

# Clothing Dry Bones: The Myth of Shaka

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Shaka, founder of the Zulu state, has fascinated generations of observers of the African continent. He is perhaps the most widely known African historical figure, much of his fascination for Europeans arising from association with belief in the barbarity and exotic depravity of the "dark continent." In the nineteenth century, observers, impressed by his military abilities and imperial successes, often alluded to him as the African Attila and the African Napoleon.<sup>1</sup> As these popular associations suggest, he has been a man of mythic proportions and, inevitably, the subject of much myth.

Shaka is often presented as the archetypal man of historic Africa. Proud and simple in a Rousseauian sense, he is simultaneously portrayed as cunning, capricious, sadistically cruel and barbaric—qualities befitting a savage. For Europeans he has been an exemplar of primitive power run wild. The first Englishman to visit the Zulu court reported that "history . . . does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel master than Chaka."<sup>2</sup> For many Africans he has been, and remains, a symbol of nascent nationalism. In one modern African account Shaka appears as a Pan-African revolutionary nationalist leading an egalitarian class revolution against an aristocratic oligarchy, thus enabling the triumph of the "personality-enlarging power of the Bantu Ideal."<sup>3</sup> Shaka's life has, for Europeans and Africans, taken on many of the themes of a morality play, whether in the role of the devil or of the redeemer.

Nineteenth-century interpreters emphasized the religious-civilizing achievements made possible by the experience of Shakan rule; twentieth-century writers have stressed the political achievement. Yet the differences are ultimately slight. Each suggest an element of inevitability in the progress of the Zulu people, whether to

Christianity and a European-influenced mode of life, or to the creation of a nation-state with a nationally conscious population. Each have regarded the use of force and abnormally brutal ruling practices as central to these processes. Each tend to mix, and often confuse, study of the man with study of the state and greater society.

Two features are dominant in most accounts of Shaka. First, the strong element of "parasitism" in nineteenth-century studies. Comparison of the various works on Shaka shows extensive borrowing of information, usually unacknowledged. While the immediate impression is of a multiplicity of sources, in which information can be cross-checked and corroborated, closer examination shows most of it deriving from the same limited number of early accounts. Second, most of the interpretative argument concerning Shaka and the early Zulu state is circular. The Zulu state was brutal because Shaka was inhuman, much of the proof of the latter assertion being based on material showing that the state was brutal. This is the major hypothesis on which most historians have started their work, even if they have not always been conscious of it. The nineteenth-century sources, replete with the vivid impressions of Europeans facing a new and incomprehensible society, have provided plenty of information to support it. Unfortunately, the hypothesis has too often controlled the investigation, skewing studies of man and state into quests for the origins of brutality. Shakan scholars need to reexamine the evidence, to separate fact from fantasy and fallacy, to distinguish firsthand accounts from hearsay, and to avoid using selective quotation to support moralistic judgments. Shakan historiography has a surfeit of hanging judges but a deficiency of fair-minded jurors.

This article attempts two tasks. One is a study of some of the main evidence relating to Shaka presented in nineteenth-century European and African-derived sources; to see what it can tell us about the first Zulu king and what it can suggest about the motives of those who presented it. The second task is a study in the historical methodology of previous students of Shaka and the early Zulu state. The article does not attempt a wholesale reinterpretation of the career of Shaka in relation to the origins of the

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Zulu state and subsequent southern African history. The latter would be the subject of a much more ambitious work than is intended here; an enterprise which could not be undertaken until the outline of Shaka's life has been stripped of myth. This present study is a necessary first step prior to a much more comprehensive undertaking.

A major difficulty in studying Shaka, and the cause of most of the problems in previous studies, is the oral nature of nearly all the sources. This point needs to be stressed, since many historians, without being fully aware of it, have engaged in oral history without taking precautions to guard against the problems inherent in this type of research. They have not always been aware that much of their information is self-serving testimony. Looked at from this perspective, the multiplicity of accounts of Shaka's life, full of variations and contradictions, are not just the result of unconscious confusion or poor memory, but often political statements reflecting the place of the informant in Zulu society. All the sources on Shaka's life are based on the testimony of people who were either directly involved in Zulu politics or were from societies which felt the impact of his policies. The political nature of the sources must be recognized.

In examining the sources available, three distinct groups can be discerned. First, accounts written by those who knew Shaka personally—the narratives of the European explorers and traders who visited Shaka's court in the mid-1820s. These include the impressions of Lieutenants James Farewell and James King, and the much longer and more detailed accounts of Nathaniel Isaacs and Henry Fynn.<sup>4</sup> Only Fynn ever learned Zulu. Second, there are the accounts left by people who had known people who had known Shaka—these include both European writings and the systematically collected oral evidence of African informants, some of whom, as children, had seen Shaka. The latter includes the works of the Catholic missionary, A. T. Bryant, who collected testimony in the 1880s, and the superb collection made by James Stuart at the turn of the century.<sup>5</sup> Third, there are the *izibongo* (Zulu praise songs), especially those translated and annotated by Terence Cope.<sup>6</sup>

Now the last two groups mentioned in the previous paragraph are obviously oral sources. Even the European writings of the mid- and later nineteenth century, where they are not based on material taken from the reports of Shaka's European contemporaries, are based on information collected from African informants. Less immediately apparent is the oral nature of the accounts of the early traders and explorers. Close examination, however, leads to the conclusion that the great majority of material contained in them relating to Shaka is derived from African informants rather than personal observation. This is especially so in reference to Shaka's personal life history and to examples of imperial cruelty. A major difficulty for the historian arises from the failure of these accounts to identify informants, compounded by the subjectivity

and biases of their authors. How is the historian to separate firsthand accounts from hearsay when these are constantly mixed together and he cannot cross-examine his witnesses? This, however, is not an insuperable problem. By careful cross-checking among the various accounts, it is possible in many, although not all cases, to separate out witnessed events from secondhand descriptions.

The materials written by Fynn and Isaacs form the main sources for all studies of Shaka and the Zulu state. Both men first visited Natal as youths searching for adventure and riches; Fynn in 1824, Isaacs in the following year. Each maintained regular contact with Shaka during the remaining years of his reign (he was assassinated in 1828), and with his assassin and successor, Dingane. Parts of their diaries, or material based on them, have been published; those by Isaacs in 1832, 1836, and 1888; those by Fynn in 1852, 1888, and 1950. Therefore, material based on their reminiscences has been available in a published form long enough to have been available to all nineteenth- and twentieth-century students of Shaka.<sup>7</sup>

Shortcomings in the historical value of these materials are very obvious and have been well outlined elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> However, they can be reiterated for the purposes of this discussion. Fynn's original collection of jottings, made while at the Zulu court, was buried by mistake with the body of his brother in the early 1830s. The accounts available today are the product of a long period of rewriting, with the assistance of several other unidentified people. Rewriting entailed considerable expansion. Fynn's most recent editor, James Stuart, who examined several manuscripts, noted that what "in his [Fynn's] earlier writings had been but briefly noted . . . [was later] expanded into full and detailed descriptions."<sup>9</sup> Part of the explanation for this expansion seems to have been Fynn's desire to encourage settlement and investment in Natal. While emphasizing the brutality of the Shakan state, for popular consumption, he also laid stress on its stability derived from that brutality, and the respect Shaka had for his European visitors.<sup>10</sup> The emphases of his account were probably influenced by Isaacs, who, in 1832, wrote to him suggesting that he publish and

show their chiefs, both Chaka and Dingans [sic] treachery and intrigue. . . . Make them out as blood-thirsty as you can and endeavour to give an estimation of the number of people that they have murdered during their reign, and describe the frivolous crimes people lose their lives for. Introduce as many anecdotes relative to Chaka as you can; it all tends to swell up the work and makes it interesting.<sup>11</sup>

Isaacs, despite the suggestion of imaginative exaggeration contained in his advice to Fynn, claimed that his own work was "the truth, and nothing but the truth."<sup>12</sup> This claim has not gone unchallenged. The missionary W. C. Holden, writing in the 1860s, judged him an unreliable source, while A. T. Bryant commented on his weak-

ness for exaggeration, though continuing to use him as a major source.<sup>13</sup>

The accounts of the European traders and African oral testimonies are, to some extent, products of each other. As mentioned earlier, the first European visitors were dependent for much of their information on African interpreters. These were non-Zulu. In his reappraisal of Dingane, Felix Okoye has shown how these intermediaries fomented discontent between the king and the European traders.<sup>14</sup> Possibly they had done the same during Shaka's rule: after all they were the same people. Also, most information in the trader's accounts concerning Shaka's personal life history was collected after his death, since he refused to allow anyone to speak of his early life during his reign.<sup>15</sup> After his death Dingane spread stories to bolster his claim to the throne and to vilify Shaka as a tyrannous monarch.

The interchange of information between early European and African accounts was a two-way process. Fynn spent much of the remainder of his life among Zulu, discussing their history with them and expounding on his own views of Shaka. Some of Stuart's informants had clear memories of Mbuyazi (as Fynn was known by them).<sup>16</sup> Isaac's accounts were read by missionaries, who then took his impressions with them when they went to work among the Zulu and other southern African peoples in the 1830s and after. In sum, the accounts of the European traders should be treated with considerable care and suspicion, both in regard to the validity of the evidence for their judgments on the character of Shaka and the nature of the early state, and to the validity of the judgments themselves.

The writings of A. T. Bryant, especially his *Oldentimes in Zululand and Natal*, have also been major sources for the study and interpretation of Shaka. Twentieth-century writers have relied very considerably on him. Yet, as with the accounts of Fynn and Isaacs, there are considerable difficulties in using his work. Two features distinguish Bryant's work from that of other nineteenth-century writers on Shaka. The most important is his attempt to systematically collect historical material from African informants, although the utility of much of this is limited by his failure to associate particular information with particular informants. Of almost equal importance is his personal conception of African history and the need to popularize knowledge of the African past.

In his preface to *Oldentimes*, Bryant, at some length, describes his approach to the writing of African history. He states that

with a European public to which all history is proverbially insipid; to which that here [African history] is particularly unattractive, and so alien to its understanding . . . we have been compelled to adopt unusual devices to make our historical reading intelligible and pleasant - by assuming, in gen-

eral, a light and colloquial style; by creating here and there an appropriate "atmosphere"; by supplying a necessary "background"; by inducing a proper frame of mind by an appeal to pathos; by clothing the "dry bones" of history in a humorous smile; by uniting disconnected details by patter of our own based on our knowledge of Native life and character. . . . if any truth has forced itself upon us in the compilation of the work, it is this, that our subject must be rendered entertaining and our book be made to sell.<sup>17</sup>

Bryant conceived of himself as a collator; the processes of selection and abridgment were to be the "work of those who follow."<sup>18</sup> But *Oldentimes* was abridged before publication by a government official.<sup>19</sup> It seems possible that this servant of a racist government placed a greater stress on the material linking Shaka with savagery, of which there is an inordinate amount, than Bryant had originally. Some support for this suggestion can be found by comparing *Oldentimes* with Bryant's earlier publication of 1905.<sup>20</sup> In the earlier work, the preface to his *Zulu-English Dictionary*, much of the more graphically savage and sensational material on Shaka's early life, which dominates the later work, is mentioned, but is dismissed as likely to be untrue. Generally Bryant's work is difficult to use because of the author's own idiosyncratic use of sources, his conceptions of the purposes of his work, and of the way it has been interfered with by others.

Part of the problem in using oral sources is the need to identify variant interpretations. However, this difficulty can be rectified to some extent now with the publication of the first volume of the Stuart papers. These carefully identify each informant including his or her genealogy and group affiliation. Use of this source, in conjunction with the conventional accounts, makes it possible to tentatively identify a number of variant interpretations which can be associated with particular individuals or groups of people. Variants are only important when the reasons for the variations can be explained.

At least four different interpretations can be identified one associated with the Langeni people, one with the Qwabe, and two with the Zulu. These do not form the full extent of variants in African interpretations of the significance of Shaka and his form of rule. In fact, nearly every group of people affected by Shaka's rule have a particular, and often individual, view of the man. But, these four can be identified with some precision and do encompass most aspects of the ways in which Shaka has been viewed by his countrymen.<sup>21</sup>

The Langeni, close neighbors of the Zulu, were the people from whom Shaka's mother came. Reflecting their uncertain position in the later Zulu state, where the legitimacy of their most famous son was called into question by his assassins, their account, as collected by A. T. Bryant, emphasizes the legitimacy of Shaka's birth and

thus of his claim to the Zulu throne. In this way they assert their own right to power and influence in the state. The Qwabe were a people subjugated and incorporated by Shaka; theirs is an attitude of hostility to the brutal conqueror who took away their independence. One of the Zulu interpretations which can be traced in the testimony of some of Stuart's informants, and in the accounts of Dingane's European contemporaries, emphasizes the illegitimacy and cruelty of Shaka. It seems to have its origins in the post-assassination legitimizing campaign of the regicides. The second Zulu interpretation, provided by the fourth Zulu king, Cetshwayo, compares more closely to the Langeni in its acceptance of Shaka's legitimacy. Dingane's successors had no reason to respect the regicide's version, particularly since he had killed so many of his own, and thus their, relatives.<sup>22</sup>

These accounts are the products of people who had either known Shaka themselves, or whose parents or older relatives had. Thus they are closely connected to real issues in the lives of these people and not dimly remembered historical events. Oral accounts focus on, and differ over, issues of concern to the people giving them—questions of legitimacy and illegitimacy, of justice and injustice. Having a real and continuing political function, these accounts are often partisan arguments rather than unbiased testimony.

Three topics, central to all discussion concerning the nature of Shaka, illustrate how tenuous is the evidence on which most generalizations concerning the nature of the king and the state are based. These topics are: Shaka's birth and early life, his personal relations with other individuals, and his perceived adult cruelty and sadism.

Discussion of Shaka's early life can itself be subdivided into three topics: his birth, his accession to rulership of the Zulu, and his childhood experiences. These are much debated subjects. For participants at Dingane's court, discussion of them involved concern with the politically important issue of Shaka's legitimacy, both of his birth and of his claim to the Zulu throne. This related directly to the legitimacy of their own positions. For European commentators, discussion of these topics provides an explanation for the character of the adult tyrant; illegitimacy forms, and becomes an emblem of, the man.

One version of Shaka's birth stresses illegitimacy. The accounts are usually profuse and full of esoteric detail. In brief, they have Shaka as the product of a liaison between a promiscuous Langeni girl, Nandi, and an uncircumcised Zulu youth, Senzangakona. By custom, intercourse resulting in pregnancy before the male had been circumcised and married was socially condemned. In these accounts, however, Nandi becomes pregnant. At first her condition is claimed to be the result of an intestinal beetle, an *itshaka*. As Nandi's pregnancy becomes obvious, Senzangakona is forced to acknowledge paternity. Nandi comes to live with him, but without going through the customary marriage procedures. After a period of time,

however, in most accounts about one year, her presence becomes so objectionable to the Zulu, because of her obnoxious personality and that of her son, that both are forced to flee to the Langeni. In this version, therefore Nandi is the initiator of intercourse, her son is given a pejorative name as a reminder of the disgraceful circumstances of his conception and birth while both are portrayed as particularly unpleasant individuals.

This "illegitimate" version is presented, differing only in the more exotic details, in the Qwabe and Zulu-Dingane accounts and in the accounts of Isaacs and Fynn.<sup>23</sup> Modern historians have generally accepted the illegitimacy account of Shaka's birth.<sup>24</sup> John Omer-Cooper has even gone so far as to suggest that the appellation of a name meaning looseness of the intestines (a variant interpretation of Shaka's name) was "symbolic of much of his life and character."<sup>25</sup> But Omer-Cooper's judgment is only based on this particular version of Shaka's birth.

In contrast, legitimacy is the central argument of the Langeni and Zulu-Cetshwayo version. In the Langeni account, collected and adjudged the most valid by Bryant, and published in the preface to his *Zulu-English Dictionary*, Nandi was the legitimate second wife of Senzangakona "Nandi was not a concubine, but a legal wife taken by Senzangakona, and Shaka a son honestly born in wedlock, probably about the year 1785." Bryant rejected the illegitimacy variants as "gratuitous romance."<sup>26</sup> Modifying his story somewhat in *Oldentimes*, he argued that Senzangakona was twenty-six and legitimately married with two wives before meeting Nandi. Although Nandi and Senzangakona are not married to each other at the time of Shaka's conception, nor at his birth, he does state that they later marry, but without ceremony.<sup>27</sup> This second version of Bryant's, published in 1929, agrees with the Zulu-Cetshwayo variant which also stresses Shaka's legitimacy through adoption. Cetshwayo stated that after the birth and marriage Senzangakona gave, "according to custom," his "natural son, Chaka" to Nandi as an "official" son, since she was his favorite wife. He also implies that Senzangakona, by this adoptive process, was choosing Shaka to be his heir.<sup>28</sup> While Bryant's 1929 account, and that of Cetshwayo, accept birth before marriage, they exclude the socially objectionable act of pregnancy before circumcision and argue for legitimacy (Shaka's as a son and Nandi's as a wife)—conclusions which are shared by Bryant's earlier Langeni account.

Variants, related to the illegitimacy-legitimacy argument, also exist for the meaning of Shaka's name. While the illegitimacy version mentions only pejorative associations—intestinal beetle, dysentery—at least two other less unpleasant meanings were collected by Europeans in the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The Reverend J. Dohne, a German missionary in Natal in the later 1830s and the author of the first major Zulu-English dictionary, stated that the name signified "a fury, an avenger, a firebrand." He differentiated it from *ijeka*, to cause diarrhoea, to rush

out.<sup>30</sup> Shaka's enemies could have taken advantage of the similarity in sound to convey a similarity of meaning. Another missionary, the Reverend W. C. Holden, thought that Shaka meant "Break of Day." He acknowledged as his direct source an uncle of Shaka.<sup>31</sup> To be unaware of, or to ignore, the variants can lead the historian to make falsely assured comparisons of name meaning and personal character. Omer-Cooper, for example, in his desire to find another neatly symbolic proof of Shaka's perversity, oversimplifies a complex argument.

Conflict between themes of illegitimacy and legitimacy extends to the second topic of discussion in Shaka's early life—his rise to leadership of the Zulu. One version, given by Fynn, Isaacs, the Zulu-Dingane interpretation, and followed by modern historians, argues that Shaka usurped the Zulu throne killing, or having killed, the rightful claimant, his half-brother.<sup>32</sup> The Langeni and Zulu-Cetshwayo accounts, however, offer quite a different interpretation. The Langeni account, while recognizing that Senzangakona never chose a "great wife" to provide a "legal heir-apparent," did record that he often declared "in the society of his men" that he had made his successor "that young bull [Shaka] . . . with the little curled-up ears." Further, upon Senzangakona's death, although the Zulu headmen favored Dingane to succeed, despite his weak claim as the son of his father's fifth wife, his half-brother Shaka disregarded this opinion and assumed leadership without any opposition.<sup>33</sup> That Shaka did not kill any half-brother in taking the throne would seem to be given some further support by the opinion common to many of Stuart's informants, even those hostile to the king, that he was a better man than Dingane because he did not "kill the children of his father."<sup>34</sup>

In similar vein Cetshwayo argued that Senzangakona showed considerable favor late in his life toward Shaka, asking him to return to the Zulu from the Mtsetwa people. Subsequently, on Senzangakona's death, "the Zulu tribe sent to him [Shaka] and begged him to be their king; he consented, and all the people in the countries through which he passed on his way to the Zulus, accompanied him, and the whole Zulu tribe assembled to receive him, and he was made king with great rejoicings."<sup>35</sup> The historian is thus faced with two directly contradictory accounts of the same event; on the one hand the version subscribed to by the European contemporaries of Shaka and Dingane and the Zulu-Dingane account; on the other hand the version accepted by the Langeni and Zulu-Cetshwayo accounts. The evidence available is insufficient to "prove" either. Ultimately, however, the fact that differences exist is more important than the differences themselves.

With reference to the third topic of concern in studying Shaka's early life, both neo-Freudian and modern historians have seen the king's childhood experiences as being major formative influences in his adult development. Of especial importance in his psychological growth

are feelings of paternal and peer rejection and of social and sexual inadequacy. In this approach Shaka grows up unable to relate in any normal way with the people around him. Because of this he develops misanthropic tendencies and cannot treat people in any but a manipulative fashion.<sup>36</sup> The evidence for these assertions is confused; too confused to support such emphatic conclusions.

One of the basic arguments in the psychological approach is the small penis theory. Max Gluckman has suggested that the child Shaka's particularly small penis led to constant taunting and thus was the base of his poor relations with his youthful peers. The consciousness of inadequacy was to plague him for the rest of his life, making it impossible for him to form normal personal relationships.<sup>37</sup> Ali Mazrui argues that a sense of sexual inadequacy was to be compensated for in adulthood by the development of "brutal assertiveness"; James Fernandez that Shaka invented the *assegai*, the short stabbing spear, as "symbolic of male sexuality" in order to compensate for his own perceived physical disability.<sup>38</sup> Their argument is essentially based on a sentence in A. T. Bryant's *Oldentimes* where reference is made to Shaka's "little crinkled ears and the marked stumpiness of a certain organ."<sup>39</sup> Bryant probably obtained this information from a person who accepted the Zulu-Dingane version. In the Stuart papers one informant of this persuasion remembered that as a boy Shaka was insulted on one occasion by a Qwabe youth who referred to him in passing as "the one with the little half-cocked penis."<sup>40</sup> But it seems that the insult was not necessarily personally specific. Rather it was probably a derogatory term applied to all Zulu by their enemies, not unlike a Lembe taunt of Zulu—that "they were dog-penis."<sup>41</sup> It seems likely that a figurative expression has been given a literal meaning by later European commentators misunderstanding the nature of their sources.

Extending their argument even further, neo-Freudian historians have attempted to substantiate the validity of the penis-size theory by referring to evidence of sexually inspired public exhibitionism. They assert that once Shaka had physically matured he affirmed his normalcy by daily exhibitionist bathing.<sup>42</sup> Fynn, however, stated that Shaka did not bathe in public but in an "apartment for that purpose," where he was attended only by personal body servants, favored advisors, and European guests.<sup>43</sup> In general, there is no conclusive proof of childhood sexual aberration which could lead to the development of later fears of sexual inadequacy.

There is possibly rather more validity to the assertion that Shaka had some unpleasant experiences with his childhood peers, which might have given rise to a sense of persecution. But even here the evidence is confused and contradictory. Accounts of an unhappy childhood can be found in the works of the earliest European commentators, Bryant's publication of Langeni-derived information, the testimony of a Zulu informant and that of a member of

the Mpungose people. The reference of the Zulu informant is very brief, mentioning that when Shaka became king he attacked the Langeni people to punish them for "pouring curds into his hands and burning them" when he was a child. The phrase had become a widely recognized saying.<sup>44</sup> Bryant's account also makes mention of Shaka being forced to hold burning food. He argues that, as a result of this treatment, Shaka attempted to exterminate the Langeni, impaling them *per rectum* on stakes and lighting fires beneath them.<sup>45</sup> Apart from this graphic detail, and the fleeting reference by the Zulu informant, no other sources refer to this act of genocide.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to reconcile this with the generally favorable Langeni view of Shaka. The Qwabe informant reduces the general antipathy of Shaka's peers to rivalry with one other individual.<sup>47</sup> The Mpungose informant states that Shaka attempted to kill Mtetwa people who had persecuted him, an assertion made in no other sources and probably due to confusion between the Langeni and the Mtetwa.<sup>48</sup> In general, it can be concluded that Shaka did suffer to some extent the taunts of his childhood peers but how severe these were in influencing his personality and the reasons for them cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision.

The major drawback in the constant emphasis on Shaka's early life is that it can be related only peripherally to a study of the man. For limitations in the sources prevent us from ever knowing anything definite about his life before sustained European contact with the Zulu court. This is not to deny the utility of oral sources, but only to suggest that in this particular case they cannot be used to supply answers to the type of questions which investigators have asked about Shaka's early life. Trying to find a "correct" version of Shaka's early life, as many historians have done, is a fruitless task. First, because many contradictory versions cannot be forced into a single account. Second, because too often the historians have been engaged on a quest for the origins of Shaka's supposed brutality and thus readily seize upon evidence which supports their preconceived notions, ignoring, or not being aware of, contradictory accounts. Third, because it ignores the main issue, and the only issue amenable to historical investigation in the examination of Shaka's early life, that of recognizing the variant interpretations as important subjects of study in themselves. The historian of Shaka and the early Zulu state needs to acknowledge that what appear to be barriers to his investigations—the multitude of contradictory accounts of the same events and issues—should, in fact, be the subject of his attention.

In the second major area of study of Shaka the man, his personal relations with other individuals during his adult years, many misperceptions and falsely assured judgments abound. Shakan life studies tend to focus on the accusation that Shaka was unable to maintain any "normal" relations, either sexual or social, with other people. Max Gluckman, as a representative neo-Freudian author, has suggested that Shaka was a latent homosexual and that

his "actions were marked by a strong attraction and revulsion for women and men, and sex and procreation." Shaka pretended to be a great lover of women while really desiring men; he married no women, fathered no children, he enforced celibacy for all his warriors until they reached their late thirties.<sup>49</sup> Even more sweeping is the suggestion of Donald Morris, one that is common to European commentators, that Shaka felt nothing for his fellow humans; all were so many units to be manipulated for his own purposes and then discarded.<sup>50</sup> Such accusations are easy to make and, by the very nature of the original questions, difficult to refute.

In dealing first with Shaka's sexual behavior, there seems no reason to assume from the evidence available that it was particularly aberrant, especially for a ruler. While he did not marry, nor acknowledge an heir, this seems to have been done for pragmatic political reasons. Marriage, of necessity, would involve children and thus an heir. Shaka appears to have been afraid that a "crown prince" could be used by dissidents in the kingdom, attempting to establish a separate court from that of the king.<sup>51</sup> It was unusual that he should never marry or have children, but, considering the revolutionary nature of political change during the early nineteenth century, it does seem possible that he felt it necessary to ensure the greater stability of the infant state by forgoing these customs. Such an explanation seems just as likely, and supported by rather more evidence, as the arguments of sexual inadequacy and homosexuality.

A more precise reference to his sexual preferences and activities comes from the English traders who visited Shaka's court in the 1820s. In his late forties at that time Shaka did express a concern to limit his own participation in sexual intercourse. One comparison that Shaka noted between himself and the traders' King George III was that neither indulged in "promiscuous intercourse with women" and that this accounted for their (Shaka's and King George's) advanced age.<sup>52</sup> Isaacs, however, was not overimpressed by this claim of limited abstinence, noting that Shaka much preferred the company of women to that of the trader.<sup>53</sup> While this is hardly conclusive proof that Shaka was heterosexual, it is rather more substantial than that marshalled by the supporters of the sexual abnormality theories. Shaka's sexual preferences seem of little importance except for the interest which they have received from prurient Europeans and psycho-historians in search of material to support their neo-Freudian hypotheses.

As for non-sexual personal relations, on the basis of the evidence available, there seems no necessary reason to doubt that Shaka was able to interact successfully with other individuals. Of course, this is a very difficult subject to assess. How can misanthropy be proved or disproved? There is no obvious answer. Those who argue for Shaka having misanthropic tendencies base their case on general allusions to his cruelty. Yet, in several specific instances,

there is evidence that Shaka was able to engage in close personal relationships. First, he seems to have had a very great affection for his mother and grandmother. Second, several sources mention that he had a particular regard for the Msetwa chief, Ngomane, who had been placed in charge of him when he first came to that people and who remained a trusted counselor throughout his life. Third, there is also evidence that he had close relationships with his half-brother, Ngwadi, and another counselor, Mdlaka.<sup>54</sup> What is involved in a close relationship is difficult to assess, but at least it does imply some element of mutual regard and respect. These elements were not totally lacking in Shaka's relations with his European visitors. None of them noted any particularly aberrant behavior in his social relations. In the dialogues which he had with them, especially those outlining his diplomatic aims, Shaka appears as a very perceptive student of human behavior.<sup>55</sup> In short, the evidence does not exist to prove that Shaka had a warped personality with misanthropic tendencies.

The third area of study in Shaka's life, his adult period, dominated in most accounts by examples of cruelty, caprice, and tyranny, is probably the most significant in forming popular attitudes to man and state. It is study of this period of his life which allows Ali Mazrui in a tone reminiscent of that first condemnation in print of Shaka, made in 1825, to make the damning judgment—"Shaka's capacity for brutality remains one of the wonders of world history"—written in 1975.<sup>56</sup>

Such generalizations are made with reference to two sets of empirical data. They are, first, particular "documented" cases of Shaka's cruelty and sadism, and second, general claims of the grossly unfair and capricious nature of justice as enforced at Shaka's court.

Before examining the data for these generalizations, two interrelated points concerning the evidence need to be commented upon. First, most of the evidence comes from the European contemporaries of Shaka. Bryant, with reference to examples of cruelty, often borrows directly from these sources rather than checking the information taken from them with his oral informants. The testimony collected by Stuart can be used as a check, although only to a limited degree. Many of the examples of cruelty mentioned in the earlier accounts are not referred to by Stuart's informants, raising questions about their validity. This relates to the second point. Fynn and Isaacs liked to give as much information about Shaka's cruelty to their readers as possible. Fynn stated that the "recital of his [Shaka's] cruelties, [was] necessary for the omission might leave him entitled to be regarded as only a savage" rather than some form of super-human tyrant.<sup>57</sup> Isaacs considered it necessary to graphically detail scenes of cruelty in order to allow the reader to see what he perceived to be the true nature of the man.<sup>58</sup> In sum, there is reason to believe that such intentions led them to distort their presentation of data.

Five specific cases of Shaka's supposed cruelty will be

examined—three in some detail, two rather more briefly. These include: the execution of a regiment for cowardice; the killing of all the old men in Zululand; events associated with the death of Shaka's mother, Nandi; Shaka's "operation" on a pregnant woman; and the execution of some youths who had engaged in illegal intercourse. These examples do not, in any way, encompass all the evidence of Shaka's cruelty. But, in distinction to much of the evidence usually referred to, they do involve specific instances which can be investigated. Also, they do exhibit the different ways in which the early European commentators often misunderstood or distorted events in Zulu history and how these distortions have gone uncorrected by later historians.

The first example of Shakan cruelty, the execution of an entire regiment of several thousand men for cowardice, involves problems of identification and semantics. Most sources on Shaka would agree that Shaka punished cowards by having them executed. Such a policy is not, however, very unusual during wartime. Many were executed during the First World War for perceived cowardice and there was one American victim during the Second World War. But there is the question of degree. The judicial execution of a few individuals is one thing, the indiscriminate killing of hundreds or thousands is something quite different.

Nathaniel Isaacs claimed that Shaka killed an entire regiment, including associated women and children, for showing cowardice. He then called the place of slaughter "Umboolalio" (Bulawayo). This slaughter supposedly happened shortly before July 1826.<sup>59</sup> Bryant also refers to this event but gives two conflicting dates, one manifestly wrong, the other derived from Isaacs.<sup>60</sup> But Bryant disagrees with Isaacs over the meaning of "Umboolalio," or Bulawayo. Isaacs stated that it literally meant "place of slaughter." Bryant says that its meaning was "place of him who was killed with afflictions," alluding to Shaka's unhappy childhood experiences.<sup>61</sup> Now, for Isaacs, the fact that slaughter took place hinges upon his interpretation of the meaning of Bulawayo. For Bryant, the example of slaughter relies on Isaacs, while his derivation of the meaning of Bulawayo comes from African informants. Therefore it seems possible to suggest that confusion over the meaning of the place name led Isaacs to make a mistake in his identification of regimental slaughter. Bryant, in turn, failed to recognize that his different, and probably more correct, meaning for Bulawayo would prevent him from accepting Isaacs's evidence of mass killing. None of the informants whose evidence is contained in the first volume of the Stuart papers mention the execution of an entire regiment.

Dispute over the derivation of place names also seems to be at the base of confusion in the second specific example of Shaka's cruelty. This is the claim that Shaka killed all the old men in Zululand because they were a strain on the material resources of the state. In respect of this particular assertion, one turn-of-the-century

writer claimed that Shaka, as a true exemplar of social Darwinism, was "an apostle of evolutionary ethics."<sup>62</sup> John Omer-Cooper, among the modern historians, has accepted the truth of the claim of generational genocide.<sup>63</sup>

The origins of the story lie with Fynn and Isaacs and their interpretation of the meaning of the word *Gibexhegu*, the name of one of Shaka's settlements. Fynn claimed that, after the defeat of the Ndwandwe people in 1827, all the aged people in the country were gathered together at Gibexhegu and killed.<sup>64</sup> Isaacs also claims that the men too old to fight were killed there, later expanding this precise claim into a general statement, without the addition of any other supporting evidence, that Shaka always killed all the aged and decrepit.<sup>65</sup>

However, the significance of the place name seems to have been more allusory than literal, a general point which can be made about the interpretation of much material relating to Shaka. Again, Bryant gives a different version for the original meaning of the name Gibexhegu. Feeling encumbered by the presence of older men on a campaign, Shaka allowed them to return home. "Thereupon, the Old Brigade was led away on its last march home, and to consummate their departure Shaka humorously nicknamed his kraal kwaGibexhegu (There where the old men are pushed out and thrown away)."<sup>66</sup> It seems that Fynn and Isaacs too readily assumed a literal meaning for the phrase "drive out the old men." None of Stuart's informants in volume one make any mention of Shaka killing all the aged people in his state, a policy which surely would have been commented upon by them had it existed.

Events associated with the death of Nandi provide much of the ammunition for critics of Shaka.<sup>67</sup> Two preliminary points can be made. First, there are many variants in African testimony about the causes of Nandi's death. In general, however, most testimony supports the conclusion that she died from natural causes and was not killed by her son. More important for the present discussion of how historians have used their sources is the second point—the rather unquestioning way in which previous investigators have accepted the contradictory evidence provided by Fynn and Isaacs.

The usual description of events associated with Nandi's death goes as follows: on her death in 1827 Shaka broke down; several thousand people were killed at the mourning ceremony; Shaka made a series of prohibitions to mark his mother's death, including one that forbade all sexual relations for a year; after the death of his mother Shaka showed increasing signs of a mental breakdown; and this was a major factor in his assassination. The major source for this description is Henry Fynn, who was at Shaka's settlement at the time of Nandi's death.<sup>68</sup>

But certain inconsistencies are evident in Fynn's account. First, there is considerable confusion about the number of people present at the mourning ceremony. On one page of the published diary Fynn states that there were sixty thousand people, yet on the following page

the editors of the diary point out that in a different manuscript version of the same event Fynn had only thirty thousand present.<sup>69</sup> The detail is possibly minor but relevant if we are to consider seriously his claim that seven thousand people were to be killed in a period of hysterical recrimination on the day after Nandi died. Isaacs was away from the settlement at the time and can provide no substantiating evidence of what happened. But he is able to give some description of the reverberations of Nandi's death throughout the areas away from the settlement. Despite general claims that he saw numerous bodies being eaten by hyenas, he personally witnessed, in this time of supposed great terror and mass murder, the killing of only five people. Although it was claimed by the murderers that they killed their victims for failing to attend Nandi's funeral in disregard of royal commands, Isaacs shows in his account that the real reason for the killing was a local feud.<sup>70</sup> The upheaval consequent on Nandi's death provided an opportunity for the repaying of local scores free from the interference of state officials.

According to Fynn, Shaka, emotionally devastated by the death of his mother, lost control of the situation at his settlement. The occasion seems to have been used by many other people to settle old grievances, much like the conflict witnessed by Isaacs in the countryside. However, Fynn, despite his emphasis on Shaka's emotional and physical incapacity, does suggest that the killings (involving those seven thousand people) were part of an attempt by the king to get rid of influential people he could not otherwise have eliminated.<sup>71</sup> Isaacs, on the other hand, was told later by Shaka that the people at the settlement, rather than being under his control, had attacked officials in general, killing "all his principal people."<sup>72</sup> The evidence cannot support the suggestion that Shaka personally controlled the killing of thousands.

Responsibility for the post-funeral prohibitions has been misattributed to Shaka, and the form and extent of these prohibitions has been exaggerated and misinterpreted. Fynn notes that the announcement of the prohibitions was made by Ngomane, not by Shaka.<sup>73</sup> Yet many historians persist in using Fynn as their source when they say Shaka was personally responsible for them, implying, without any evidence to support their case, that Ngomane was merely a mouthpiece for his master. Further, according to Fynn, Ngomane stated that no cultivation could take place for a year, no milk could be taken from cows during the same period, and that women who became pregnant would be put to death along with their husbands. Fynn claims that the first two prohibitions were maintained for three months while the third was "strictly enforced throughout the year."<sup>74</sup> Yet Isaacs, visiting Shaka at his settlement in early September 1827, barely two months after the death of his mother, found him "amusing himself with the ladies." Five days later, on September 7, there was a public ceremony of discarding the mourning

dress, after which mourning "was permitted to cease throughout his dominions."<sup>75</sup> In sum, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that Fynn's figure for the number of people killed was highly exaggerated, that the same could be said about the supposed nationwide massacre, that the prohibitions were introduced at the behest of his chiefs as a sign of respect, rather than at Shaka's personal and perverted command, and that Shaka seems to have recovered quite quickly after this experience. Deaths did result from that of Nandi's but the evidence available can prove neither the scale that historians have suggested on the basis of Fynn's claims nor the allocation of personal responsibility for their occurrence to Shaka.

As one of his proofs of Shaka's near psychotic nature, Gluckman remarks on how the king had women, at different stages of their pregnancy, opened alive "so that he could see how babies grew in the womb."<sup>76</sup> This is a story common among Stuart's informants, although none refer to more than one woman being killed.<sup>77</sup> By using dispersed references in the same testimonies, it is possible to construct an alternative explanation for this act. It is not suggested, however, that Shaka never examined the insides of a pregnant woman, only that he may not have done this to a living person. After all, a scientific interest in the facts of reproduction is not an inherently reprehensible concern.

In an alternative explanation two series of references in the testimony of Stuart's informants can be brought together. First, there are the numerous stories that a pregnant woman was cut open. Second, there are the various accounts of how metal amulets, including neck rings, caused the death of many Zulu at one stage during Shaka's rule.<sup>78</sup> These two series of references can be related to each other when it is known that one of the members of Shaka's seraglio died from a neck sore caused by wearing a neck ring.<sup>79</sup> Further, it is known that Fynn had such a ring, taken from a pregnant woman whom Shaka had had cut open in order to see if the fetus lay in the same position as in a pregnant cow. Fynn claimed, although he did not witness the event, that the woman was alive when cut open.<sup>80</sup> But what if it was the same woman who had died from the effects of the neck ring and Shaka had only made a post-mortem examination? Obviously this alternative explanation is tentative in its collection of small pieces of information from various testimonies. But it does seem a possible explanation for the origin of the stories of Shaka and his butchered pregnant women.

Finally, there is the example of the youths killed for participating in intercourse when Shaka had expressly forbidden it. Isaacs is the only source for this story, claiming to have personally witnessed the execution of 170 young boys and girls.<sup>81</sup> This account is also the only sustained and heavily detailed description of an example of Shaka's cruelty that Isaacs claims to have personally witnessed. All his other descriptions of brutality tend to be much more general and unrelated to eyewitnessed

actions. Isaacs's account must be accepted, if at all, on his word alone. There were no other European witnesses, nor is there any mention of the event in oral testimonies. One European student of Zulu history, who traveled in Natal in the early twentieth century talking to Zulu about their past, also found no knowledge among his informants of this particular example of Shaka's cruelty.<sup>82</sup> If the historian is to accept this evidence, he should note its single origin and the lack of corroboration, rather than presenting it as established truth, as at least one modern historian has done.<sup>83</sup>

This examination of specific examples of Shaka's supposed cruelty has not been undertaken with the intention of proving that he never behaved in a cruel manner. Rather, it is suggested that cruelty should not be seen as the dominant factor in his relations with other people. Too often, historians have failed to note the tenuous nature of their evidence and its internal contradictions, presenting instead a slew of evidence in support of their perceptions of Shaka's barbarity.

The second set of data for generalization about the capricious and tyrannic nature of Shaka's rule relates to his conception of justice and to the operations of judicial systems in the state. Two characteristics of Shaka's practice of rule are commented on by most historians. First, that he would often kill people for the slightest of reasons—Brian Roberts suggests, seriously, that an "ill-suppressed cough, sneeze or fart in the royal presence" could result in death.<sup>84</sup> Second, that this was done without any attempt to give the unfortunate victims the benefit of a trial.<sup>85</sup> Their evidence for this comes from the accounts of Fynn and Isaacs.

A close reading of the accounts of the European traders, however, produces a rather more complex picture of the execution of justice at Shaka's court and of his own attitude to judicial procedures. In the accounts of Fynn and Isaacs, along with the general accusations of imperial capriciousness, there is considerable admiration for his system of rule and practice of justice. Fynn, for example, noted that Shaka had, on coming to power, introduced the death penalty for cattle stealing. This had the effect of immediately ending a practice which had become common under the previous Mtetwa chief, Dingiswayo. Not once in his twelve years among the Zulu did Fynn hear of a single instance of cattle theft.<sup>86</sup> The aspect of Zululand which most impressed and astonished him on his arrival in, and travels through, the country, was the "order and discipline" maintained everywhere.<sup>87</sup>

Evidence does exist that objective justice was practiced in the Zulu state and that Shaka was respectful of judicial procedures, many of which must have been developed in Zulu society prior to the period of Shaka's rule. It is important to note that he respected these existing practices. Fynn believed that in Shaka's time there had existed a court of chiefs who spent much of each day adjudicating public complaints. Trials were conducted in public and

crimes were punished by fines, confiscation of property, or death. Two types of crime were recognized. Those which only involved private individuals and those involving public offenses (which usually meant speaking disrespectfully of those in authority).<sup>88</sup> Isaacs also commented on these chiefly courts, noting that in "investigating any crime committed, they minutely examine the parties on both sides as well as the witnesses *pro* and *con*."<sup>89</sup>

Possibly this respect for determining innocence and guilt was restricted to petty crimes not involving state interests. But it seems unlikely that if there was such concern for justice at one level, it would not also exist at other levels.

Shaka seemed to differentiate between innocent and guilty on an objective basis. On one occasion, when an argument developed between Fynn and his two Hottentot servants, Shaka intervened to discover the source of the conflict and "pursued a very impartial course."<sup>90</sup> Possibly this was a special case. But in discussions with Fynn, Shaka did express his abhorrence at the idea of imprisonment as a form of punishment, stating that he felt that those guilty of major crimes should be punished by death only, as a more humane act. If, however, "suspicions only attached to the individual," then he should be allowed to go free since "his arrest would be sufficient warning for the future."<sup>91</sup> This evidence does not prove that Shaka was never capricious in his practice of justice, only that he was not always so. It can also be suggested that many of the references to Fynn and Isaacs to individuals being killed without any semblance of a trial could be due to their recent arrival into the society, their ignorance of the Zulu language, their impression of being in an alien culture. They may have unconsciously tried to overcome a sense of incomprehensibility at the workings of the society around them by ascribing, incorrectly, all that happened to the capricious wishes of that society's most visible member—the king.

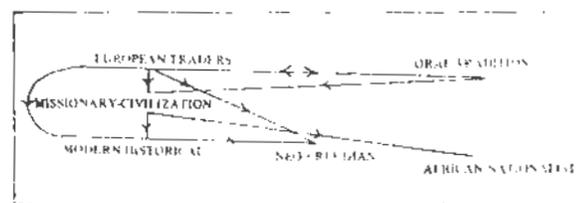
This examination of aspects in Shaka's life has shown the complexity of accounts of his personality and ruling practices and the difficulties of interpreting the evidence. Yet this would seem to be at odds with the confident assertions made about Shaka in nearly all historical studies of the man. The remainder of this article will return to a closer examination of the historiography of Shaka, attempting to determine the causes of this misplaced general confidence and the reasons why the negative view of Shaka is so universal.

At least four relatively distinct approaches may be discerned in the historiography. Of these four approaches, one developed in the nineteenth century, strongly influencing the other three, products of the twentieth. Without attempting to establish a rigid framework of distinctiveness, general descriptive titles can be allocated to these approaches: missionary-civilization, African nationalist, neo-Freudian, and modern historical.

The general consensus that Shaka was a tyrant and his state tyrannic, found in the missionary-civilization, neo-

Freudian, modern historical, and, to a more limited extent, African nationalist approaches, has its basis in the common sources used by most students. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the accounts of the early European traders, Fynn and Isaacs, have been heavily depended upon in all historical studies. However, not only information has been taken from these sources, but also many of the critical judgments of the authors. This is despite the many obvious, and often acknowledged, shortcomings of these accounts. Figure 1, below, suggests, in a simplified diagrammatic form, how historical accounts of Shaka have interrelated and mutually developed over time. A major factor in this development has been the function of missionary-civilization influenced works as secondary sources of information, and interpretation, for twentieth-century approaches.

Figure 1



The missionary-civilization approach emerged over several decades, most of its representative writings being founded on a ready acceptance of the truth of the most exotic claims of Fynn and Isaacs. In the earlier writings of this approach, those produced in the 1830s and 1840s, examples of brutality are generally listed as proof of tyranny. Later, in the writings of the 1850s and subsequent decades, there is a more pronounced desire to emphasize concepts of civilization and Christianity.

Two important narratives, making reference to Zulu history, were written by visitors to southern Africa in the 1830s and 1840s. Andrew Smith, a doctor, met Dingane in 1832, and later wrote an account of his travels which included severe and graphic criticism of Shaka. The value of his account, useful as it is for studying Dingane, is tempered by the fact that Smith took all his material on Shaka from Fynn's manuscript notes.<sup>22</sup> Somewhat more original is the account of the French missionaries to the Sotho people, Arhousset and Deunias, with its descriptions of royal cruelty. But there are problems with utilizing their material. First, all of it is derived from Sotho informants, who had no reason to glorify the memory of their enemy, or from a former servant of Dingane, who also would be likely to denigrate the memory of the first Zulu monarch. Second, much of the material concerning particular examples of cruelty refers to Dingane and not to Shaka. Further, the authors are themselves rather doubtful of the veracity of the stories of Zulu brutality.<sup>23</sup>

These two accounts were followed by a number of studies written by missionaries, including those of the

Reverends Joseph Shooter, William Holden, and Lewis Groot.<sup>94</sup> All derive their examples of Shaka's cruelty and tyranny from the accounts of the earlier European traders. Although Holden does claim to have got some information from an uncle of Shaka, most of his material comes from Fynn and Isaacs. What differentiates these accounts from their predecessors are more sweeping generalizations about the nature of Zulu society under Shaka, associated with a desire to "arouse interest in the minds of the Christian public . . . for their [Zulu] preservation and improvement."<sup>95</sup> By emphasizing in their writings the "fallen" nature of Zulu, and the necessity for salvation, vividly displayed in descriptions of brutality and depravity, they could raise public support, especially financial, for their missionary endeavors.

Two studies published in the 1880s added to the missionary concern for Christianity and civilization the concept of the Shakan period of rule as being an inevitable step in the "progress" of the Zulu. D. C. F. Moodie paints a horrifying picture of Zulu society, embellishing material from his sources—Fynn and Isaacs—to absurdity. Cowards are not just killed; they are impaled *per rectum*; enemy soldiers are not the only people to die in battle but also their wives, children, dogs, cats, kittens, chickens, and even the unborn babies of pregnant women ripped from the bellies of their mothers and boiled in their own amniotic fluid.<sup>96</sup> Theophilus Shepstone, the Natal administrator, was more analytical and elaborated a three-stage process of Zulu development. First came the pre-Shaka era, a period of simple barbarism. This was followed by the period of incorrectly adopted and appallingly bloody "civilization," controlled by Shaka. Finally, there arrived the white man "ameliorating the remnants of this wreck."<sup>97</sup> For Moodie and Shepstone and, through their influence, later writers, Shakan brutality was an essential force in the coming of civilization, an unavoidable bloody adaptive phase.

In many ways the culmination of these nineteenth-century studies, from Andrew Smith to Theophilus Shepstone, is found in the work of A. T. Bryant. His various writings, particularly *Oldentimes in Zululand and Natal* published in 1929, encompass all aspects of the missionary-civilization approach discussed above. His Shaka is a tyrant, but also a tragic figure who "in accomplishing his 'glorious' work . . . ruined himself . . . [and] lost his own soul."<sup>98</sup> Zulu society is savage and barbaric, but with great potential for civilization and Christianity. Progress is inevitable. Further, Bryant has been one of the most important influences on twentieth-century interpretations of Shaka and the Zulu state. Yet, as discussed in the first part of this essay, historians have generally failed to recognize the changing emphasis, over time, in his writings and have relied almost totally on his seriously flawed *Oldentimes*.

On the whole, the missionary-civilization writings, with the exception of Bryant's utilization of Langeni informa-

tion, add little new information on Shaka beyond what is already contained in their major sources, Fynn and Isaacs. What they tend to do, by mere repetition and elaboration, is to give an impression of corroboration and trust to the accounts of the European traders. The sheer bulk of the evidence against Shaka becomes in itself proof of his guilt. But mere quantity is not sufficient when it is found to derive from the same limited sources.

In the twentieth century three approaches have dominated the study of Shaka and the early Zulu state. Two, because of their limitations, which make them peripheral to the study of Shaka, will be discussed briefly. The third will be examined in somewhat greater depth.

The African nationalist approach has been heavily influenced by contemporary concerns in interpreting Shaka. For this reason much of the work is irrelevant to the study of Shaka, telling the reader more about a modern African search for the roots of a national identity and pride. Leopold Senghor, for example, in his poem *Chaka*, is in reality using the Zulu king as a metaphor for the modern leader, attempting to hold a new nation-state together. The source of all his information, Thomas Mofolo, who got most of his material in turn from missionaries, was mainly concerned with the personal "fall" of Shaka, viewing his career in the light of Christian teaching.<sup>99</sup> Jordan Ngubane, although he does attempt to approach study of Shaka through the imaginative use of *izibongo*, still interprets him through the eyes of a person mainly concerned with the problems of nationalism and class conflict.<sup>100</sup> These are artificially related to early Zulu history. But it is the limited nature of the sources used which make this approach of peripheral importance to the study of Shaka. Untrained as historians, the various authors utilize their minimal sources to provide supporting evidence for preconceived theories on the relationship of Shaka to modern African nationalism. The African nationalists are more interested in Shaka as a model than as an historical individual.<sup>101</sup>

The neo-Freudian writers can be faulted on two points: the generally naive way in which they have selected evidence to support their analyses, and the serious weaknesses in their argumentation. As shown in figure 1, the neo-Freudians have utilized both the European traders and later nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources for their data. Although James Fernandez has some qualms about the veracity of much of his material, he, along with Max Gluckman and Ali Mazrui, makes no attempt to critically evaluate the evidence and presents an argument which can be accepted only as long as the complete veracity of the supporting evidence is accepted.<sup>102</sup> There seems little point in presenting a theory if there has been no attempt to evaluate the evidence on which it is based, especially in such a difficult and easily abused field as psycho-history. As to the second point, the coherence of the arguments presented, there are many difficulties. Gluckman, for example, argues by analogy that because there have been

lots of other cruel tyrants in history, there is no reason not to believe that Shaka was also one.<sup>103</sup> Mazrui, in a very simplistic and superficial way, links sexual inadequacy to adult brutal assertiveness and compares Shaka to Idi Amin as both products of symbolic castration—Shaka because of his small penis, Amin through castration by colonialism.<sup>104</sup> Crudity of analysis, and the tenuous evidence used, make the neo-Freudian interpretations almost worthless to the study of Shaka and tend to perpetuate, and give a pseudo-scientific basis to, the extreme allegations of the nineteenth-century writers.

The modern historical approach contains a large number of studies ranging from the semi-fictional account of E. Ritter, through the more balanced accounts by the amateur historians, Donald Morris and Brian Roberts, to the work of professional historians like John Omer-Cooper and Leonard Thompson. For their sources they have depended largely on the trader accounts and the writings of A. T. Bryant. Because of the previous unavailability of the Stuart papers in published form, little use has been made of oral tradition, apart from that contained in Bryant's *Oldentimes*.

Modern historians have not always been aware of shortcomings in their sources, or, if they have, still tend to accept much of the evidence without examining it item by item. Brian Roberts, in his summary section on Shaka's career, after discussing the grave weaknesses of the accounts of the early traders, questions the truth of the examples of massacre and barbarity. Yet, in earlier sections, he claims that people could be killed for coughing, sneezing, farting, or tittering in the king's presence, and narrates many examples of cruelty and depravity taken from Fynn and Isaacs.<sup>105</sup> His use of sources is highly inconsistent. In another example, John Omer-Cooper cites as proof of Shaka's brutality the killings and prohibitions consequent on the death of Nandi. In his footnote he gives as support for his allegation two deductions: first, that the accounts of Fynn and Andrew Smith were in agreement on the nature and consequences of Nandi's death; second, that, by analogy, the prohibitions "monstrous though they may seem . . . were not entirely untraditional."<sup>106</sup> With regard to the first point, the apparent agreement between the two accounts is easily explained. Smith got all his information from Fynn. As to the second point, while various prohibitions, such as temporarily limiting intercourse, might have been customary, they are not in themselves "monstrous." Omer-Cooper's "monstrous" should refer more specifically to the killings associated with the death; they were certainly not traditional, but then nor were they necessarily as widespread as he assumes. Leonard Thompson alone manages to note the weaknesses of the sources and then uses them, keeping in mind his criticisms. Thus he does not rely on Isaacs and attempts to support every assertion with multiple references.<sup>107</sup> In general, however, modern historians have not always been very critical in their use of sources.

Most modern historians implicitly agree that Shaka was a tyrant. They also imply that he was inhuman, that he had no regard for other individuals or for human life in general, that his personality was abnormal and perverted. While the information which lies at the base of this consensus comes from the traders' accounts, the emphases, and often the descriptive terms, especially such words as "inhuman," derive largely from the influence of the missionary-civilization approach. Modern historians, in their concentration on Shaka's character, reflect the nineteenth-century view that the dynamics of Zulu society could be studied, and explained, only through study of its most prominent member.

Concentration on Shaka's character has led to two further concerns of the modern historians, both also strongly influenced by the missionary-civilization approach. First, there is the attempt to explain the tyrannic nature of the state and Shaka's responsibility for its nature. This reflects a missionary-civilization concentration on the terroristic practices of Shaka's rule. But, unlike the nineteenth-century approach, which emphasized the terror and brutality as being a result of Shaka's irrationally cruel personality, modern scholars such as E. V. Walter and Roberts have attempted to find a "rational" basis for this "policy" of tyranny. Walter, in a substantial study on the nature of terror as a ruling practice, argues that the Zulu state under Shaka provides an almost perfect example of how a policy of systematic terror, like that of Stalinist Russia, can be instituted in a society which is "primitive" and not technologically advanced.<sup>108</sup> Roberts, in suggesting that Shaka's tyranny was necessary to his achievement of a unified state, argues that he is not trying to "excuse a cruel despotism, but to understand the motivations of an intelligent but barbarous ruler."<sup>109</sup> The barbarian remains a barbarian, but now we "understand" him.

Walter and Roberts simply put the cart before the horse. Understanding is not so much required as critical research. They accept as their main premise that the Zulu state under Shaka was brutally tyrannic, basing this premise on the evidence provided so freely and graphically by Fynn and Isaacs. But, as already shown, these authors cannot always be relied on. Before Walter and Roberts attempt, in a somewhat patronizing way, to explain and understand Zulu brutality, they might question whether it existed, as a first step in their analysis.

The second concern of modern historians, again like their nineteenth-century predecessors, is to attribute responsibility for the devastation and suffering associated with the great social and political upheaval of the *mfecane* to Shaka. It has even been suggested, without satisfactory proof, that Shaka engaged in a form of "scorched-earth" policy in Natal, creating a barrier between himself and the British.<sup>110</sup> Without dwelling on this hypothesis, or on the details of the *mfecane*, it can be argued that any explanation attributing personal responsibility for great historical changes to one person is always an oversimplification. It

seems to be like arguing that the determination of Attila alone caused the fall of the Roman Empire, or that Napoleon alone planned and caused the devastation associated with the continental wars of the early nineteenth century. Such arguments are not explanations.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that Shaka must always remain an enigmatic figure. The quantity, and more especially the quality, of the evidence available will not allow otherwise. It has not been the intention of this article to clothe the bones of Shaka in what seems to be more decent garb. In fact, on stripping the myth, or "clothing," from Shaka little remains but "dry bones." Concentration on the life story of the king has led to a failure to study the dynamics of the state. Historians need to admit that they know much less about Shaka than has been claimed or implied in the past. They need to get on with the important task of studying the origins and development of the Zulu state and to avoid seeing it as the product of the personal flaws of one man. Historians should engage in shaping an adequate historical reality, not in myth making.

#### NOTES

1. It is a pleasure and assistance in reading earlier drafts of this article and for making many perceptive criticisms of its weaknesses and suggestions for its improvement, I would like to thank Leonard Thompson and David Robinson of Yale University and Paul Clark of Harvard University.

1. See, for example, W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar*, 2 vols. (London, 1833), 2: 389; I. C. Chase, ed., *The Natal Papers* (Cape Town, 1845), p. 20; Nathaniel Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, 2 vols. (London, 1836) 1: 275; Reverend Lewis Groot, *Zululand, or, Life among the Zulu-Kaffirs of Natal and Zululand, South Africa* (London, 1861), p. 78; Jules Leclercq, *A France l'Afrique Australe* (Paris, 1895), p. 288.

2. Lieutenant James King in George Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa* (London, 1827), 2: 413.

3. Jordan Ngubane, "Shaka's Social, Political and Military Ideas," in *Shaka King of the Zulus in African Literature*, ed. Donald Burness (Washington, n.d. [1976]).

4. King's impressions are contained in two articles published in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* in 1826. They were subsequently republished in George Thompson's *Travels and Adventures*. Farewell's account is contained as an appendix in Owen's *Narrative of Voyages* and also in Chase's *Natal Papers*. Isaacs first published a series of articles in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* in 1832 but the main source for the historian is his two-volume *Travels*. Fynn's diary was not published until 1950, but the material on which it is based has been available in various published forms since the middle of the nineteenth century. See Fynn's evidence contained in the *Proceedings of the Commission appointed to inquire into the past and present state of the Kaffirs in the district of Natal* (Natal, 1852); selections from his writings in *The Annals of Natal*, ed. John Bird, 2 vols., (1888; reprint ed., Cape Town, n.d.), vol. 1; and *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, ed. James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm (Pietermaritzburg, 1950).

5. The most valuable of Bryant's many studies is his *Oldentimes in Zululand and Natal* (London, 1929). But of almost equal value in the study of Shaka's early life is Bryant's "A Sketch of the Origins and Early History of the Zulu People" contained in his earlier publication, *A Zulu-English Dictionary* (Natal, 1905).

Stuart's papers are in the process of being edited for publication. As yet only one volume is available, although it does contain the testimony of one of the two people whom Stuart felt to be the most valuable informants on Zulu history. C. de B. Webb and J. B. Wright, eds., *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1976), vol. 1.

6. Cope, *Izibongo* (London, 1968).

7. The accounts of King and Farewell, although informative, are very brief.

8. See Brian Roberts, *The Zulu Kings* (London, 1974), pp. 157-61; and, for a more perceptive and consistent discussion, Leonard Thompson, "The Zulu Kingdom," in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, ed. Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, 2 vols. (New York, 1969), 1: 336-37.

9. Stuart, *Diary*, p. xiii.

10. Roberts has commented on a similar ambivalence in the writings of Lieutenant King. See *The Zulu Kings*, p. 98.

11. Nathaniel Isaacs to Henry Fynn, 10 December 1832, published in *Africana Notes and News* 18 (1968-69): 67.

12. Bird, *Annals*, 1: 173. See also Isaacs's *Travels*, 1: xxxi.

13. Holden, *History of the Colony of Natal* (London, 1855), p. 22; Bryant, *Oldentimes*, p. 582.

14. Okoye, "Dingane: A Reappraisal," *Journal of African History* 10, no. 2 (1969): 221-35.

15. See below, note 22.

16. Baleka ka Mpitikazi, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 8; Dinya ka Zokozwayo, *ibid.*, pp. 96-98, 99, 110, 111, 112, 113; Jantshi ka Nongila, *ibid.*, pp. 189, 200.

17. Bryant, *Oldentimes*, pp. viii-ix.

18. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

19. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

20. See, especially, pp. 36-37 of Bryant's *Zulu-English Dictionary*.

21. For further discussion of variant interpretations of Shaka, see Ngubane, "Shaka's Social Ideas."

22. Bryant has stated that his material on Shaka's early life, as discussed in the *Zulu-English Dictionary*, came from traditions preserved by the Langeni people. The Qwabe interpretation is contained in the testimony of two of Stuart's informants, Baleka ka Mpitikazi and Dinya ka Zokozwayo, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 4-14, 95-123. Dingane composed "national songs" after killing Shaka, "containing denunciations against the former state of things" (Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 162-63). Since, during his lifetime, Shaka would not allow anyone to speak of his early life, it seems likely that most information about this period was probably obtained from African informants after his death by the traders. These informants, in the disruptive times of the late 1820s, would have been anxious to prove their loyalty to their new king. (Stuart, *Diary*, p. 156; Baleni ka Siwana, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 19). Aside from the trader's accounts, the Zulu-Dingane interpretation is also represented in the testimony of Jantshi ka Nongila, whose father, able to transfer his loyalties with remarkable skill, served as a spy for Senzangakona, Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 174-207. Cetshwayo's version is contained in an interview given to his European jailor, after his defeat and imprisonment by the British in 1879, "Cetywayo's Story of the Zulu Nation and the War," *Macmillan's Magazine* 41, no. 244 (1880): 273-95. Cetshwayo's own problems with proving the legitimacy of his claim to the throne, against the counter-claims of a half-brother, would no doubt have influenced his interpretation of the details of Shaka's early life.

23. Baleni ka Mpitikazi, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 4-5; Jantshi ka Nongila, *ibid.*, pp. 177-79; Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 263-65; Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 12-13.

24. See, for example, Donald Morris, *The Washing of the Spears* (New York, 1965), pp. 44-45; Thompson, "The Zulu Kingdom," *OJSA*, 1: 242; Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, pp. 34-35.

25. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath* (Evanston, Ill., 1969), p. 29.

26. Bryant, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, pp. 36-37.

27. Bryant, *Oldentimes*, pp. 47-48.

28. "Cetywayo's Story," p. 274. Cetshwayo does, however, suggest that "Chaka" originally meant "bastard," a meaning not mentioned by any other informants.

29. See Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 12, 140; Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 263; Jantshi ka Nongila, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 178; Baleka ka Mpitikazi, *ibid.*, p. 5, for pejorative meanings.
30. Döhnc, *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary* (Cape Town, 1857), pp. xiv-xy, 347.
31. Holden, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races* (London, 1866), p. 7. In his *Zulu-English Dictionary*, Bryant suggests that the derivation of Shaka's name, "in spite of many altogether fanciful guesses, must be declared as unknown and unapparent," p. 36.
32. Stuart, *Diary*, p. 14; Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 265; Jantshi ka Nongila, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 182; Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*, pp. 48-49; Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, p. 30; Roberts, *The Zulu King*, p. 46; Thompson, "The Zulu Kingdom," *OISA*, 1: 342.
33. Bryant, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, pp. 38-39. Jantshi ka Nongila, while he does dispute the legitimacy of Shaka, and the idea that Senzangakona chose him to be his heir, does suggest that Shaka may have been offered the position of king, by leading Zulus, after his father's death. *Stuart Archive*, 1: 199.
34. Baleni ka Silwana of the Mpungose people, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 17. See also Baleka ka Mpitikazi, *ibid.*, p. 6.
35. "Cetywayo's Story," pp. 274-75.
36. See Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*, p. 45; Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, p. 30; Leonard Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds: Moshoeshe of Lesotho, 1786-1870* (Oxford, 1975), p. 2. For the neo-Freudian argument, see below. Bryant was one of the first to give credence to the correlation between childhood experiences and Shaka's perceived adult character arguing (after Coleridge) that "with him [Shaka] the child was but father of the man." *Oldentimes*, p. 648.
37. Gluckman, "The Individual in a Social Framework: The Rise of King Shaka of Zululand," *Journal of African Studies* 1, no. 2 (1974): 140-41.
38. Mazrui, "The Resurrection of the Warrior Tradition in African Political Culture," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 13, no. 1 (1975): 75; Fernandez, "The Shaka Complex," *Transition* 6, no. 19 (1967): 29.
39. Bryant, *Oldentimes*, 62.
40. Jantshi ka Nongila, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 180.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 174, note 5, p. 202.
42. Gluckman, "The Individual," p. 140; Mazrui, "The Resurrection," p. 74; Fernandez, "The Shaka Complex," p. 28. Their material is drawn from the graphic, and largely fictional, account contained in E. V. Ritter, *Shaka Zulu*, 2d ed. (New York, 1973), p. 101.
43. Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 27-28.
44. Jantshi ka Nongila, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 191. For similar references see Baleni ka Silwana, *ibid.*, p. 19; and Bryant, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, p. 36.
45. Bryant, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, p. 36; Bryant, *Oldentimes*, p. 124. It is not possible, from the context, to determine whether Bryant's source for the last piece of information was Langeni or whether it came from the trader accounts which he used so freely in his descriptions of Shaka's adult brutality.
46. Although Baleni ka Silwana does refer to Shaka having killed individuals who had taunted him as a child. *Stuart Archive*, 1: 19.
47. Baleka ka Mpitikazi, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 4-5.
48. Baleni ka Silwana, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 19. He does suggest that Shaka also killed some Langeni.
49. Gluckman, "The Individual," pp. 141-42.
50. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*, p. 67; Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, p. 30; Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, p. 56.
51. See Jantshi ka Nongila, who quoted Shaka as saying of the idea of having children, "Would they hold to me? They would achieve their own notability and turn against me." *Stuart Archive*, 1: 190. The number of father-son and sibling conflicts in later Zulu history would seem to support Shaka's concern.
52. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 91.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
54. See, with reference to his grandmother, Stuart, *Diary*, p. 121; Thompson, *Travels and Adventures*, 2: 411; with reference to his mother, Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 132-33; with reference to Ngomane, Jantshi ka Nongila, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 182; Bryant, *Oldentimes*, pp. 64, 203; with reference to Ngwadi and/or Mdlaka, Lynn in Bird, *Annals*, 1: 98; Baleni ka Silwana, Dinya ka Zokozwayo, Jantshi ka Nongila, Lugubu ka Mangaliso, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 28, 95, 103, 114, 115, 190, 284.
55. See, for example, Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 90, 93.
56. Mazrui, "The Resurrection," p. 73.
57. Stuart, *Diary*, p. 19.
58. Isaacs in Bird, *Annals*, 1: 173.
59. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 113.
60. Bryant, *Oldentimes*, pp. 587, 605.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 123. Jordan Ngubane has suggested that it was the place where animals were slaughtered, "Shaka's Social Ideas," p. 150.
62. Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), p. 289.
63. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, p. 35.
64. Stuart, *Diary*, p. 30.
65. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 60; Isaacs in Bird, *Annals*, 1: 170.
66. Bryant, *Oldentimes*, p. 586.
67. See, for example, Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, pp. 39, 42; Thompson, "The Zulu Kingdom," *OISA*, 1: 350; Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, pp. 120-23.
68. Stuart, *Diary*, pp. 133-36.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134.
70. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 196-202.
71. Bird, *Annals*, 1: 91.
72. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 204.
73. Stuart, *Diary*, p. 136.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.
75. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 202, 203.
76. Gluckman, "The Individual," p. 142.
77. Jantshi ka Nongila, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 195; Baleka ka Mpitikazi, *ibid.*, p. 5; Baleni ka Silwana, *ibid.*, p. 30.
78. Baleni ka Silwana, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 23; William F. Cash, *ibid.*, p. 27b (his informant was Lynn); Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 85-86.
79. Baleni ka Silwana, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 23.
80. William Bazley, *Stuart Archive*, 1: 75.
81. Isaacs, *Travels*, 1: 129; 35.
82. J. Y. Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus* (London, 1911), pp. 51-52.
83. Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, p. 104.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
85. See, for example, Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*, pp. 66-67; and Thompson, *Moshoeshe*, p. 30.
86. Stuart, *Diary*, p. 24.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
88. Bird, *Annals*, 1: 119.
89. Isaacs, *Travels*, 2: 248. On the previous page, however, he lists several minor crimes which supposedly involved the death penalty. It seems probable that, not knowing the language but able to observe, he could see that a judicial process was taking place but not necessarily understand why people were being tried.
90. Bird, *Annals*, 1: 104.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
92. P. R. Kirby, ed., *Andrew Smith and Natal* (Cape Town, 1955) pp. 4, 67-73. This volume also contains material from Batewell, pp. 57-67.
93. Jean Thomas Arbonset and E. Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the Northeast of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1846), pp. 133, 136, 139, 154. The account of Shaka's assassination is very flattering to Dingane as tyrant killer, pp. 150-51. Other accounts written by people who travelled in Zululand in the 1830s include Allen Gardiner, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country of South Africa* (New York, 1836), G. F. Cory, ed., *The Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen, M.A. Missionary with Dingane in 1837-38* (Cape Town, 1926); and D. J. Keired, ed., *Letters of the American Missionaries 1835-1838* (Cape Town, 1953). None of these three volumes has anything of original value to offer for the study of Shaka. It is interesting to note, however, that Gardiner, who got his information from Dingane, claims that Dingane was not one of Shaka's assassins, that he had in fact been chosen as the legitimate heir by Shaka himself, and that he killed all the regicides, p. 24.
94. Shooter, *The Kaffirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London, 1857); Holden, *History of the Colony of Natal and The Past and*

*Future of the Kafir Races*: Groot, *Zululand*.

95. Holden, *The Past and Future*, p. vii. See also pp. 39, 42, and 45. His use of Fynn is indirectly acknowledged on p. 40, while on p. 36 he takes material directly from Isaacs.

96. Moodie, *The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers, and the Zulus in Southern Africa from the Time of Pharaoh Necho to 1880 with Copious Chronology*, 2 vols. (London, 1888), 1: 395, 399.

97. Shepstone, "The Early History of the Zulu-Kaffir Race of South-Eastern Africa" (1875) in Bird, *Annals*, 1: 165. Shepstone further claimed that Shaka caused all the troubles during his lifetime "alone."

98. Bryant, *Oldentimes*, p. 648.

99. Mofolo, *Chaka. A Historical Romance* (Oxford, 1931). Mofolo was Sotho, not Zulu. For discussion of the various works of African authors see Burness, ed., *Shaka*.

100. See "Shaka's Social Ideas," pp. 142, 146, 149. Ngubane explained, or rather excused, Shaka's perceived personal responsibility for the carnage of the *mfecane* by pointing out that "this was the price that Natal Nguni had to pay for moving out of the corrupt society dominated by Ingxwembe Lndia [tradition] to the balanced society in which the person could realize the promise of being human," p. 152. The *mfecane* is seen as an inevitable social revolution likely to have occurred any time after the ninth and tenth centuries, p. 137.

101. Ngubane has made considerable use of *izibongo* (praise songs) in his account, but his interpretations of their "hidden meanings" seem highly dubious.

102. Fernandez, "The Shaka Complex," note 3, p. 29. Fernandez uses Bryant's *Oldentimes* and Ritter's *Shaka Zulu* as his main sources. Gluckman uses Fynn, Isaacs, Bryant, and Ritter. Mazrui uses Ritter, Morris, and Omer-Cooper.

103. Gluckman, "The Individual," p. 118.

104. Mazrui, "The Resurrection," pp. 75, 81, 83-84.

105. Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, pp. 156-61.

106. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, note 1, p. 40.

107. See Thompson, "The Zulu Kingdom," *OHSA*, 1: 336-50. Unfortunately Thompson's appraisal of Shaka contained in his more recent book on Moshoeshe is less judicious. See *Moshoeshe*, pp. 29-32, 216.

108. E. V. Walter, *Terror and Resistance: A Study of Political Violence* (New York, 1969), pp. 244-63.

109. Roberts, *The Zulu Kings*, p. 161.

110. Thompson, "The Zulu Kingdom," *OHSA*, 1: 346. Thompson argues that Shaka "initiated" and "maintained" "devastation" for two reasons: first, having created a military kingdom, he had to give his armies something to do; second, he feared the British and wished to develop a depopulated buffer zone between them and his kingdom.