Notes on the Internal Structure of the Gaza Kingdom of S. Mozambique 1840—1895

G. Liesgang
NOTES ON THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE
GAZA KINGDOM OF SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE
1840-1895
by
GERHARD LIESEGANG

The state of the Gaza Nguni was a complex social formation with a dominant society in the centre and societies which were dominated to various degrees on the periphery. The political and cultural impact of the Nguni was strongest near the capital (and in the south) and faint near the borders. Succession, marriage, brideprice etc. differed among the dominated societies and reflected ethnic traditions adapted to local conditions (e.g. in those areas where trypanosomiasis was prevalent there could be no brideprice in cattle). Social relations in the areas where the dominant group lived were characterized by the presence of distinct social strata and a large number of captives in the process of distribution and incorporation into the dominant society. Any description of the Gaza political and social system has to take this complexity into account. The central Gaza society was socially stratified and so were the nearly autonomous chieftainships near the borders. To some extent this was a colonial situation and it is not surprising that some Shona historians, perhaps following nationalist oral tradition, have tended to deny or minimize Gaza influence near Zimbabwe's eastern borders.

It seems that by the 1890's the domination of the centre was justified by the ruling strata in terms of ethnic superiority and the superior quality of the Nguni military system, as well as by previous military conquest and submission of the local populations, e.g. when territories were disputed between the Portuguese and the Nguni. There was apparently no attempt to create ritual bonds between the previous local lords and the Nguni conquerors. Relations seem to have been based on submission and the payment of tribute.

The Gaza state did not exist in a void. The areas which fell under Gaza control between c. 1825-1845 had a long tradition of
trading with the coast and these links with the outside world, which were determined mainly by geographical position, local resources and the development of outside markets, persisted during the 70 years the Gaza kingdom existed. New links developed after the Afrikaner settlements in the northeastern Transvaal had sprung up and with the start of labour migration after 1860. Thus the type of links with the outside world changed quickly.

After this introductory characterization of the system we shall outline the history of the kingdom and then deal with various aspects of the sociopolitical structure.

Outline of the political history: sources

The Gaza kingdom came into existence in about 1821 after the defeat of the Ndwandwe king, Zwide, by Shaka's troops. The kings of the Gaza kingdom belonged to the Ndwandwe royal clan and this seems to be the reason why some neighbours, e.g. the Swazi, also designated the Gaza as Ndwandwe. The other three remnants of the Ndwandwe kingdom which moved away and survived during the following two decades, led by Zwangendaba Jere, Ngokweni Maseko and Nqaba Msane respectively, were not known as Ndwandwe. (Some were known as Swazi and many as Mazithi or Mazwithi, a term which seems to have been derived from the name of the Ndwandwe king, Zwide.) The first Gaza king was Sotshangane or Manukuse, who died in 1858, ten years before Mzilikazi. During this rule, which lasted some 36 to 38 years, the main conquests were effected and some kind of understanding was arrived at with the Afrikaner, who also occupied some territories which had been subject to Gaza, as well as with the Portuguese, who lived at and near Sena, Sofala, Inhambane and Lourenço Marques (now Maputo). Between 1830 and 1868-70 these settlements depended mainly on the export of ivory. It seems that about 1840-45 Sotshangane was conscious that some policy of reconstruction was necessary. The drought and famine of about 1828-29, followed by locusts, the smallpox epidemic of about 1836 and especially the wars had taken their toll. He refused to surrender fugitive slaves and is said to have punished a chief who exported his subjects in 1845.
political structure there were certain continuities. In the lineage kingdoms existing in southern Mozambique before the Mfecane, sons of kings had usually some administrative duties (or privileges), being posted as chiefs over certain areas of the kingdom. In the same way Sotshangane appointed his sons and brothers as administrators. According to oral tradition the lineage kingdoms had also owed their existence to conquests. Thus the legitimation of Gaza domination through exercise of military force was nothing new.

After the death of Sotshangane a civil war broke out. One brother, Mawewe, retired to Swaziland in 1861-2; the other, Muzila or Mzila, moved into the mountain area north of the Save in 1862. The southern part of the kingdom and the Ronga chiefdoms between Lourenco Marques and the Nkomati suffered most from this war and its sequel, in which the Swazi intervened until 1868. North of the Save a number of capital sites are documented, since the royal residence was moved every four to six years. During Mzila's reign dramatic economic changes took place. The elephant hunters destroyed their own economic basis. (The hunting of cats and other small mammals for the export of skins to Natal continued, however). The demand for African labour rose first in Natal (sugar plantations) and then from 1870 onwards in the developing mining areas (Kimberley and the areas of the gold rushes in eastern Transvaal). In about 1860 perhaps only some 2,000 men in a population of about 500,000 in Mozambique south of the Save worked part of the year as porters or elephant hunters, semi-independent agents, and self-employed traders or commercial hunters, deriving some revenue from outside their own area. This number more than doubled after emigration to Natal had started and must have reached some 10,000 after the diamond fields had opened. This number had multiplied again several times after the opening of the Rand gold mines (1886) and with the labour needs of railway construction and coal mines. The real wages paid increased too. The income from this source more than offset the loss suffered by the near extinction of the elephants in Gaza domains. In addition the 'age of the oil seeds' which started in eastern Africa after 1862, even before the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, also influenced the Gaza kingdom marginally.
It was based on the exportation of the products of African peasants.

Mzila died in 1884 and was succeeded by his son Ngungunyane in 1885. At this time the scramble for Africa had already started. But only about five years later, in 1890-91, this was to develop into open opposition between a sector of British finance capital and the Portuguese government. The Anglo-Portuguese convention of June 1891 assigned most of the Gaza kingdom to the Portuguese colonial sphere. (A Portuguese resident had lived at the Gaza court since 1886). The Gaza king did not immediately feel the weight of this division and until 1895 he tried to play off the British against the Portuguese government, not realizing that a mutual understanding existed among the imperialist governments in this area and that the interest of finance capitalists was sometimes different from that of their governments. A similar kind of understanding seems to have existed among the three Nguni states, those of the Ndebele, the Swazi and the Gaza Nguni, from about 1865 onwards. Marriage alliances were entered into, which were renewed several times.

In 1889 Ngungunyane moved his capital from Mussurize (the area near the Umzwelizwe river north of the Save) to an area north of the Limpopo valley near modern Manjacaze. There he was defeated in 1895, and shortly afterwards captured and deported. No successor was appointed by the Portuguese who divided the whole kingdom into small chiefdoms. Less than one and a half years after Ngungunyane's deportation a revolt broke out which was supported by a section of the former Nguni ruling class, many of the assimilated administrators/warriors in the Limpopo valley who were not of Nguni origin but had owed their privileges to the Nguni state, and even some who had been less integrated. This revolt was crushed in 1897 and its leader, Magigwane Khosa, killed. Other leaders fled to the Transvaal.

Deportations in the aftermath of this revolt and other waves of deportation thinned the ranks of the chiefs of Nguni extraction. This is one of the reasons why it was difficult to get data about the internal structure of the Gaza kingdom when I did research there in 1969 and 1971. A few Portuguese sources from the 1840's and 1850's and the observations of persons who saw the Gaza state during the last 25 years of
its existence form the main basis for this reconstruction.

Environment and its impact on Gaza history

Some inferences on the choices made by the Nguni can be based on ecological data collected in the 20th century. For the area north of the Save there are also data from the early 19th century on the major products later occupied by the Gaza Nguni. These data show that they kept to areas where cattle raising was being practised and that initially, they also avoided the moister coastal belt which now carries a very dense population. In 1889-1895 they established their capital at the edge of this zone which has sandy soils and river valleys which are good pasture.

In the vast territory which they conquered – the northern and southern boundaries were about 1 000 kms apart – the resources were very unevenly distributed. There were some river valleys (Limpopo, Zambezi and Nkomati) which included areas where cereals could be grown if there was not sufficient rain (but where they perished with untimely inundations). There were also vast relatively dry areas on both sides of the northern Libombos, between the Limpopo and the Save (Sabi), as well as north of the Save, partly on limestone formations, which only allowed a very thin settlement. Some of this area could be used for cattle raising, however. Some was infested with tsetse. Thus it is not surprising that the centres of Gaza Nguni settlement were situated as they were, namely in 1827-35, 1839-1862 and 1889-1895 in the Limpopo valley and adjacent areas, and in 1836-38 and 1862-1889 in Mussurize or Musapa north of the Save. Both areas were free of tripanosomiasis (the second was, however, invaded after the Nguni had left it.) The moves between the two regions were probably mostly made for political reasons. Judging from modern figures, the Limpopo valley area has a larger carrying capacity than Mussurize (the Chipinga-Espungabera area).

Social stratification

M. Gluckman and I. Schapera formulated the hypothesis that
conquest of ethnically distinct groups leads to class formation while conquest within an ethnic group would lead to a structure with less accentuated class lines. This hypothesis was essentially based upon a comparison of the Zulu and Ndebele states, there being apparently very few distinctions between the original Zulu and those subjected in Shaka's times, while the Ndebele had a relatively clear distinction into three layers, who according to Hughes and van Velsen were endogamous and called castes by them. The Gaza distinguished between the members of the royal lineage, Nguni proper, Mabulundlela (i.e. Tsonga who were acculturated to Nguni, called Landins by the Portuguese) NdaU who were approximately equal in status to the Mabulundlela, and complete outsiders (Tonga) under Gaza suzerainty. According to some sources the acculturated Tsonga had a higher prestige than the NdaU in the 1880's. This might be explained by the fact that they had been associated longer with Gaza kingship and that at least one chief (Magude Khosa) had fought as an ally for Mzila during the struggle for succession in 1861. It seems that Tsonga men were not allowed to marry Nguni women and that on social occasions (like beer drinks) Nguni would not drink from the same cup or bowl as Tsonga or NdaU and thus avoid contact on an equal basis. The principal mechanism for inclusion into the intermediate group of the partly acculturated was individual incorporation as a captive or ward into a Nguni household. Those male captives who distinguished themselves in war might later be promoted to posts of some importance either by their lords or in the military system. On the lowest end of the Nguni prestige scale were members of ethnically distinct subject chiefdoms, who were allowed to maintain their traditional organisation but who were affiliated for tax and administration purposes to one of the Nguni houses. Had there been ethnic homogeneity these chiefs would have been accepted as 'clan heads' with a social standing not much different from those associated slightly longer with the kingship. (See for example the status of the alumuzana in the Swazi system).

It seems that in the Ngoni kingdoms north of the Zambesi, status groups were not so clearly delimited. Y. M. Chibambo insists on social mobility:
"All the heroes of the tribe [i.e. nation or state] had received their praise-greetings through service in war. In this ordinary people and slaves came together, for though they might have been unknown to begin with, if they were heroes in one or two wars the whole country knew them. The slaves who showed their courage and strength in war quickly received their freedom and many also had villages of their own because of the people they had captured in war; others obtained the standing of men in authority...."

With regard to the Ngoni, neither Barnes nor Rau felt compelled to speak about classes. Rau draws, however, attention to the fact that the word slave or captive was an insult and that tributary chiefs of different ethnic origin were sometimes discriminated against verbally. The fact that the Ngoni were on the march much longer, that the losses of the original nucleus were higher, probably made it impossible to develop status groups or classes like tree rings around the original nucleus. The killing of some Tsonga as witches, being smelt out by people who had a lower ascriptive status, shows that there was social conflict of a kind not documented for the Gaza kingdom. It seems that the Gluckman-Schapera hypothesis therefore has to be qualified to include some reference to proportion of the numbers of the people in the different layers, and also to the way power was exercised at the centre.

One thing should be kept in mind, however: more space for individual achievement, lack of coincidence of ethnic and class borders do not imply that there was no social differentiation or no labour subordination to the ruling strata. In fact it seems that there was as much labour subordination in the Ngoni states as in Gaza dominions.

Another question is whether pre-Mfecane conditions in southern Mozambique provided some kind of matrix for social relations in Gaza society. Depending on the points of reference, the answer could be yes or no, but a no seems preferable. The status of a captive, which was being used to facilitate acculturation and incorporation, was employed by the Nguni and Ngoni both south and north of the Zambesi, both in societies which knew forms of slavery and those south of the Zambesi, where slavery did not exist.
The Ndwandwe heritage of the Gaza state

There are three different areas where we can speak of a Nguni or more specifically Ndwandwe heritage which had been preserved by the dominant layer of Nguni origin and had also been transmitted to assimilated groups at least in part. These areas are

a) language and elements of oral culture,
b) elements of material culture,
c) political and social institutions.

The language, a northern Nguni dialect characterized by the changing of l's between two vocals into y's, was the court language. Gaza national songs, praise poems etc., even those of non-Nguni, employed this idiom. It seems, however, that most Nguni in the 1890's also knew the Changana dialect of the Tsonga language. This might explain the rapid extinction of the Nguni language in the former Gaza domains after 1895. Both Ndu and Nguni, who had settled in the lower Limpopo valley and adjacent areas, adopted it.

Among the items of the material culture which had been preserved was the dress of the upper aristocracy males, which in the 1890's contrasted with that of many of their subjects who had been to South Africa and wore shirts or coats. It consisted of cat and monkey skins and left the upper part of the body free. In Sotshangane's time this dress was a symbol of potential self-sufficiency and independence from the coast. By 1895 this was still the dress of the king, princes and apparently too the upper ranks of military hierarchy, to judge from G. L. Liengme's photographs. The raised hair-style of the queens (Changana xifoko) also reflected Nguni culture. A description of the house of the queen mother indicates that smearing and polishing of house floors was done as in Zululand. The shape of the houses of the Gaza Nguni in the 1890's poses a problem, however. Their houses had conical roofs almost reaching the ground with horizontal rings on them fastening the grass (a feature characteristic of Ndu roofs in Mussurize). There were no beehive structures as in Zululand or Swaziland. The question is whether this type had been adopted by the Gaza in the Limpopo valley or in Mussurize or whether it was already part of the Ndwandwe culture.
In the 18th century, houses near Delagoa Bay were cylindrical but had relatively high walls. It is not known whether other Tsonga groups lived in the same type of houses, but it is possible that they did. Thus, if it was not a newly developed type, it may have been an ancestral Ndawandwe trait or regional Tsonga form.

The armament, especially the shield and the warrior's dress, was of the type introduced by the Nguni (the shape of previously existing shield types is not documented, however). The Nguni headdress (Changana xidlindlo) was the general status symbol of married men and was also accepted by Ronga and Tsonga who were not direct subjects of the Gaza king, but also exposed to Zulu and Swazi political cultural influence. The piercing of the earlobe which died out among the Changana in the 1930's and among the Ndau of Musurize a little later, was an important sign of political allegiance. As a Chopi captured in Mzila's time later said: "When they pierced my ears with a knife, they said they were making a Mubuyundlela out of me."

The political and social institutions, especially the age-sets (mabutho), the system of the royal and aristocratic houses reflected Ndawandwe tradition. This is why, culturally, Zwangendaba's Ngoni, the Gaza Nguni and the Swazi seem to be more closely related to each other than any of this group to the Zulu or Ndebele. The links the people of Mashobane may have had with the Ndawandwe were probably partly effaced during Mzilikazi's time of allegiance to the Zulu king. Direct influence of the Zulu on what were to become the Ndebele probably shaped a number of institutions so that they lost their earlier character. Thus the "provinces" of the Ndebele kingdom may have had their origin in royal houses of Mzilikazi and his ancestors to whom regiments were attached. (We shall deal with these royal houses under a separate heading). Unlike the Zulu, neither Zwangendaba's nor the Gaza people ever established links between certain royal houses, which then became the barracks or central headquarters (emakhanda), and certain nation-wide age corporations. The Swazi military system was also different from that of the Zulu.

The "King's mother" (or Queen mother) was an institution which worked on similar lines among the Swazi and the Gaza Nguni. In
Gaza she was prominent during Ngungunyane's reign.

As far as royal succession is concerned, the case is not clear. The Natal Nguni or Zulu custom to marry a great wife after succession to office was not unknown in Gaza and appears repeatedly in oral traditions or publications based on oral data. But neither Msila, nor the latter's presumptive heir Godide were sons of great wives whose bridewealth had been collected as a general levy from the population. About ten years after his accession Msila stated to a British traveller:

"I wish you to announce I have not yet raised any woman to be Queen of the country, and that, although I have already six sons, I have appointed no heir to the throne."

This seems to be a clear departure from what was later codified as law in Natal.

The military or age-set organisation and the system of the royal houses will be dealt with under separate headings. Much of the state ritual, such as the nkwaya (Swazi incwala) first fruit ceremonies, the opening of the sowing season, the doctoring of the army (mbengulule) has obvious parallels in other Nguni states, although there are many differences in the details.

The military or age-set organisation

The Gaza and Swazi systems of age sets differed from those of the Zulu and Ndebele and were probably closer to that of Zwangendaba's Ngoni which were described for the Ngoni from Chipata (Ft. Jameson) by Barnes (1954). The main difference was probably that the Zulu and Ndebele age corporations had central barracks and were tied - at least in the case of the Zulu - to the system of royal houses or capitals (or 'segments' as Barnes calls them) while the age sets of the other polities were not. Up to 1897 or 1898 when the system broke down among the Gaza remnants in the Limpopo valley and Transvaal, a minimum of about 24 sets had been formed. Possibly a few more existed but were either forgotten or disappeared in the civil war between Mawewe and Msila. A number of sets were known by more than one
name and in one list these appear as separate entities. The number of sets implies that every 2 to 3 years a new set must have been formed, probably when the boys were about 15 years old, possibly even younger. Initially the boys only served as carriers. When they were old enough to fight at least some of the regiments received a distinguishing uniform and some of the names or nick-names seem to have referred to this uniform. Thus the name 'inyoni mhlope' (or izinyoni ezimhlope, white birds) referred to one or more age sets or subdivisions of them distinguished by white shields and feathers. Each age-set had a commander (nduna) who was assisted by military officers (liphini). The latter term was mentioned by several informants in Gaza in 1969 and also occurs among the Swazi. The names of the commanders of the regiments were apparently not remembered systematically. From the reports about military engagements it seems clear that the armies were sometimes commanded by people who had functions in the administrative system as holders of large fiefs or possibly officers of these fief-holders. The army consisted mostly of militia men and had no continuous income as for example in Rwanda. Thus it was inevitable that there was some superimposition between the administrative-tributary-juridical system and the military structure. Some of the commanders were probably royal officers. For the mobilisation of the troops the king probably depended on the administrative system. An informant said that local contingents made up of men of different ages went to the capital together when mobilised and joined their age regiments there. This may have been so for national ceremonies. A source on the 1895 war mentions that members of specified age sets from certain areas were called up for service. In order to levy taxes, contingents from certain areas were used, which in one case operated at several days march from their own home. Contemporary and later sources mention that in Ngungunyane's time there existed a national military commander, Magigwane Khosa, a mubuyundlela (of Tsonga extraction). Most of the age set commanders seem to have been Nguni, but there was at least another Tsonga age set commander Magigwane had lived all or almost all of his life in Nguni households. He was said to have had no access to the council
of the king which was apparently reserved to Nguni aristocrats. The situation was apparently in part similar in the Swazi kingdom. There, the office of regiment commander did not have a high standing and the incumbents of this office were chosen from among the commoners.

The objectives of warfare were the capture of cattle, women, and children as well as the subjection of certain zones and populations. There are no detailed reports as to how the booty was divided, but it is probable that the soldiers also received their share of it. A few of the captured persons were disposed of to outsiders, e.g. small boys as 'apprentices' to some Afrikaner and in the 1880's some women and girls to the Swazi, but the majority remained inside the system. The captives, called 'heads' (tinhloko, which seems to be different from the terms used for slaves in Inhambane Sofala and on the Zambezi) constituted probably the main working force in the households and fields of the aristocrats, but at least young men seemed to have had the possibility of individual promotion and seemed to have done no agricultural work. Small groups of soldiers were also used to execute individuals whose death had been decided on. Their wives, children and other belongings were distributed by the king.

In 1894-95 it proved difficult to keep the troops mobilised for a long time, since they did not have headquarters with sufficient grain stores. Nevertheless a few thousand soldiers stayed near the king's residence for some months in 1895, although partly starving.

Territorial administration - The system of the houses

Like in probably most medieval European monarchies, there were few or no "state" officials in the Gaza kingdom. This was already pointed out for the Maseko kingdom by Read. Chieftainships of the subject population were all affiliated to royal or aristocratic houses, through whom they paid tribute and had access to the king. Basic elements of the working of the system were set out by Barnes for Zwangendaba's Ngoni. It seems that the Gaza system, which also derived from the Ndwandwe state, was rather similar. The data are, however, very fragmentary. The names of only seven royal
or princely houses are mentioned in contemporary records, five of
them with some indication of the areas dependant on them, although
the data are certainly not exhaustive. Information on another three or four
houses comes from oral tradition. This permits us to reconstruct a
general pattern for the royal lineage. For the non-royal lineages
the data are still less satisfactory and do not permit us to assess how
much of the territory was administered by them.

In 1894 José Joaquim d’Almeida, who had made several visits
to Ngungunyane, described the structure as follows in a report on
his 1893 visit to the Gaza court:

The six ancestors of Gungunhana of whom the oral
tradition of the natives speaks: Mucachua, Mangua Gaza,
Uguagua-Macut, Segote, Manicusse and Muzilla, still
have among the Vatuas, with the exception of the first
among them, a settlement or aristocratic house which
perpetuates their memory and represents them, although
only the last two of them were kings of Gaza, the other
four being simply great chiefs in Zululand, where they
were born and where they died. These houses are,
in chronological order, Coatine, Moabane, Chiduache,
Chaimite and Uduengo.

Following the customs of his ancestors, Gungunhana
already founded an aristocratic house which received the
name of Manjacase, which, if there should be no radical
transformation in the habits and established institutions,
will be destined to represent him in the future."

According to Almeida, the kingdom was divided into
"different domains, the biggest and richest of which are
fiefs of these royal manors. The less important and
less extensive ones have been conceded to the successors
of notable captains who knew to make themselves notice­
able in the wars of invasion and conquest.

Different aboriginal chiefs, either maintaining their
mutual independence or subordinated all together to
another one who merited more confidence, did become -
united by these feudal links - so used to form distinct
groups and to obey one lord that even nowadays, and for
some time to come, it will be necessary to govern them
separately.

Among others you find in this condition, on the Buzi,
the chiefs Beia, Matire, Jobo, N’guara-guara, Fuma
and Chicoiio, who belong to the house of Chaimite, and
the chiefs Mandire, Boca, Inhanju, Begaja, Mexameja,
Chicumguana and Chicocuana, who belong to the house
of Chiduache." There were also "chiefs of more
importance, who maintained themselves independent, such as Chicugo, Tica, Moribane and others.

A number of these "independent chiefs" probably were affiliated around 1890 to the house of Mandhlakazi (Manjacasft), e.g. the chief of Manyika, Cifambausiku. It seems, that the more important royal houses had noncontiguous tributary areas in different parts of the kingdom.

Not only the king but also brothers of the king founded houses and received certain territories and chiefdoms for administration (respectively conquest and exploitation). Thus a brother of Ngungunyane, Komokomo, had a settlement called Upengezulu (Upengezuyu) which after 1889 was situated in Zandamela in Chopi territory. This area had previously been almost independent and was then subjected to direct tributation. During Sotshangane's rule large parts of the kingdom had been distributed to the king's brothers and sons. When Mawewe succeeded and killed or put to flight the most powerful of his brothers, he probably also redistributed their territories. This redistributed area may have amounted to more than a third of the kingdom. Much of the territory was certainly redistributed again after Mzila's victory about three years later. The rights of a number of Nguni lineages who had received territories and subjects in Sotshangane's time were probably respected. (This can be demonstrated in one case.)

These houses or land-administrating units are best called lineages. There was little corporateness in clans. For example, it seems that Xwaibo (Chuaibo or Xwahive) who belonged to the same clan as Manjovo (namely Ncayi-Ncayi Dlamini, see figure), neither acted together with him nor held land with him. (Ngungunyane's attempt to use him as a military commander - albeit with little success - may however have been due to the military tradition of this clan which had furnished many commanders). For certain purposes the depth of the lineage was limited to three or four generations. For example the royal family was named, in 1887/8, after the greatgrandfather of Ngungunyane, Zikode, who seems to
have had another name, Dlamini (Jâmene). Some also restricted the royal family to the descendants of Sotshangane. The name of the royal subclan, Mkatshwa, referred to an ancestor living six or more generations before 1887, while the name of the state, Gaza, refers to that of the greatgrandfather of the founder of the Gaza state, and who in about 1825 was probably considered the founder of the royal lineage.

As far as the administration of the outlying territories is concerned, it seems that in a number of them there existed a guard which was watching the local chief. If we assume that there were about 40 such chiefs and there was a minimum of five men there, we arrive at about 200 men so employed during the last years of Sotshangane's rule. In addition during every dry season small groups of warriors were mobilised to help collect tribute, counting probably anything between 50 and 200 men. These groups of warriors were active in certain territories only and in one case it is stated that they came from the same area. It seems probable therefore, that they were mobilised by the administrators of the house to whom the tribute went. The whole number of tribute collectors active in one season may have been over 400. If the area was far from their own home or the capital, they may have been away from their home for three or four months. Larger numbers of warriors were mobilised only for the annual national nkwaya ceremonies and actual warfare.

All the royal and aristocratic houses had lieutenants or officials who helped in the administration, maintaining the system operating when the lord was absent, inspecting outlying districts or transmitting messages. These officials were probably called nduna (pl. tinduna in Changana). In Ngungunyane's time, the administrators of the major royal houses seem to have been important Nguni, who, as such, apparently also had access to royal council meetings. There was probably no prime minister in the sense that there was a "state official" conducting business. Designations like "prime minister" in contemporary literature probably derive from erroneous preconceptions of the observers. They seem to refer to the first lieutenant of the king's house or outstanding councillors.
Ngungunyane's Mandlhakazi, the position was hereditary, passing from Modumana Myotsha to his son Zaba. Magidjane Tavedi, who had been "prime minister" during the last years of Mzila's rule, was still a respected person during the first years of Ngungunyane's rule, but lost all his executive functions with the advent of the new king. Zaba apparently never managed to get a firm hold over political business. An old man described him (in 1970) as the nduna in charge of the royal cattle. This may have been important but does not exhaust the entire range of his activity, as contemporary records show.

Territorial administration - Relations between subject chiefs and Nguni overlords - Integration of indigenous peoples

Nguni conquest states seem to differ in respect to the extent subject people were assimilated and integrated. The differences cannot be attributed to any single factor because the initial differences are too numerous: ecological setting, institutions at the beginning of the process, numerical composition of the different strata, periods spent on migration, the size of the states etc. all differ. In addition the primary sources on the different kingdoms show the effect of different types of biases - that is different types of intellectual tradition - and were written in different political situations. Some of the biases can be eliminated by collecting case material and analysing it in the immediate historical context before proceeding to comparisons.

Analysing case material also allows to discuss the problem of structural weaknesses and internal contradictions and rivalries a theme which was focussed on by Omer-Cooper (1966) and taken up again by Ranger.

The settlement of the Nguni produced a certain number of refugees and chiefs in exile who were dislodged by Nguni settlers. Thus the definite establishment of Sotshangane in the Limpopo valley in 1838/39 resulted in the flight of the Nkuna of Shilubane to the Transvaal and of the Makwakwa of Ndindane to Inhambane; in 1862 and later, some Ndau whose land was taken up by Mzila's people fled, and in 1889 Xipenyanye Mondlane, in whose country Ngungunyane
decided to settle, fled with a few thousand followers to Inhambane. Thus some enemies, albeit weak ones, settled beyond the borders.

A period of tension existed around 1855-56. It seems that at this time some Portuguese cherished the idea of subjecting Sotshangane with the help of Afrikaners from the Zoutpansberg. One or two Tsonga chiefs who may have been suspected of abetting Gaza's enemies were attacked. The scheme died (also for want of Afrikaner support) before anything concrete was put in practice. It is possible that some of the activity during this period was remembered later as an attempt to bewitch the king. The war of succession between Maweve and Mzila was used by inhabitants from Sena to advance deep into Gaza territory in about 1861-62, possibly with some help or tolerance of local chiefs. These Portuguese were then almost wholly defeated by Mzila. A similar situation developed around 1885 near Inhambane after Mzila had died. Chiefs who may have felt insecure contacted the Portuguese governor of Inhambane who was interested in making treaties. A battle was fought on 23 October 1886 in the small plain of 'Ciconguza' some 50 km NNW of Inhambane as the crow flies. Although both sides had heavy losses, the army supported by Inhambane was almost annihilated and there were no further signs of rebellion to the northwest of Inhambane. Another chief, who had sent to Inhambane in 1885, Bingwana Mondlane, did not take part in this battle. The area which he administered and which comprised several stockades, was however attacked in 1889 when Ngungunyane moved south. All the stockades succumbed after short fighting, Bingwana being killed in one of them. Since this area had been semi-independent during Mzila's rule, the expression 'open revolt' used by Omer-Cooper, may be a little misleading, especially since the war was pressed on Bingwana's chiefdom and the neighbouring Chopi. (Local oral tradition sees it as revolt, however). Although Ngungunyane is said to have been emotionally involved and once fell into a fit of rage when talking about the Chopi when he was drunk, the need for fresh captives and for fame won in war may have been important factors too.

In the 1895 war, contrary to Portuguese expectations, most of the subject population did not immediately side with the Portuguese.
but remained expectant. This seems to show that the centre was sufficiently strong to dominate the periphery and that stratification and exploitation did not immediately lead to decay of the political structure.

In cases of disputed succession in the subject chiefdoms, the Nguni were usually called in by one side and settled the question. There are also a few cases where chiefs were executed by order of the Nguni lord (not necessarily the king), but the office seems to have stayed in the chiefly lineage. It is possible that chiefs' sons were occasionally educated as future intermediaries.

The weakness of the Gaza state was not so much a failure to integrate subjects, either as indigenous vassal chiefs or direct non-aristocratic lower-class subjects. After all, in 1895 and 1897 even migrants returned from South Africa or did not set out for work. It was, on the military side, partly a lack of discipline and failure to carry out orders, all of which seems to have gone unpunished because the perpetrators were Nguni, and a failure to develop a new strategy and tactics taking into account the new European armament, namely cannons firing grenades and maxim guns. Even the massive consumption of alcohol, although it probably did not help, was not decisive in a struggle which on the African side has not much more than the battle of Adua (Adowa) in terms of an almost final victory.

The economics of the Gaza state

The military and administrative structure had the following sources of income:

a) domestic production for autoconsumption using captive and in the case of smaller non-aristocratic units, the labour of married females;

b) diverse tribute in kind, including cereals, parts of houses for the king's residence when this was rebuilt, etc.

c) food given to, or taken by, travelling emissaries of the king, soldiers, etc.

d) court fees

e) booty taken in war (cattle, captives, etc.)
1) payments made by foreigners to facilitate trade transactions, obtain hunting licenses, etc.

2) services given without retribution, such as carrying loads through the home area, possibly also work in the chief’s fields, etc.

The most essential items for the maintenance of the state machinery were of local origin: food, cattle, captives, certain locally produced articles given as tribute. As far as tribute in foodstuff is concerned the data are very scanty. It is possible that the aristocrats relied mostly on their own domestic or homestead production, but at the moment no quantitative estimates are possible. Through court fees, tribute levied in frontier areas, payments made by foreigners, exchange of the internally levied tribute, ivory, against cloth and other imported items, and after the start of labour migration, through tribute paid with articles brought home by the workers, foreign goods entered the political tributation and redistribution network. Although the value of these foreign goods was far from negligible, the political system could probably have existed without them. It is possible to arrive at some kind of estimate for the value of the imported items which entered the Gaza political circuit. About 1858 the income of the Nguni from their territories near Sena amounted to about £120 - 200 worth of cloth per year. Less was probably paid near Sofala, but from near Inhambane and Lourenço Marques equal sums may have been derived. The sum total from income from court fees, tribute etc. in cloth was most probably upwards of £500. Exchange of the ivory received as tribute against cloth may have netted more, for at about the same time the price of an arroba of ivory of the best quality was about £9 - 10. If one considers that the small port of Sofala exported in 1856, 695, in 1857, 518 and in 1858, 720 arrobas of the highest grade ivory, and that Inhambane and Lourenço Marques probably exported equal quantities, part of which was obtained from the Nguni, one must assume that their income from this source was higher than the tribute. In about 1864 a cow cost £2 - 10 in Mabudu south of Delagoa Bay. So in terms of cows the value of the ivory tribute may have been more than 400 - 600 head.

Sotshangane himself insisted at least on two or three occasions
during negotiations with the Portuguese that he was not dependent on imports, that he was drinking water (and not imported alcohol) and that his wives were wearing skins (and not imported textiles). But the amount of cloth received and redistributed by the king and the aristocrats, especially the royal family was considerable for the time. Compared with the total national product of Gaza this amount was not staggering though. If we estimate that there were probably more than 100,000 head of cattle in Gaza, and take into account the agricultural production, and the value of the captives, cloth remained secondary.

With the partial extinction of elephants in Gaza domains the system changed slightly. Returning migrants paid, most probably through the heads of their extended families, part of their income to the political authorities. Oral tradition also mentions diamonds as a means of paying tribute. The migrants often brought cash (mostly in the form of sovereigns) with them. These were exchanged against imported cloth, alcohol, iron hoes etc. This smallscale retail trade was mostly in the hands of Indian traders who may have amounted to more than 400 by 1890. The migrants also acquired cattle, occasional guns, and fed some of their sovereigns into the bridewealth circuits where they replaced the iron hoes, which seem to have been an important means of payment at least from the 18th century onwards.

It has not yet been checked if there are any data which would allow estimates as to how much of this foreign trade went through the royal household and what part of the tribute was redistributed by the king. The king would occasionally impose local trade boycotts on certain Portuguese settlements but never seems to have brought it to a complete standstill for a long time. Thus the king may be said to have controlled trade to the extent that he could stop it temporarily, but there are doubts whether he was sufficiently involved to exercise monopoly.

The techniques of production were apparently not modified by the advent of Gaza domination. Hunting, gathering, agriculture, herding, artisan production underwent some changes, but few were due to pressure from the Nguni.
One of the most obvious changes was in cattle ownership. This was almost all monopolised by Nguni. The fact that a Tsonga group on the Olifants owned cattle was worth a special mention by St. V. W. Erskine.

The Gaza state coexisted with trade settlements on the coast. But in contrast to early medieval European trade settlements, there was only relatively little artisan production in these centres. There was some for local demand in Quelimane and Inhambane. (This was the final stage of a development which started in the 16th century and rather served to widen the technical gap between India and Europe on one side and southeastern Africa on the other.) Most artisans were part-time specialists working in rural areas, inside the kingdom. The only full professionals seem to have been iron and copper specialists, who acquired part of their food through exchange of their products or payment of services. The trade in metal goods probably crossed political borders with ease and in this respect the Gaza state was probably never fully self-sufficient.

Final considerations

During the first 50 years of colonial rule, populations influenced by Gaza Nguni were divided under four different colonial governments: Transvaal (Union of South Africa), Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique Company and Colonial Portuguese District governments. The border between the Mozambique Company and Rhodesia seems to have been relatively open, but the two southern areas were relatively isolated from each other, as witnessed for example by different women's fashions, and were also isolated from the territories north of the Save. It is therefore not surprising that the remnant of the Gaza state had little coherence in colonial times. Nevertheless a sizeable population calling themselves Tshangana (Changana) and speaking Tsonga remained in the Limpopo valley. Ngungunyana and Nguni domination were remembered as a period of national greatness but also arbitrary exploitation by many of the descendants of the former subjects, roughly 30% - 40% of which had retained the name Tshangana.
As regards the internal stratification and tensions, these should not simply be regarded as weaknesses (after all the assassination of a number of khalifas during the early Islamic period did not halt the spread of Islam). The existence of social differences and near outsiders within the limits of the kingdom was a necessity in order to maintain the dynamics of the system. The tributary system was easily adaptable to different economic bases, - agriculture and hunting as well as wage labour - and was nothing new in the area. What was new (compared with conditions in the 18th century) was the size of the state.

When the Nguni arrived around 1820 they were stronger than the existing political units and quickly increased their strength by incorporating new soldiers. By this, and the establishment of relations of dependence between 'aristocratic' Nguni lords and vassal chiefs, they stabilized their domination in about two decades.
This version takes into account some criticism by J. B. Poires for which I am very grateful.

In the south, in addition to Gaza influence, there was also indirect Swazi and Zulu influence (in some cases even direct domination). So a stronger Nguni influence in this region is not surprising.

A minimizing of Gaza influence seemed noticeable in the works of H. H. K. Bhila and K. D. Dhliwayo. The latter's M. A. thesis "External traders in the hinterland of Sofala 1810-1889" (S. O. A. S. London 1977) is a careful synthesis of many data, but defines as "Gaza kingdom" the area where most of the Gaza households were settled, thus excluding most of the tributary area (see especially p. 116). This seems to follow Omer-Cooper's terminology.

Individual bravery and open attacks were extolled, such as were tried in 1895 and 1897. This had still worked in 1886 at Chiconguza (although only at the second attempt).

Although the powers of some rainmakers were acknowledged, some seem to have been executed as well. For medications and national ceremonies the Nguni had their own specialists but in 1895 were said to have called in Sotho too.

The praises of the members of the royal lineage, who have the surname (or clan-name) Nqumayo (Nxumalo), were "Ndwandwe" (Mkatshwa) in 1971.

The term has too wide a distribution to be explainable by Shona etymologies, e.g. by Dhliwayo, op. cit. p. 150.

The Venda territory and more southern parts of eastern Transvaal may briefly have been tributary to Gaza. The Gaza king made no direct attacks on Portuguese settlements. Sofala was attacked in 1836 by Nxaba Msane's men, Seza threatened possibly by the Maseko, Lourenço Marques partly sacked by the Zulu allied to Matola (Matsolo) in 1833. The annihilation of an army marching from Inhambane against Gaza in 1834 was self defence, (cf. G. Liesegang, "Nguni migrations between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839". African Historical Studies (International Journal of . . . ) III, 1970, pp. 323-329).

D. Fernandes das Neves, Itinerário de uma viagem a caça dos Elefantes. Lisboa 1878, pp. 6-7 (There is also an English translation of this book), Neves also repeated the same story in a later publication.

12. Population estimates are rather unreliable because some of the data for the early colonial period may be unreliable and because one has to make certain assumptions about growth rates (or rates of decline). A lower estimate might be about 300,000 (not all of whom were Gaza nationals). On the other hand the numbers of hunters and others who derived some income from services may have been higher, especially if we include the Zoutpansberg sector.

13. From about 1840 to the 1890's the real wages for unskilled labour seems to have increased almost tenfold. From the 1890's to about 1950 there seems to have been an almost steady drop if my assumptions are right.

14. For this period see especially E. Axelson; Portugal and the scramble for Africa, 1875-1891, Johannesburg 1967; P. R. Warhurst, Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-Central Africa 1890-1900, London 1962.

15. The situation in Gaza was similar to that encountered by Rau among the Ngoni near Chipata (Fort Jameson) in Zambia. (W. E. Rau; "Mpezeni's Ngoni of Eastern Zambia 1870-1920," Ph. D. thesis History, UCLA 1974, University microfilms 1977). Among the Ngoni of Chipata the conditions for the preservation of certain types of information were more favourable in so far as the age set system and many other institutions still functioned to the 1920's (although with some discontinuities), while most of the old establishment of Gaza was deported between 1895 and 1906 or fled in about 1897 to the Transvaal, thus leading to a breakdown of many Ngoni institutions in about 1897.


17. A reliable study of African agriculture in the 1950's-1960's is M. de Carvalho, A agricultura tradicional de Moçambique. (Lourenço Marques 1969). It is based on over a decade of sampling. The final switch from sorghum to maize in the Limpopo valley may only have come about in 1900.

19. The Nguni spread to the western bank of the Sabi (in the direction of the Devuli) but did not occupy all the highlands where cattle could be kept. Thus they did not arrive at the limits of its carrying potential.

20. Class in the sense of hereditary social strata. In the literature about the Ndebele they were sometimes called 'castes'. Similar 'stratification' theories had been formulated at the turn of the century by at least two Austrian authors (Gumplowicz, Ratzenhofer, etc.) and later by Thurnwald. Schapera referred to this hypothesis in conversation in 1963.


22. About the different strata see the report by the resident, Rodrigues, in the Boletim Official de Mocambique 1886, p. 85: "Landim" is the Portuguese equivalent of Tsonga and was already in use in the 18th century.

23. Oral tradition about this struggle was very much alive near modern Magude in 1969, when I visited it. See also note 11.

24. Mpissane, Ngungunyane's father's brother, was mentioned in one Portuguese source to have started drinking with Tsonga after his flight to the Transvaal.


28. Both from Inhambane and Sofala a small number of slaves had been exported during the 18th century, but there existed no slave status among the societies of the interior. Among the matrilineal Makua and Yao there were slaves, among the Chewa at least "pawns" whose status comes close to slaves.

30. Own observation 1969. The Ndau retained the knowledge of their origin. The question why the Nguni language disappeared so quickly, can only be answered satisfactorily, if the early colonial period is studied too.

31. Some were published in Liengme's paper. The son of G. L. Liengme, Dr A. Liengme, Geneva, showed me those which had been preserved, and also furnished the names of institutions in Mozambique with prints.

32. Liengme's photograph, c. 1893-95. One had to crawl into these houses on hands and knees.

33. It seems that the Dzivi near Inhambane had shields around 1760, and possibly other Tsonga groups.


35. Hughes & van Velsen, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 64.

36. The position was filled first by Ngungunyane's own mother Yosiyo, who is still well remembered in oral tradition, and then by (her co-wife?) Impiumbekazane, who was consulted in political matters and is mentioned by contemporaries, but apparently not remembered today.


39. Lists from various sources are compared in G. Liesegang, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Reiches der Gaza Nguni" (Dr. phil. dissertation, Köln 1967) pp. 234-36; and in A. Rita-Ferreira, "Etno-História e Cultura Tradicional do grupo Angune (Nguni)," Memórias do Inst. de Inv. Cient. Mozambique, 11, Série C, 1974, 201-203. Mawew's set, Magwembetshe, is mentioned only by two of the seven or eight main sources.


41. See sources quoted by Rita-Ferreira op. cit. pp. 203-4, and some other Portuguese contemporaries.
According to one source the age corporations were divided into three companies (mabange) and these again into sections (chimujane). (Ayres de Ornelas in: A campanha das tropas Portuguesas em Lourenço Marques e Inhambane. Lisboa 1897, p. 194) It is possible that the commanders of an age set were nominated definitely only when the set reached fighting age.

42. In one case we hear of a detachment from Tunzina, the area of chief Magandane Makwakwa (near Panda). They counted about 200 men with spears and collected tribute near Beira and Sofala in about July-August 1893. (J. F. Trindade Coelho ed. Dezito anos em Africa; Notas e documentos para a biografia do conselheiro José de Almeida. Lisboa 1898, p. 367).


44. H. Beemer, "The development of the military organisation in Swaziland," Africa 1937: pp. 70-1. In Gaza many of the military leaders belonged to the Nguni aristocracy, however, including the royal clan.

45. There seems to be only one report referring to the distribution of cattle to "ndunas" in 1895.

46. In Tswa and Chopi nkumbi, Nyungwe kaporo, C abo mudare, Sena kaporo, nyagrinya (from Portuguese), etc. North of the Zambesi, the term mfu/waifu was used by the Ngwagwangwara (Spies 1904, p. 274).

47. They seem to have done some household work, however, apart from herding, and were generally reported to be badly nourished as smaller boys. Men from subject groups were in at least one case reported to have done corvée labour in the king's field. Also the soldiers seem to have worked there at least once shortly before setting out for war.


50. Coelho (op. cit. n. 42) p. 383.

51. Interview with Mrs Muhlavaze Makwakwa, Dec 1969. She had been a captive with her mother in Komokomo's settlement. See also source quote in note 34.

52. Majole's son Nwamekaze ("Mamongaza") administered in 1855 the same area on the lower Nkomati which his son Mugudogudo was administering in 1895.

54. See note 42.

54a The position of Magidjane Tavedi is not quite clear. We hear of him first in 1869, when he led Mzila's troops to the Zoutpansberg (J. B. de Vaal, "Die rol van Joao Albasini in die Geskiedenis van die Transvaal," Archives Year Book for South African History, 16, vol. 1, 1953, p. 120). Although he had an important place at Mzila's court, he was apparently not the first nduna of Nodwengu, for in 1891 we find Sokunaka (wa ka Mabesa) in this position. After 1889 we find him settled in Gaza close to Mzila's brother, Nkuyu. He may rather have acted in an individual capacity and perhaps have settled down as a lineage head attached in some way to Nkuyu.


56. See titles quoted in note 27. Some of Stevenson-Hamilton's informants must have been in their early youth in the 1850's and it seems possible that some of the Portuguese activity (sounding the Nkomati etc.) was interpreted as witchcraft.

57. Liesegang, Beiträge, pp. 85-86.


59. Exploitation must have been felt. When he passed on the Limpopo as a prisoner he was derided. Liengme op. cit. p. 135 quotes from contemporary eye-witnesses and hearsay: "Oh vas-tu, Mongoni au gros ventre? Oh vas-tu, toi qui prenais nos poules et nos boeufs? Tu vas passer la mer et tu ne reviendras plus." Discontent with taxation is also mentioned in other sources.

60. The case of the execution of the traditional chief of Bangue (modern Beira) at the end of 1887 or beginning of 1888 was commented on repeatedly in correspondence. The surviving family members were apparently distributed by the king (cf. Coelho, op. cit. p. 165, and documents in AHM.) See also A. H. M. G. G. 8(6), 1889, Expedição de Gaza, Maxixe 8-9-1889 no. 147, confidencial, Rodrigues to G. G.

61. The subject is not yet discussed very satisfactorily here. I hope to be able to discuss some of the problems of economical culture and political integration into the Nguni as well as the following imperialist system in more detail in a manuscript entitled "Changing S. E. Africa: Southern Mozambique and neighbouring
territories from the 18th to the first half of the 20th century".

62. The amount of corvée labour from non-captives in this domestic production is not clear either, but was probably not very important.


64. Boletim Official do Mozambique, 1859, p. 165. An arroba was 32 Portuguese pounds, which correspond more or less to the British pound.

65. In Interviews 1969 near Chibuto and Manjacaze. To whom were the diamonds given to? Might it be possible that Rachel and J. H. Fels who first arrived in Gaza in 1888 after having stayed in Swaziland for at least two years were also dealing in diamonds? They went several times to Natal and were in contact with R. Beningfield. Or did Indian traders buy diamonds?

66. There are estimates mentioning 600-700 traders in 1891, 700 in Gaza in 1894 (A. H. M. C. a 2 R -L. M. 157, Inhampura 10-10-1894, Report by J. P. Vieira Jódice Bicker) and 900 in 1898 in the Gaza military district. In 1909 there were only slightly more than 400 trading licences in the southern part of what had been the Nguni kingdom, with possibly 200 more in the part of the Inhambane district which belonged to Gaza. Thus 400 may be on the low side.

67. Thus the often quoted statement of H. A. Juno that with the advent of the Nguni the Tsonga started paying ridewealth with hoes, can only apply to some Tsonga areas (certain Ronga and ancestors of modern Shangana).

68. Unfortunately there is no report on Ndau or Phalaborwa copper smelting. I am reconstructing here partly on the basis of the account of Musina copper mining by M. F. Mamadi in: N. J. van Warmelo ed.: "The Copper Miners of Musina and the early History of the Zoutpansberg." Preforla: Ethnological Publications, VIII, 1940, pp. 81-82. For Phalaborwa, situated in a relatively dry area and dependant on importation of grain in many years, a similar pattern can be assumed. A Portuguese account of the traditional gold mining in Bandire in Mussurize also describes a similar pattern. In parts of the Mozambican lowlands there is still oral tradition of iron imports from the highlands of Zimbabwe or Transvaal. In the coastal area, Marave and southern Makua-Lomwe products were imported by Portuguese via Inhambane. It seems that one of the latter hoes was still preserved in 1969 near Chibuto as part of the rain prayer objects.
NOTES TO FIG. I


b. Might be Mbabane or Mwabane. Makhweya is written "Uguague Macué".

c. In Tsonga transcription Xidwaxe or loc. Xidwaxine. The Portuguese "Chiduachine". It is a small locality south of Chibuto.

d. "Lofogaza" in Boletim Off. 1895, p. 516. In an interview Ndlovukazi was translated as "red cow" and was attributed to the Vakwagazithi.

e. Cheringoma between Beira and the Zambezi belonged in 1888 to the family of Singuimene, one of the widows of Manukuse (Bol. Off. 1888: p. 584). Another version of the name is Sohomene.

f. According to Myburgh, 1949: p. 78 Mawewe also had other villages. One was called Kwa-Makhweya, which might have been founded by his great-grandfather. Mpiissane also had more than one homestead.

g. 'Seguidela' in Mattos in Ferrao 1909: p. 55. It was still known as the name of a place in Chilembene (Madragoa) in 1969.

h. Living in or near modern Chai-Chai, married Ngungunyane's sister Ubafo in 1891.

i. Lineage in Guimarães in Ferrão 1909: p. 169. Sokunaka was first nduna of Nodwengu around 1891. A 'Donga' who was probably his father was, according to Mattos in Ferrão 1909: p. 54, the leader of Mzila's troops in Oct. 1861 in Matola.

j. Mtangwan is mentioned as governor of part of the Limpopo valley in the 1870's. Mukondombi survived the early colonial period, since he did not side with the rebels in 1897 (Esteves in Ferrão, 1909:285). A female descendant of his was a chief in 1969.

N. B. The transcription of this table has not been made uniform. There are some Zulu and some Tsonga forms.
Fig. II: The Gaza kingdom under Mzila and Ngungunyane