

BALEKA KA MPITIKAZI

15.7.1919

File 56, nbk. 6, p.2.

- 2 Baleka of the Qwabe people arrives, brought by her sister Nomsolo, who has already related a number of tales. Baleka is older than Nomsolo, her age being, as far as I can judge, about 68. Baleka ka Mpitikazi ka Nsila ka Kanyile ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo ka Tshiyampahla [Mmemi, in Pakatwayo's *izibongo*, mentions this name] ka Nozidiya [said to be mother of Qwabe and Zulu] ka Qwabe ka Malandela.¹

<15.7.1919>

File 56, nbk. 6, p. 21.

- 21 Baleka says she was born at the time of the Ndongakusuka fight between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi (December 1856), her father being Mpitikazi; hence her age is about 63. The name Baleka was given because so many at that time were running away.² She heard most of her tales from Sixaba, her grandmother, called also Makokela, i.e. daughter of Kokela, brother of Mbengi, the Langeni chief. Baleka was born in the Majozi tribe. She saw Ngoza when she was a child, and knew his son Luntshungu well. Nomsolo *was the second child to be born after Baleka*, hence would be about 57 years of age, for at the time of the Zulu War she had not long before *reached the age of puberty*.

16.7.1919. High Brae, Hilton Road. File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 80-93.

- 80 Baleka, a woman aged about 63 or 64, born, she says, at the time of the Ndongakusuka *battle* (Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi), daughter of Mpitikazi ka Nsila ka Kanyile [brother of Simamane] ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo ka Tshiyampahla ka Nozidiya ka Qwabe ka Malandela.

I do not know if Nozidiya was a woman or a man.

My father's mother came from the Langeni tribe. She was the daughter of Kokela, brother of the chief Mbengi. Tshaka's mother was thus a niece of Kokela. Mgabi was the chief son of Mbengi. Makedama was the son of Mgabi.

Tshaka complained of the way in which he was treated by Makedama; he complained, whilst still a boy, (a) of (Makedama's) objecting to Tshaka drinking water higher up a stream than where he was drinking; (b) of his picking out the best of Tshaka's

stones, which represented cattle in the games they played, whereby kraals of cowdung were built and stones selected and put inside. (Tshaka's stones were better than Makedama's and he objected to Makedama's jealously seizing and putting them in his kraal.) Makedama was later on killed by Tshaka for having *bullied* him when a boy whilst he was staying at home among his mother's people.

Nandi bore Tshaka out of wedlock. Tshaka is therefore illegitimate. My father told me this.

- 81 Before the name Tshaka became current there was a disease which caused people's stomachs to swell out; the name of that disease was 'itshaka'. So when Nandi was pregnant, people were constantly saying that she was sick, suffering from itshaka, and she was continually being given medicine. Increasingly her stomach stood out; it became obvious. They then asked, 'By whom were you made pregnant?' Nandi said, 'I was made pregnant by Sensangakona.' She then bore the child; she bore it at the home of her Langeni people. Sensangakona was told. He admitted that it was he who had made Nandi pregnant. She then married him. She was now his wife.

Tshaka stayed with his grandmother Mfunda (Nandi's mother). He eventually became an insizwa. When he had become an insizwa he went away to the Mtetwa, and became a great warrior. Dingiswayo, the Mtetwa chief, made him an induna, and he became a commander of the Mtetwa army.³

He then went back up-country to his own people. When he arrived among his people his father died. He then began to make war. He began with Macingwane, chief of the Cwuu, calling him 'Fellow who troubled my father', for Sensangakona's nation had been small. After this he went to attack Pungatshe, chief of the Butelezi, and also attacked other chiefs.

- 82 Then Dingiswayo was killed by the Ndwandwe. Tshaka proceeded to attack the Ndwandwe, for they had killed people of the Mtetwa. The Ndwandwe were defeated by Tshaka. They came back and burnt Tshaka's kraal of Siklebeni. Tshaka cried, 'Yebuya, Zulu! What! Is my kraal burning, my men?' He took his crane feather and stuck it in the ground, where it stood swaying. He shouted, 'To arms! I am going against a king!' The Zulu sprang to arms. They completely routed the Ndwandwe. The Ndwandwe fled far away. Nowadays we call them the Tshangana.

He then attacked all the peoples, conquering them. He finished off all the peoples on the other side.⁴ After this he crossed over and came against those on this side, the Baca people. He killed them; he finished off the Baca in this country, and the Lala. The Baca fled; they now live beyond the Mzimkulu.

Nandi. I do not know if lobolo was given for her. I heard from my father Mpitikazi that the disease which Nandi was said to have was itshaka. My father never gave me any such version of Tshaka's birth as Mr Stuart has just related to me [i.e. Ndhlovu ka Timuni's]. Nandi was dark-skinned; she was strongly built, neither very tall nor very short.

- 83 Dingana's mother was Mpikase; I do not know the name of her father. I used to hear my father swear by her, saying, 'Mpikase!'

My father was of the Fasimba;⁵ he did not say 'Fansimba'.

.... <Praises of her father Mpitikazi omitted - eds.>

Father said there used to be a rock at the Mhlatuze called 'Pitikazi'. He was named after it. Kondhlo's country was that of the Mhlatuze and the Mlalazi and Ngoye and Ntumeni. That rock is at the Mhlatuze, our original territory.

84 The death of Tshaka. Father said an army went out against the amaMpondo. The amaMpondo came and defeated them, so they retreated. Tshaka became angry, for he himself had not been there. He was a great warrior and performed great deeds. He cried, 'So Faku does not know me?' He took his crane feather and stuck it in the ground, where it stood swaying. He then armed, taking his war shield, which was black with a white patch at the side. The army went down along the coast and attacked the amaMpondo. Some of the amaMpondo cattle were 'eaten up', while others were left behind. The Zulu then returned, driving the cattle. The army arrived home. He ordered it to move on to campaign away at Balule.⁶

Then his brothers, Gugqu, Mhlangana, and Dingana, hid. Tshaka's inceku, Mbopa ka Sitayi, saw them and said, 'Hau! So you are here, children of the king? You are troubled by the madman. As soon as you returned from Pondoland the order was given to move on. Are you not going to stab him?' They said, 'What should we do to him?' To which he replied, 'Stab him to death. He is a madman.' They then said, 'How could we overcome him? You stab him' (Mbopa).

85 Mbopa stabbed him. After stabbing him he ran to Mhlangana alone and said, 'Dingana has overcome Tshaka and has taken the chieftainship.' He then went to Dingana and said, 'Hau! Mhlangana is going to kill you', then back to Mhlangana and said, 'Dingana is going to kill you. Cut short an assegai and hide it in your clothing.' Mhlangana did so. Mbopa then rose up and went to Dingana and said, 'Mhlangana is carrying an assegai against you; he is going to kill you.' Mhlangana was caught, and indeed an assegai was taken from his clothing. He was then killed. Mhlangana said, 'Nhi! Son of Sitayi, have you done this to me?' He died.

Dingana then ruled. He killed all the children of his father Sensangakona. Mpande remained. He was saved by Ndhlela ka Sompisi, who said to Dingana, 'Surely you are not going to kill Mpande, one who is just a simpleton? You are not going to kill this idiot, Nkosi?' So Mpande was left. All the children of the chief Sensangakona died.

The warrior regiments were not there; they had been laid low by fever. They had camped in a forest where there were umhlebe trees. They breathed in the scent of the umhlebe; they got terrible headaches, passed blood, and died.⁸

86 Others came back, for not all had died. They arrived to find that the king was no longer there, and that Dingana had now stepped into his place, calling himself Malamulela,⁹ because he had intervened between the people and the madness of Tshaka. But he himself then killed all the children of his father. Tshaka, though, did not kill the children of his father.

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Tshaka did many evil things to people. Seeing a woman who was pregnant, though she had done no harm, he ordered her to be caught, killed, and cut open so that it could be seen in what position her child was lying. The woman was then cut open, and he went and looked.

Seeing vultures flying above, he cried, 'Wo! The birds of the king are hungry!' People were then killed and put out on a hill to be eaten by the vultures. And wu! the vultures were all on the hill! (i.e. all flew there).

Then he saw a donga as deep as a house, and said, 'I wonder if this donga could be filled - filled with people?' Then people were tumbled in, and were piled up in the donga until it was filled.

Three of our Quabe people, Matshongwe, Nhlanganiso, and Mpezulu, had their eyes taken out by him while they were still alive. He then put them at the foot of a cliff and said, 'Look at Nhlanganiso, Mpezulu, and Matshongwe floundering about,' saying so because he had taken out their eyes.¹⁰

87 He hunted my father Mpitikazi because he had told the Langeni people of his mother's house to flee, for Tshaka was coming to kill them. Tshaka heard from people that Mpitikazi had said this, causing the Langeni to run away. He sent out an impi to kill my father. Mpitikazi had already heard that the king was going to kill him, so he fled. But there was then no place to run away to. A person would simply wander about in the land until he was eaten by wild animals, for in those days there were many wild animals which ate people. Father climbed into a tree. The impi searched for him; he could see it while sitting up in the tree. It searched and searched, but did not see him, and gave up. He ate filth from the river; he no longer knew food. He slept in the forests.

He then went to the place of Mbopa ka Sitayi, not to any relation of his (Mpitikazi's) but to Mbopa's, and did not appear at the Great One's place. Then he was sent by Sitayi to the king himself. And he went, because he had been found, and was afraid to refuse. He saw that there was no help for it, for Sitayi would kill him. 'If I refuse, if I say I am not going to the king, he says he will kill me.' So he went off, travelling alone. He did not set off in the belief that he would return; he simply went knowing that he was going to die.

He arrived, and went into the cattle kraal to the izinduna, to Ngqengelele.¹¹ He walked forward reluctantly and limply to the upper end of the cattle kraal; the izinduna were sitting inside.

88 Tshaka came out of his hut. He said, 'I think I know this person, my Zulu. Look at this red-skinned fellow; I would say it is Mpitikazi.' Then his mother Nandi came out. Reciting Tshaka's praises, she said to him, 'Surely you will not kill Mpitikazi? What is Mpitikazi that you should kill him, he who is just a dog?' Tshaka said, 'Go, fellow, you with the little red ears. Your "mother" has saved you, go. Go, genet of the wilderness that outwitted the dogs' (the force that had been searching for him). 'The genet became green in colour while sitting up in the tree.' That is the story of Mpitikazi's escape.

He escaped because Nandi was his mother's sister. He was saved because of that. There was then no place to run away to; one

could find no refuge until the white people came.

When the above happened my father was an *insizwa*. He went on the Pondo expedition, and then on to Balule. He was one of those who entered the forest referred to above containing *wndhlebe*.

- 89 Tshaka said that the Qwabe people should be picked out and all put to death (i.e. hunted out from all parts of the country). 'How will you recognize them? You will recognize them by their great love of quarrelling.'¹²

Tshaka killed his own mother. He stabbed her in the armpit, saying she was hiding a child. He did not father any children. He did not want to father a child because, he said, it would be another prince. This fact is true; it is really true. A person like Tshaka is like a wild beast, a creature which does not live with its own young, its male offspring.

My father said that Tshaka was a tall man, dark, with a large nose, and was ugly. He spoke with an impediment, (i.e. mouthed his words, as if his tongue was too big for his mouth and pressed on his teeth).

- Father knew Mbuyazi.¹³ I learnt this when we were travelling with my father. The thunder roared while we were going to Gwalagwala's¹⁴ place. On arriving, father saluted, saying, 'You, son of Mbuyazi of the Bay; you, son of the finch that came from Pondoland; chieftainship does not start with you, for we also lived with your father, a chief.' Gwalagwala said, 'Come into the house, Mpitikazi.' We went in. He told a policeman to give father beer, which he did. I was still a girl at that time. We then returned, the sky now being clear.
- 90

The word 'Fasimba' describes the mountains when faintly visible (i.e. haziness. Name of Mpitikazi's regiment).

Mpitikazi died some time after 1888 (when Dinuzulu fought Zibebu). I don't know if he was ever photographed. He died at a very advanced age, though able to get about unassisted. I don't know what colour shield my father carried, or what finery he wore. Nombanga ka Ngidhli was the great *induna* of the Fasimba; he was a great warrior of Tshaka. He was killed at Ncome (Blood River) by the Boers.

.... <Nombanga's praises omitted - eds.>

- 91 Father was an *imbongi* of chiefs. He recited the praises of Ngoza ka Ludaba, also of his son Luntshungu. My brother, Mamfumfuta, who follows me in age, takes after my father in being a good *imbongi*. He recites the praises of the Qwabe chiefs very well. He lives in Stanger Division. I don't know even if he is alive still.

.... <Praises of Ngoza ka Ludaba omitted - eds.>

- 93 Ngoza was dark brown in colour, very short, and also good-looking. He was an *ikehla*. His regiment was the Hlaba.

One of Tshaka's praises: 'The violently unrestrained one who is like the ear of the elephant'. I heard this from my father Mpitikazi.

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[You have made a point of knowing this, i.e. the *izibongo* of all people - said of me by Baleka. Baleka here refers incidentally to my enquiring intently into Zulu nursery tales, *izibongo*, history, etc.]

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File 58, nbk. 16, pp. 93-6.

94 Baleka returns, says: *Tshaka took the blood of a beast and sprinkled it in the doorway in his isigodhlo during the night, without being seen by anyone. At dawn the next day he reported the matter to his izinduna. The izinduna came, including Ngqengelele. He said, 'Look at the evil omen that has befallen me. When I rose this morning I found it like this here in the isigodhlo. Here is blood! I don't know what has done this. This is an evil omen! Let all the izangoma be gathered, all the people of the land.'*

95 *Indeed all the izangoma were gathered. They came, and were told to bula at once. An evil omen had befallen the king and was in the king's isigodhlo. The Zulu people assembled, for an evil omen had descended on the king. The izangoma then bula'd. One would bula and smell out a person, then another would do the same. Then those who had already done so would be told to go and sit apart by themselves. Another would get up, bula, and smell out a person. Then he would be told to go and sit with those who had already done so. Others would then be called...until they were all finished...¹⁵*

Only two remained. One of them got up and bula'd. He said, 'I do not see that this was done by an umtakati. I say that it was done only by the heavens above.'¹⁶ It was not done by a man.' The last one also stood up and said, 'I do not see that this was done by a man. I divine the heavens above. I do not see that it was a man who sprinkled this blood in the isigodhlo. I find that it was done by the heavens above.'

Tshaka ordered them all to be killed, except for those two izangoma who knew how to bula. For they saw that it was no umtakati that had done the pouring; it had been done by the king. They said, 'I divine the heavens above.' He said, 'Let them alone for they know how to bula.'

96 *The many other izangoma all used to make up lies. The people of the king were always being killed, for the izangoma lied about them, saying they were practising witchcraft. Henceforward a person would be killed who was smelt out by these who had smelt out Tshaka himself - the two who had seen that the pouring of the blood had not been done by an umtakati, but had been done on purpose by the king because he wanted to see if the izangoma really knew how to bula.*

Previously people were continually being killed; it was said that they had been smelt out by an izangoma. Tshaka thought in his heart, 'Let me see if they really know how to bula.' Then he saw that most of them did not.

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File 56, nbk. 7, pp. 31-2.

51 *The story of the Sutu chief Mabulane. [A story similar to that*

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of Tshaka testing the witchdoctors. See Baleka's version of that (above).]

32 *Mabulane was like Tshaka in his testing of people. He once placed some fruit from the umganu tree in his mouth and said that he was sick. He gave orders that the izinyanga and izangoma should be called to bula, for he was sick - his cheeks were swollen. The izangoma came and bula'd, but could not find out what the trouble was. There were many of them but they did not find what sickness it was. Then one of them rose, and went and sat down in front of him. He held out his hands and said that the chief should take out what was in his mouth. Mabulane then spat out the fruit into the hands of the inyanga. He said, 'This is the only true inyanga; let these others leave off, and never bula again.' But he for his part did not kill them. He left them alone and they went back to their homes.*

Mabulane lived at Sobana, beyond the nations which are beyond Pretoria. He fought the Boers, who were troubling him. He defeated them, and they ran away. Then they fought again with his son Mpepu. Mpepu also defeated them. Then the English arrived; they came with kindness.¹⁷

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File 56, nbk. 7, pp. 39-40.

39 *Baleka says that Tshaka once asked a woman who was drawing water in an earthen pot at a stream (possibly the Mbozamo, near Stanger) for a drink of water. The woman, not knowing Tshaka, said, 'Why don't you lap up the water as other dogs do?', thereby refusing him the drink. Tshaka marked her down. He then directed that she was to be put to death in order that he might see what kind of heart so unhospitable a person had. She was cut open after death and the heart found to lie close up against the lung.*

The story of the pregnant woman is well known. Tshaka said he wished to see how a child lay in the womb, so, as Baleka says, he caused a woman who had done no wrong whatever to be put to death to enable him to satisfy his curiosity. This he accordingly did.

.... <An abbreviated version of the story 'Heroic Refusal' given under date 26.7.1919 below is here omitted - eds.>

40 *My father Mpitikazi married a Cenyane girl, though my own mother, who married when my father was already well advanced in years, was a Ngcotsho girl.¹⁸*

My father told me of a chant sung by the regiment appointed to fetch Tshaka from the isigodhlo to bring him to the men's assembly in the cattle kraal; this during an unkosu. 'Come down! bird which devours others; come down! you who overcame the chiefs; come down! come here!' [i.e. come down to the cattle kraal].

Baleka knows the izibongo of her grandfather Nsila, also of her great-grandfather Kanyile, though not of Kuzwayo and other ancestors.

.... <Miscellaneous non-historical notes omitted - eds.>

Baleka says she grew up in Msinga Division, close to the Mzi-nyati.¹⁹ She seems to me to speak very good Zulu, and, although a member of the Qwabe tribe, she does not tefula.

26.7.1919

File 56, nbk. 7, pp. 41-5.

41 Heroic refusal of a girl to cohabit with Tshaka. Once on the day of the *umkosi* Tshaka saw a pretty girl from another part of the country. He sent his *izinceku* to go and summon her. The girl came, and he spoke to her. The girl said, 'I don't like you.' When he forcibly took hold of her, she cried. She hurled an insult at him, saying, 'I don't want you; you have an ugly nose, an *isifonyo*' [i.e. a large, ugly nose - a muzzle put on a calf to prevent it sucking]. He said, 'What did you say?' She said, 'I really do not want you. Rather than sleep with you, I choose to die.' He said, 'Kill her.' She was taken away outside to be put to death, and was duly killed.

I don't know the girl's name or *isibongo*. I heard this story from my father; he was reminded of it by the case of his daughter *Nomaheto* who refused *Luntshungu ka Ngoza* of the *Majozi* people.

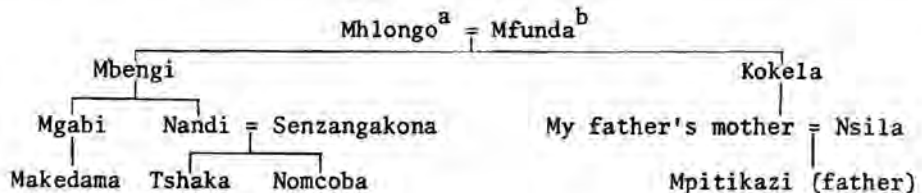
Tshaka's method of going to ask for snuff. Once when Tshaka's *impi* was going against the *amaNganga* and *Mapumulo* peoples, he said he was going to ask for snuff; he did not say that he was going to make war. 'Tomorrow I shall not come. I am going to ask for snuff from the *amaNganga*. I shall then go on to the *Mapumulo*. Don't expect to see me, assembly of my *kraal Dukuza*! Don't you see that it is painful to be like an antbear, which digs a hole and then doesn't live in it, being driven out by a porcupine?'

42 He then went off to the *amaNganga*. He killed them and 'ate them up'. He went on and came to the *Mapumulo*, where he did the same. He returned with the cattle. He said, 'Let us keep moving, my men,²⁰ and not stay in one place' (i.e. because he was always making war). 'It is painful to be like an antbear which digs a hole and doesn't live in it.' (His 'hole' was *Dukuza* at that time.)²¹ They came back with the cattle of those two chiefs.

I also heard this from my father. I liked it. I was always asking him to tell it.

Father was of the *Fasimba* regiment. He grew up among the *Langeni* people, at his mother's *kraal*, like Tshaka. If Tshaka had been an ordinary person they would have been 'brothers'; their mothers were born at the same place.

My father's mother was a daughter of *Kokela*. *Kokela* and *Mbengi* were brothers.²²



a. This name per Ngidi.

b. Mfunda's father, according to Ngidi, was *Kondhlo*. She was therefore sister to *Pakatwayo*.

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Nomcoba used to live at Sikleberni with Langazana, the inkosikazi. Nomcoba and Langazana were unable to escape in the war between Cetshwayo and the English. Father expressed admiration on hearing Zulu people say in conversation that the whites had refrained from burning the Sikleberni kraal because Langazana and
43 Nomcoba were there and no longer able to run away.

The Fasimba regiment had not yet tunga'd when the king (Tshaka) said to Mpitikazi, 'Since you are your father's only son, tunga, so that you will continue the house of your father.' For it was the custom there in Zululand that a man, if he was an only son, should tunga and marry for that reason. Indeed he tunga'd.²³

Father told me that Mfunda called out to Tshaka, 'Tshaka! Do you think, because you kill people, that you are now going to kill Mfunda too?' I asked why she had said that. Father said that Mfunda was Tshaka's grandmother, who bore his mother.²⁴

After Tshaka had defeated the Ndwandwe he cried, 'The bulls of the herds have met. Let the boys who are herding them go out and separate them. Let there go out Noluju' (the Ndwandwe induna) and Ngqengelele' (Tshaka's induna). 'Ha! The one with the red tail' (i.e. his own impi) 'has gored it! The fancies invented by the Ndwandwe on their way here are finished. They have finished today. The one with the red tail has gored it!' He spoke rejoicing that he had defeated them.

Ngqengelele was a dominant figure who commanded the attention of the whole nation; when he spoke no one else would speak, only the king would speak. He was like Mnyamana, the great induna of Cetshwayo.²⁵

Tshaka used to kill a man simply because he was ugly; not because he practised witchcraft but merely because he had been
44 born ugly. He would say, 'Hau! How ugly this fellow is! Take him away.' He would then be killed even though he had done nothing.

That man used to play around with people. A man would be killed though he had done nothing, though he had neither practised witchcraft, committed adultery, nor stolen.

Tshaka would give the order²⁶ permitting girls to go as they liked to their lovers. Even if a girl stayed six days with her lover it was all right. It was not an offence to Tshaka; it was good. What was an offence was if a man spoiled that girl. For she belonged to the king in her regiment, as did the youth. He would now be spoiling a member of a regiment. They would die; they would be killed.

Baleka is quite sure about Tshaka having juba'd the girls as stated. She says her father when living at Mpapala remembered Zulu girls coming up there in large numbers to their lovers, and having amachembe²⁷ cooked for them.

Sonyangwe was my husband, of the Tusi tribe. His father was Nombanga; I have already given his praises. His chief was Luntshungu; he is dead. He was of the Indhlonhlo regiment. I am of Tiyane²⁸ age. During the Zulu War I had my first child -

a girl.

Nandi was *dark-skinned, big, and strongly built*. I do not know her praises.

.... <Baleka's praises omitted - eds.>

45 *The house of Ntombazi,²⁹ by reference to which Tshaka praised one of his warriors. It was said that no one could enter the house. If a person did so, tears came from his eyes. Articles of brass, rings of all sizes, shone dazzlingly. Castor-oil bushes grew at the back of the hut. Human heads were hung on pegs at the back. It was there that Zwide used to purify himself.*

Dhlungwana³⁰ burnt down the hut. He cried, 'I burnt down the house of Ntombazi. It was said that no one went into Ntombazi's. If a man went in, tears poured from his eyes, for it was full of brass and beads and neck rings and finger rings.' While his warrior performed a war dance he praised him with the words, 'The house of Ntombazi burnt down.' (Repeated several times whilst he is performing the dance.) Then those became the praises of the warrior.³¹ I do not know the name of the warrior.

Notes

¹This list of Baleka's forebears is given in a marginal note.

²The verb *ukubaleka*, from which Baleka's name was derived, means 'to run away'.

³In the original Zulu it is not clear whether or not Shaka's position was that of supreme commander.

⁴i.e. north of the Thukela.

⁵Formed c.1818; age-group born c.1798.

⁶Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 604, gives 'Balule' (Bhalule) as the 'malarious bushveld' of the Olifants river; Gibson, *Story of the Zulus*, p. 26, gives it as the Limpopo. There is a village named Balule in Mozambique near the confluence of the Olifants and Limpopo rivers, and a rest camp of the same name on the Olifants river in the Kruger National Park.

⁷The verb used in the original, *ukweqa*, literally means 'to leap over'. It may imply that Dingane actually leapt over Shaka's body in order to derive from it the properties of chieftainship. See N.J. van Warmelo, ed., *History of Matiwane*, pp. 19n, 105n.

⁸The *windlebe* is a tree of the euphorbia family. The scent of the flowers was believed by the Zulu to cause death.

⁹i.e. the Intervener.

¹⁰In *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, p. 50, Holden names Mhlangana and Mphezulu as two of the three spies sent out by Dingane prior to his attack on the Bhaca in 1833. Holden states that after the campaign had ended in disaster two of the spies had their eyes taken out for making false reports. H.F. Fynn, referring to the same event, states that the leader of the spies had his eyes taken out, while the other two were killed (*The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, p. 226). Mantshongwe, the third man named by Baleka, is described by Fynn as a chief who had his eyes taken out by Shaka as a punishment for

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practising witchcraft (ibid., p.29). It would seem that in the account recorded by Stuart, Baleka was confusing two separate events.

¹One of Shaka's principal *izinduna*.

²The original has, '*Ni yo ba bona ngoku tanda kakul' umlilo*'. We have attributed to *umlilo*, which literally means 'fire', the metaphorical connotation of quarrelling.

³Henry Francis Fynn.

⁴H.F. Fynn, junior, the son of Mbuyazi.

⁵Repetition omitted.

⁶*Izulu e li pezulu* in the original - a play on the word *izulu* (the heavens), meaning that it had been done by Shaka.

⁷Mabulane (Ramaphulana) and Mpepu (Mphephu) were Venda chiefs. Their relationship was in fact that of grandfather and grandson.

⁸The Chenyane was a regiment of girls formed c.1823, and the Ngcosho a girls' regiment formed c.1852. There would thus have been an age difference of some 30 years between the two wives.

⁹Or Buffalo river.

⁰The word in the original is *mpakati* (*umphakathi*). Bryant's *Zulu-English Dictionary* and the more recent dictionary of Doke and Vilakazi give *umphakathi* as a collective noun for the common people. According to Colenso's *Dictionary*, it may also refer to men, not specially distinguished, but 'above the ordinary, common people', and therefore 'noticed by the chief and indunas'.

¹The comments contained in these and the previous parentheses appear in the original as a single marginal note.

²See also Bryant's genealogy and comments, *Olden Times*, pp. 125-6.

³Though the implications of this passage are not wholly clear, it suggests the granting of an individual exemption, in the case of an only son, from the normally strict rules under which celibacy was imposed on all members of a regiment until permission to marry had been granted to it by the king.

⁴The meaning in the original is obscure. The informant's father, Mpitikazi, could be referring either to his own or to Shaka's descent from Mfunda. We have chosen the latter interpretation. Contrary to the statement contained in this passage, and to Baleka's statement about Mfunda made under date 16.7.1919, the genealogy given to Stuart by Baleka shows Mfunda, not as the grandmother, but as the great-grandmother of Shaka and Mpitikazi. Mfunda's expectation that Shaka would kill her may be explained in terms of his well-attested hatred of his mother's Langeni people. It appears from Ngidi's note to Baleka's genealogy that Mfunda was a Qwabe who had married in the Langeni chiefly house.

⁵This paragraph appears in the original as a marginal note.

⁶The verb used in the original, *ukujuba*, is often used in the sense of 'giving the order permitting the age-regiments to marry'.

⁷A species of edible tuber.

⁸The Thiyane was an age-regiment formed by Cetshwayo in 1877 of girls born c.1858-64.

⁹Mother of Zwide, the Ndwandwe chief.

⁰A well-known praise-name for Shaka.

¹The sense of this passage seems to be that Shaka bestowed praises on one of his warriors by reference to a notable event in his own career.