derivation of the word.

.... <Notes on habitat of otters omitted - eds.>

- 11 Otters were greatly prized by the Zulus. They formed warriors' headbands. One hide was worth one large beast. The animal is hard to kill, generally keeps out of sight, and only the sharpest-scented and keenest dogs succeed in catching it - hence its value.

- 12 .... <Further notes on otters omitted - eds.>

- 13 [See uTshaba in Colenso's Dictionary, 1884 ed., where there is



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a short historical note re Tuli tribe.]

17.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 13-14.

- 13 Dinya says: I am of the Ingulube (regiment's age).<sup>50</sup> I know I was conceived during the mourning for Nandi. When the impi for the ceremonial cleansing went forth to the Ponds, I had been born some months. [This, say Dinya was born during the intenser part of mourning, would fix his birth about November 1827, or about five or six months more than Mcotoyi.<sup>51</sup>] Dinya is not quite sure if he is of the Ingulube (regiment's age-group).
- 14 Dinya considers Mcotoyi should have been able to give more information regarding Ntaba, Myebu etc. than he did do. He possibly has a motive for not doing so.
- There was a lawsuit between him and Botshongweni some years ago. Mnini, however, was still alive then.

Enkumbeni - this was Sirayo ka Mapoloba's kraal where Dubuyana was born. Dubuyana had a son, Deliweyo, of the Nyuswa. Deliweyo is dead. Deliweyo ka Dubuyana ka Sirayo ka Mapoloba ka Mbele - this is the great Nyuswa line.

Mqawe (amaQadi) - his main kraal is ekuManazeni.

18.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 14-19.

- 15 *Isizinda* - that kraal in which a chief, now grown up and having built one of his own, was born in and had grown up in; e.g. Dibandhlela<sup>52</sup> had a kraal called Nikela. Out of this kraal went forth the *Mangaleni kraal*. This was known as the *umkase's* kraal, namely that of Mkonto, who was already born and a young boy when the kraal was established.<sup>53</sup> With this boy went his mother, a woman of the Qadi people and of Cele descent through her mother.
- Out of Nikela, after the above, went forth the Mdhrazi kraal. Magaye and his mother went out (to form this kraal (?)), he being a *kehla*. Magaye took with him his principal wife, Mambanganga, daughter of Mbanga of the Makanya (Qwabe) tribe. A girl *ye sizwe* is usually got to bear the chief, and that is why Magaye's wife came from the Makanya.<sup>54</sup> Magaye's mother was Siwetu, daughter of Kondhlo.<sup>55</sup> She established herself with Magaye at the Mdhrazi (kraal).
- Out of Mdhrazi came forth the *Dabeni kraal of the inqwaba*,<sup>56</sup> i.e. a kraal consisting of a son born into the *indhlinkulu* after the heir, together with wives of that house. This is almost the same as saying the chief of this house follows in rank the principal chief. Mntungwana is the one who separated off with his mother and went to this kraal. She was a daughter of the amaMbilini tribe. I do not know if, when Mntungwana separated from the Mdhrazi (kraal), he was a young lad or not.
- In these circumstances Mkonto would cut off the choice meat from the ribs of a beast, together with an ear, and send it to the great place (i.e. Mdhrazi). Mntungwana too would take the choice rib meat and an ear and take them to the great place (Mdhrazi). Mkonto, i.e.

*the brother junior in rank, in the event of his quarrelling with the great wife's house (with Magidigidi, for he was Magaye's chief son), would be 'separated' by Mntungwana by virtue of his close proximity to the main chief Magaye. He might say, 'Children of my father, what are you quarrelling about?'*

- 17 Now at Nikela where Magaye was born there remained, when he (Magaye) left, a chief of Nikela, i.e. Maxoposi. This man became the chief of the *isizinda kraal*, and he would, by virtue of his rank, not age, be in the position of remonstrating with the principal chief, for though a junior he would rank as his 'father'.<sup>57</sup>

A kraal would now be established from the *isizinda*, namely the *isoka* or *isokamlilo*. Melapi's<sup>58</sup> mother was the one who separated off with this kraal.

A further kraal of the *inqwaba*, the *Cazeni*, came from the *isizinda* kraal. This separated off with a girl of the *Qwabe*, Masilo, her father being Silo. (Silo was of the right-hand side, (his) kraal springing from the *indhlunkulu*, a kraal of good rank, and being spoken of as the right-hand section of *Donda*, where *Donda* is the name of a person or a clan name.) The chief of *Cazeni* (kraal) is *Mpondonde ka Magaye*. *Mpondonde* resembles *Mntungwana* in regard to the other kraals. It is his function to intercede should *Maxoposi* and *Melapi* come to loggerheads.

- 18 I guess that *Donda* bore *Jebe*, father of *Ngcwana*.

*Melapi* could give much information relative to *Cele* affairs and (particularly about) the *isoka kraal - isokamlilo* - which separated from *Nikela*.

Nowadays *Magidigidi's* people are spoken of as *amaDibandhlela*, whilst *Magaye's* are called *Imikokeleli*. Those born by *Dibandhlela* are spoken of as *the people of Langa*, viz. the chief of that name.

The *Amagidigidi* will come into being when *Magidigidi's* grandchildren come into prominence. *Mkokeleli's* and those of his generation are spoken of as *amaSodi*.<sup>59</sup> And when any deeds of greatness are done by any particular section, their name comes into still greater prominence and becomes an enduring instead of a fleeting one.

- 19 The title '*of the inqwaba*' (used, above is derived from the fact of the meat being thrown in a heap and those of the *indhlunkulu* (being able to) go and help themselves to whatever part they fancy, a leg, or meat from round the hump, etc.

Those of the *inqwaba* are spoken of as *like a hyena*. '*Leave the hyena alone to drag the meat away.*' The junior brother cannot interfere with the *inqwaba* (brother) for he is the chief, i.e. he belongs to the chief.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Formed c.1844; age-group born c.1824.

<sup>2</sup>The two final campaigns of *Shaka's* reign, fought in 1828.

<sup>3</sup>*Samuelson, Long, Long Ago*, p. 240, lists the *Dukuza* as one of *Shaka's* regiments, but it does not feature in the list given by *Bryant, Olden Times*, pp. 645-6. *Krige, Social System*, p. 404,

writes: 'It is often stated that each regiment had its own military kraal, which was named after it, but this was not always the case. One of Shaka's kraals was Bulawayo, and though the garrison was sometimes collectively referred to by this name, there was, according to Bryant, no regiment called by that name; yet Samuelson gives Bulawayo as the name of a regiment, as does also the War Office Précis.' As Dukuza was another of Shaka's *imizi*, it is possible that the name was applied, not to an age-regiment, but collectively to the warriors stationed there.

<sup>4</sup>Literally, a small, shallow grass basket.

<sup>5</sup>*Ngqwabangqwa* seems to be an onomatopoeic invention suggesting the sound of a horse's hooves on the ground.

<sup>6</sup>A cairn or heap of stones, grass and other objects, situated alongside a path or road, usually at some prominent place. These are made by travellers' placing good-luck tokens by the wayside to ensure safe and successful journeys.

<sup>7</sup>The *umshophi* is a custom sometimes followed to exorcise the evil influences causing an epidemic of sickness. Girls of the neighbourhood meet together by arrangement after nightfall, prepare themselves ritually, and proceed to perform a series of cleansing ceremonies in the affected *imizi*.

<sup>8</sup>Literally, 'firewood of the lightning'. We have not been able to determine the nature of the custom referred to. In a note at another point, Stuart associates this phrase with 'burnt offering'. See Dinya's statement under date 1.3.1905, evening.

<sup>9</sup>Literally, 'burning the *impepho*', which is a species of small veld plant with a sweet smell. It is used for burning as an offering to the spirits.

<sup>10</sup>The verb *ukubhaca*, from which the name Bhaca is derived, means to conceal oneself.

<sup>11</sup>According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 8, the 'Ntungwa' branch of the 'Nguni' is the one from which the Zulu take their descent. He goes on to say (p. 14) that it is 'in some degree a term of convenience; for quite a number of the clans...disown it'.

<sup>12</sup>See also Dinya's evidence under date 28.2.1905.

<sup>13</sup>The *impukane* is a small, choice piece of meat from under the shoulder-blade.

<sup>14</sup>*Umswani* is the chyme from the stomach of a beast, and possesses considerable ceremonial significance.

<sup>15</sup>Circumcision.

<sup>16</sup>Taking a brother's widow as wife.

<sup>17</sup>Polygyny.

<sup>18</sup>To *hlonipha* is to show formal respect by the observance of certain customs. See Krige, *Social System*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>19</sup>Njanduna was an *umuzi* situated at one time between the Mdlothi and Thongathi rivers; see map in Bryant, *Olden Times*. The Phela regiment, according to Samuelson, 'was taken over from Zwide when he was beaten' by Shaka. See Long, *Long Ago*, p. 236.

<sup>20</sup>The information contained in this paragraph and the two above appeared in the original as rough notes inserted at the top of pages 4 and 5.

<sup>21</sup>*Iqumbi* means 'corner' or 'side'.

<sup>22</sup>Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 174, records a similar story.

<sup>23</sup>For contrasting interpretations of the significance of this event

see Morris, The Washing of the Spears, p. 151, and Walter, Terror and Resistance, pp. 214-5.

<sup>24</sup>Mkhehlangana was another of Stuart's informants.

<sup>25</sup>'Bayede!' is a form of salutation, strictly applicable only to the reigning member of the Zulu royal house. 'Wena ongangezwe!' means 'You who are as great as the nation'.

<sup>26</sup>Literally, 'You of the dog's penis; you of the little *untontonto* tree!'

<sup>27</sup>A term used when addressing royalty.

<sup>28</sup>For *umshophi* see note 7 above. *Umgonqo* was the practice of secluding women at first menstruation, marriage, child-bearing etc.

<sup>29</sup>The Vuthwamini was a regiment of girls of the same age-grade as the Fasimba men's regiment. Both were enrolled c.1818.

<sup>30</sup>The Bhele had been driven c.1818 from their lands about the Klip and Sundays rivers in Natal by the Ngwane chief Mathiwane. For a time they occupied land under the Drakensberg on the upper Mzimvubu. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 139, 347-9.

<sup>31</sup>*Mdubu* means drab-coloured and *mpofu* fawn-coloured.

<sup>32</sup>According to Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 538, 544, Dibandlela, son and successor of the Cele chief Mkhokheleli, was Magaye's grandfather. But cf. Dinya's evidence under date 8.4.1905, evening, where Dibandlela is given as Magaye's father.

<sup>33</sup>Grandson of Magaye. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 544.

<sup>34</sup>Regimental names, possibly used in this context to refer to *ama-khanda* or centres where regiments were quartered.

<sup>35</sup>This meeting took place shortly after Mpande's flight south of the Thukela in September 1839.

<sup>36</sup>The young Dinya may also have acted as interpreter to the Boer delegation which performed the ceremony formally recognizing Mpande as 'reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus' at the end of October 1839. In his official report the leader of the delegation refers to 'a little Kaffir, our interpreter'. See Bird, Annals, vol. 1, pp. 541-2; also Krauss, Travel Journal, p. 71.

<sup>37</sup>Presumably a reference to Mpande's appearance before the Volksraad on 15th October 1839. For a brief account of the meeting and its consequences, see Brookes and Webb, History of Natal, pp. 35ff.

<sup>38</sup>Often given as Wohlo.

<sup>38a</sup>For 'kaffirs' the original has *amakafula*. This was a term of contempt for refugees from the Zulu kingdom. (Cope, Izibongo, p. 192.)

<sup>39</sup>In a battle fought near the mouth of the Thukela in April 1838.

<sup>40</sup>These page numbers refer to the editions of 1903 and 1904, and not to the first edition of 1891.

<sup>41</sup>It is not clear whether Mphola was the son of Nkayishana or Mshwankeyana. The sentence has therefore been left unamended.

<sup>42</sup>See note 32 above. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 538, 544, like Dinya, gives Mande as Magaye's brother.

<sup>43</sup>*Isokamlilo* is probably a synonym for *isokanqangi*, which means a first-born son or daughter. Dinya seems to be using *isokamlilo* as a collective term. As such, it would presumably refer to that section of the household which is headed by the first-born son after the departure of the sons of the senior sections to form separate establishments.

<sup>44</sup>The word 'regiment' in this sentence seems to refer to a local territorial force rather than to a military age-group of the type

- enrolled by Shaka.
- <sup>45</sup> Presumably these words were addressed by Shaka to the followers of Mande and Duze on his assigning them to Magaye. For explanation of his oath see the following paragraph but one.
- <sup>46</sup> i.e. the Bluff area of present-day Durban. (Bird, ed., *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 124, quoting H.F. Fynn's evidence to the Natal Native Affairs Commission of 1852.)
- <sup>47</sup> A well-known calumny spread by the 'Ntungwa' peoples of Zululand and Natal about the Lala, whom they despised.
- <sup>48</sup> In the original of this paragraph, the words *isibongo* and *isitakazo* (*isithakazelo*) seem to have been used virtually as synonyms. Usually their meanings are distinguishable as 'clan name' and 'polite address form' respectively.
- <sup>49</sup> The word used in the original is *isibongo*. Malandela was father of Qwabe and Zulu, the founders of the clans which bear those names. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 17-20.
- <sup>50</sup> The original reads, 'I am of the Ingulube regiment', but in his evidence of 27.2.1905 Dinya states that he was not *buthwa'd*, presumably because he was living under the British Government in Natal when the regiment was formed c.1844.
- <sup>51</sup> Another of Stuart's informants.
- <sup>52</sup> See note 32 above.
- <sup>53</sup> Conventionally *umncwawe* means 'younger brother'. In the present context it seems to refer to a brother junior in rank though not necessarily in age. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 418. According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 541 and 544, Mkonto was an elder son of the Cele chief Magaye, but ranked below a younger brother, Magidigidi, the 'heir-apparent'.
- <sup>54</sup> The original has 'Cele', but this must represent a slip by Stuart. *Intombi yesizwe* was the girl whose *lobolo* cattle were provided by the chiefdom as a whole, and whose son was therefore heir.
- <sup>55</sup> Qwabe chief, died c.1813; succeeded by Phakathwayo. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 186.
- <sup>56</sup> Literally *inqwaba* means 'heap' or 'pile' but, according to Dinya, was also used as a term of reference for the members of the *indlunkulu*, or chief wife's house. See final paragraphs of his evidence.
- <sup>57</sup> In a chief's household the wives were grouped in three 'houses': (a) the *iNdlunkulu* - house of the *inkosikazi* or chief wife, i.e. the wife designated as bearer of the heir; (b) the *iNqadi* - house of the wife who provided the heir if there was a failure of male issue from the chief wife's house; (c) the *iKhohlo* - house of the first or favourite wife, which, though senior in dignity to the *iNqadi*, did not provide the heir. In addition, there was commonly the *isiZinda*, which ranked below the houses listed, but provided the son who, upon the death of his father, or the latter's removal to a new homestead, would remain as chief occupant and formal guardian in his father's stead. See Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 107, 730; *Zulu People*, pp. 417-21; Krige, *Social System*, pp. 39-41.
- <sup>58</sup> Another of Stuart's informants.
- <sup>59</sup> The point apparently being made by the informant in this and the preceding paragraph is that a chief's name would be used as a group name to identify the followers of a grandson or great-grandson who became chief. For a genealogy showing these Cele patrilineal relationships, see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 544.