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The aim of this article is to conduct an in-depth investigation into the historic events that preceded the founding of Pretoria, its name, as well as its subsequent history and relevant ethnological research. It is further argued that research undertaken and collated into a report submitted to the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipal Council (TMMC) in 2004 in support of a name change of the area formerly known as the City of Pretoria to Tshwane, does not comply with the standards of systematic research, and is based on questionable oral tradition. This aforementioned report was submitted, as motivation for the name change, to the South African Geographical Names Council. The Minister of Arts and Culture, however, referred it back to the TMMC for further public consultation. As this process has yet to take place; the name “Pretoria”, still stands.

Keywords: Musi/Msi; Mzilikazi; Tshwane; Apies River; Ndebele, Manala, Ndzundza; Tswana; Hwaduba; Lucas Bronkhorst; Andries Pretorius; APJ van der Walt; Pretoria; Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek; Geographical names

Die verhaal van die oorsprong van die plek Pretoria en die onbewese bestaan van ’n persoon genaamd “Tshwane”

Die doel met hierdie artikel is om ’n in diepte ondersoek te deel aangaande die verloop van die historiese gebeure wat tot die stigting van die plek Pretoria, en die naam, daarvan, aanleiding gegee het, asook die daaropvolgende verloop van belangrike historiese gebeure en verbandhoudende etnologiese navorsing. Verder is geargumenteer dat ’n 2004-verslag wat aan die Tshwane Metropolitaanse Munisipale Raad (TMMR) voorgelê is om ’n naamsverandering van Pretoria (dit wil sê die voormalige Stad Pretoria) na Tshwane mee te bring, nie aan systematiese navorsing voldoen nie, en op twyfelagtige mondelinge oorlewering berus. Die voorgenoem verslag het as motivering gediens vir naamsverandering en is aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Geografiese Plekname Raad voorgelê. Die Minister van Kuns en Kultuur het die gesê terugverwers na die TMMR vir verdere openbare konsultasie. So ’n proses het nog nie plaasgevind nie en dus is die naam van Pretoria onveranderd geelaat.
Sleutelwoorde: Musi/Msi; Mzilikazi; Tshwane; Apiesrivier; Ndebele; Manala; Ndzunda; Tswana; Hwaduba; Lucas Bronkhorst; Andries Pretorius; APJ van der Walt; Pretoria; Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek; Geografiese plekname

Introduction

The turn of the eighteenth century was marked by devastating raids by the Nguni on the peoples that inhabited the South African Highveld. The resulting demographic upheaval changed the region for the ensuing eighty years and came to be known as the Difaqane/Mfecane – roughly interpreted as “a time of emptiness”, “crushing” or “scattering”. The Voortrekkers, having trekked across the Orange and Vaal Rivers to escape British rule of the Cape, found themselves in the middle of this social melting pot.

These historical changes preceded the rearrangement of the black settlements and the founding of the Voortrekker republics north of the Vaal River, after which Pretoria was established as the capital of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) in 1855. Archaeological research has established that, from the early 1600s, the first black settlements in the Apies River area were those of the Ndebele Chief Musi and his descendants at KwaMnyamana in the modern Wonderboompoort and Bon Accord areas.

The arrival of the Khumalo Chief Mzilikazi in ca1823, from Zululand across the Vaal River, and his subsequent attacks on and conquest of the Ndzunda, Manala and Tswana tribes (1823 to 1837) greatly affected an already destabilised country. When the Voortrekkers crossed the Vaal River during Mzilikazi’s reign, several skirmishes occurred until Hendrik Potgieter, assisted by Griquas and Rolong, drove Mzilikazi away and into what became Matabeleland across the Limpopo River (now the southern province of Zimbabwe). After Mzilikazi’s expulsion, a new divergent landscape unfolded. The Ndebele and Tswana groups slowly returned – although not necessarily to the areas from where

5 I Cameron & SB Spies (eds.), Name geukiedenis van Swil-Afrika in woord en beeld (Kaapstad, 1986), p 126.

SAJCH/SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
they had originally fled. The Voortrekkers settled and declared Pretoria as the seat of the newly formed ZAR.\textsuperscript{6}

In the following years the area and inhabitants transformed from a church settlement, to a farming community, town, municipality and the seats of provincial and national governments. Much of the aforementioned, summarised history is ignored or sidelined in the TRTT Report.\textsuperscript{7}

The TRTT’s arguments in favour of the proposed name change are based on four conflicting suppositions that are also referred to in Africanlanguages.com:\textsuperscript{8}

- Pretoria should be renamed in memory of the Ndebele Chief Musi’s so-called son, Tshwane;\textsuperscript{9}
- Tshwane was the original name of the Apies River derived from the Tswana word for a “black cow” that had been a central part of a rain-making ceremony in times of drought. Accounts of the exact course of this ceremony differ, but there is consensus that water from the river was sprinkled on the animal, that had been allowed to roam freely. Rain would have followed in the area where the animal grazed. The area was subsequently referred to as “Tshwane” i.e. the place of the black cow.\textsuperscript{10}
- The word “tshwane” means “we are the same”\textsuperscript{11} in Tswana; and that
- Tshwane is the word for “little ape” or a “little monkey” in an African language, but it is unclear which one.\textsuperscript{12}

Prof LJ Louwrens, a linguist, made an in-depth study of the etymology, as well as the aforementioned arguments using excellent sources.\textsuperscript{13} He found V Ellenburger’s explanation, of the etymology of the rainmaking ritual with the black cow, the most acceptable.\textsuperscript{14} However, more in-depth systematic research was required to be able to arrive some conclusion. The next sections indicate how the research was done and the analysis concluded.

\textsuperscript{6} T Cameron & SB Spies (eds), \textit{Name geskiedenis ...}, p 151.
\textsuperscript{8} Meanings of place names in South Africa, \url{http://africanlanguages.com/south_africa/place_names.html}, viewed 2017-07-07.
\textsuperscript{9} Compare M Siryi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 49.
\textsuperscript{10} M Siryi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 52.
\textsuperscript{11} M Siryi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 57.
\textsuperscript{12} M Siryi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 56.
\textsuperscript{13} LJ Louwrens, The origin and meaning of the place name Tshwane, \textit{SAJCH} 20(1), 2006, pp 105-115.
\textsuperscript{14} LJ Louwrens, The origin and meaning ..., \textit{SAJCH} 20(1) June 2006, p 118.
Methodology

The subject of this article required interdisciplinary research in a number of fields, i.e. history, ethnology, anthropology and genealogy. From the outset it demanded extensive reading of reports, academic journals, books and archival records that had to be distilled into a cogent argument. Only after this exploratory exercise was completed, a clear picture of the reality of the pre-history of Pretoria developed.

A large number of deductions were made from ethnological research and academic contributions by NJ van Warmelo and PL Breutz, who could be considered the ethnological fathers of the history of the Tswana and Ndebele. Information found in literature was tested during personal interviews conducted by the author with representatives of both the Manala and Ndzundza Ndebele Royal Houses. Archived census information corroborated much of the historical migratory information of the black tribes germane to the pre-history of Pretoria. Personal observations and deductions played an important part in extracting the relevant information from diverse sources.

The proposed name change of the former City of Pretoria to Tshwane was motivated by research undertaken by the Tshwane Renaming Task Team (TRTT), with Prof M Sirayi (University of South Africa) as its Chairperson. Their report called: “Renaming of Pretoria: Report of the City of Tshwane” (TRTT Report) was finalised on 13 August 2004.

The author compared the content of the TRTT’s report against credible academic sources and it was apparent that the TRTT’s findings on the history of the Ndebele Chief Musi, and his progeny, had been based on incorrect and/or immaterial information.

Ancient history

According to V Carruthers, C Bauerle, R Mason and W Meyer, various archaeologists and anthropologists affirm that, during the Earlier Stone Age, pre-historic peoples moved north and south through the Wonderboompoort leaving behind an impressive record of primitive stone implements in an archaeological site behind the present Wonderboom Hoëskool.15

During the Stone Age, the present day Magaliesberg area was inhabited by nomadic San hunter-gatherers who left a treasure trove of rock engravings. During the Late Iron Age (1300-1820 AD) some hunter-gatherers remained in the vicinity and archaeologists found evidence of the Moloko ceramic traditions in the Groenkloof Nature Reserve. Why the people left the area – as only ruins remained – is unclear, but politics and tribal war seem to have been influential factors in the lives of the early Magaliesberg peoples.

The arrival of the Ndebele Chief Musi

The Ndebele Chief Musi (also referred to as Msi) – son of Nguni King Mhlanga – settled at KwaMnyamana (Place of the Black Hills) between 1660 and 1664. Contrary to the San, him and his descendants were the earliest dwellers of the place that later became known as Pretoria, but discord divided his sons into several clans. For the purpose of this discussion, the emphasis is on Musi’s sons: Manala, Ndzunda and Mhwaduba.

Musi and sons: The variance of names

A resolution was taken by the Transvaal National Ndebele Organisation (TNNO) at a meeting on 16 March 1968 that Musi was their common ancestor. However, to complicate matters, various authors recorded Musi’s sons somewhat differently. HCM Fourie (1921) recorded Musi’s sons as: Manala, Ndzunda, Mathombeni, Dhlomo and Masombuka. South African History Online concurs with this version. On the other hand, Van Warmelo (1930) listed them as: Manala, Ndzunda, Mathombeni, Dhlomo, Mhwaduba and Sibasa. PL Breutz (1989) used Manala, Ndzunda, Matombeni (Yakala), Dlomo, Mhwaduba and Dwaba. In 2006 Louwrens recorded Manala,
Ndzundza, Matombeni, Dhlomo and M'Hwaduba as Musi's sons, corroborating Van Warmelo’s account in “The Transvaal Ndebele texts” of 1930. The Nhlapo Commission, in its report to the President of South Africa (2010), records the names as Manala, Ndzundza, Mathombeni, Dhlomo, Mhwaduba, Masombuka, Skosana and Mphaphuli. In a 2015 interview with Mr JZ Mabena, a representative of the Manala Tribe, he listed the sons of Musi as Manala, Ndzundza, Masombuka, Mtombeni/ Kekane, Dhlomo, Mhwucuba and Sibasa/Mphaphuli. Although there are some minor disparities in these accounts, there is much commonality.

Contrary to the above discernible pattern of naming, Mr Peter Tshwane in the TRTT Report incorrectly named the sons of Tshwane as Manala, Modimakwane, Moopo, Moletlane, Letsale and Malete, and he continued to expand on the Modimakwane succession. Mr Tshwane stated that Musi had a son called Tshwane, who fathered Modimakwane, who became chief of the Hwaduba clan and that his descendants were Chiefs Mathibe and Kgosi. Unfortunately, the TRTT Report does not explain who Mr Peter Tshwane is nor does it give information on why his oral account should be more credible than any other, which casts doubt on his credibility as a source.

It should be noted that a chief and his/her royal advisors are traditionally the custodians of a tribe's cultural heritage.

A myth propagated through selective oral traditions: Chief Musi had a son called Tshwane

It seems that the idea that the TMMC held, i.e. that Chief Musi had a son called Tshwane, was propagated through selective oral tradition. This study shows that the TMMC was convinced by inventive error of reasoning and political arguments, rather than by academic research. By summarily accepting an account of doubtful origin, in the name of Mr Peter Tshwane, the writers of the Report perpetuated the misleading notion that Musi had a son called Tshwane, who fathered Modimakwane with Chiefs Mathibe and Kgosi as his descendants.

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29 Interview: BPA, Manala King Makhosokhe II (Mabena) and Mr JZ Mabena, KwaMhlanga, 2015-09-03.
31 Compare the findings of the TRTT report as in M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., 2004.
The Report states that:\(^{32}\)

*After the death of Tshwane, his descendants lost their kingdom, because when the Voortrekkers came they took over Tshwane kingdom and the entire area which is presently known as Pretoria.*

Contrary to this assertion, academic research, as well as the pundits of Ndebele oral tradition, rejects this argument and research shows that no Tshwane kingdom ever existed on any of the old Pretoria sites. The only historical fact that could possibly support this theory is that, after Mzikazi’s departure over the Limpopo River, the remnants of the Hwaduba returned to Hammanskraal where they continue to reside to this day.\(^{33}\)

The descendants of Musi: The Manala and the Ndzundza chiefdoms

The Pretoria Ndebele can justly lay claim to “first-people representation” through their ancestor Musi, as well as a large pre-colonial settlement around eastern Pretoria.\(^{34}\) The most accurate account of Musi’s descendant chiefs, Manala and Ndzundza, between 1642 and 1986 is given by C Jansen van Vuuren (Figures 1 and 2), and his record was substantiated during the interviews with the Manala King Makhosokhe and the Ndzundza Royal Council. The Manala King, as the custodian of his tribe’s history, was exceptionally knowledgeable on the history of the Ndebele. He was a deponent to the Nhlapo Commission on the Determination of the Manala-Mbongo and Ndzundza-Mabhoko paramountcies.\(^{35}\) PL Breutz’s work further presents a comprehensive genealogy of the Manala and Ndzundza chiefdoms (Figure 3).\(^{36}\)

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33 C Hamilton, BK Mbanga & R Ross (eds), The Cambridge history of South Africa ..., p 404.
34 C Jansen van Vuuren, Ndebele place names ..., SAJCH 20(1), 2006, p 85.
35 C Jansen van Vuuren, “Die aard en betekenis ...”, p 181-182; Interview: BPA, Royal Council of the Ndzundza Ndebele, Tribal Council Office, Siyabuswa, 2015-06-18; BPA, Manala King Makhosoke II (Mabina) and Mr JZ Mabena, KwaMhlanga, 2015-07-03.
36 PL Breutz, A history of the Bantu ... Table XXXII A, B and C.
Figure 3: Genealogy of the Ndebele Chiefs Manala and Ndzundza

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Footnote: Figure verbatim borrowed from PL Breutz, *A History of the Basutoland*, p 400.

SAICH/SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
The discord between Manala and Ndzundza, Hwaduba and Kekane caused the tribe to split. According to tradition the aged, blind Musi had been tricked by Ndzundza who presented himself to his father as Manala and as a result of Ndzundza’s cunning, his father bestowed the chieftainship upon him. Once this treachery came to light, the rightful successor Manala, tried to murder his brother, but Ndzundza fled with his followers. Van Warmelo likened these events to the Biblical tale of Isaac, Esau and Jacob.\(^{41}\)

Jansen van Vuuren argues that the oral history of the Manala is particularly informative because of the use of an indigenous dating system. Corroborated by other cultural practices, the Manala’s indigenous dating system rests on the allocation of thirteen so-called “regimental names”\(^{42}\) to males of initiation age in a four year cycle; which in turn repeats itself approximately every fifty-two years.\(^{43}\) He contends that such a dating system does not exist in the Tswana oral tradition, therefore making it less reliable.\(^{44}\)

The Hwaduba chiefdom

The presence of the Hwaduba at Hammanskraal, before and after Mzilikazi’s destabilising raids, is an established fact.\(^{45}\) In addition, Jansen van Vuuren and Breutz clarify the notion that Musi’s son, Mhwaduba, and his clan, were largely, culturally and linguistically absorbed, by their Tswana-speaking neighbours and established their communities on tribal land at Hammanskraal north of Pretoria.\(^{46}\)

The TRTT Report unfortunately only expounds on the Hwaduba genealogy and it mistakenly uses the name Tshwane for Musi or Musi’s son (Figure 4), as well as introducing the Mhwaduba genealogy and the deposition of a Mr Peter Tshwane as proof that a person named Tshwane existed in history.\(^{47}\) These assertions are ethnically biased and ignore the total Ndebele genealogy of Musi. The name Kgosi only appears as a chief in the genealogical order of the BaTlökwa tribe in the Madikwe district (Figure 5).\(^{48}\)


\(^{42}\) C Jansen van Vuuren, Ndebele place names... *SAJCH* 20(1), 2006, pp 85-86.

\(^{43}\) C Jansen van Vuuren, Ndebele place names... *SAJCH* 20(1), 2006, p 85.


\(^{45}\) Interview: BPA, C Jansen van Vuuren, per email, 2014-09-15; C Jansen van Vuuren, Ndebele place names... *SAJCH* 2011, 2006, p 83; PL Breutz, *A history of the Batswana* ... , p 397; L Seapera (ed), *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa (Cape Town, 1946)* p 53.

\(^{46}\) M Sirayi, *Renaming of Pretoria* ... , p 49-50.

\(^{47}\) PL Breutz, *A history of the Batswana* ... , table XXXI.

Figure 5: Genealogy of the BaTlökwa tribes

PL Breutz, A history of the Batswana... p 379.

SAJCH/SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
Does the name Tshwane appear in the researched histories of the Manala, Ndzundza and Hwaduba?

There is no chief by the name of Tshwane listed in Van Warmelo’s survey of native tribes and chiefdoms. He had recorded that Hwaduba respondents accounted that Musi had a son called Tshwane, but he explicitly warned that the data from these respondents was highly questionable and unreliable. The Ndebele oral inventory does not mention the name Tshwane, and representatives of the Ndzundza and Manala Royal Houses supported this point of view. Jansen van Vuuren also affirmed that, other than in the Hwaduba traditions, the Ndebele do not recognise the name Tshwane, and he argues that the name change from Tshwane only recognised the heritage of the pre-colonial Tswana-speakers, which includes the small Hwaduba community.

In his genealogy, Breutz mentions Tshwane “as a son of Mhawuduba”. This, however, seems to be inconsistent as his comprehensive list of chiefs and clans of the Tswana and Ndebele, does not corroborate this assertion (Figure 6). It is clear that historical sources, academic literature and opinion only obscurely refer to Tshwane and produce no substantive or cogent evidence. Therefore, it can be concluded that Musi did not have a son named Tshwane.

Mzilikazi: Turbulent events and divergent memories, 1822 to 1837

On his way to the Magaliesberg, from his stronghold (ekuphumeleni, i.e. the Place of Rest in the Steelpoort Valley), Mzilikazi conquered several chiefdoms. In the process, he destroyed and enslaved Musi’s descendants, Chief Sibiindi of the Manala (*1775) and Chief Magodongo of the Ndzundza (*1780). The Manala chiefdom barely recovered after this intrusion and consequently settled at Mooiplaats on the Pienaars River. The Nhlapo Commission, however, states that the Manala ruled at KwaMnyamana (Woncerboomboort/Bon Accord).

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2. C Jansen van Vuuren, *Ndebele place names...*, SAJC 20(1), 2006, p 85. Interview: BPA, Royal Council of the Ndzundza Ndebele, Tribal Council Office, Siyabuswa, 2015-06-18; BPA, Manala King Makhosoko II (Mabena) and Mr JZ. Mabena, KwaMblanga, 20-5-07-03.

SAJC(SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
Figure 6: Genealogy of Hwaduba chiefs

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55 Figure verbatim borrowed from PL Breutz, *A History of the Batswana...*, p 402.

SAJCH/SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
Jansen van Vuuren is of the opinion that Sibindi and Magodongo combined efforts and attacked Mzikazi to no avail. Mr JZ Mabena, however, found Magodongo’s and Sibindi’s collaboration doubtful. He ascribed Sibindi’s death to the fact that the treacherous Mzikazi had stones tied around his neck and then drowned him in a river. Rasmussen in turn described Mzikazi’s conquest of Magodongo as a well-remembered, recent event, whilst it actually occurred very long ago. The documented Ndebele histories recount that Magodongo was a magician whom Mzikazi had to trick to overcome; the latter in the end captured and executed Magodongo by impalement. The remnants of the Ndzhunda fled under the leadership of Mabhoko, the younger son of the Left-hand House to Nomashaxela, near Roossenekal.

Mzikazi arrived in the Magaliesberg area (1824-1825) and settled at eKungwini (the Place of the Mist), on the banks of the Apies River. He then annihilated the cultivated Kwenza from the Rustenburg area. The Tswana groups (the Hurute, Fokeng, Kgalata, P6, Phiring and Kubung (Figure 7) were enslaved, driven away and/or destroyed one after the other, as he extended his kingdom south to the Vaal River and north to the confluence of the Crocodile and the Limpopo Rivers, comprising about 30,000 square miles that is approximately 78,000 square kilometres.

Only after the battle of Mosega in 1837, when Mzikazi was driven across the Limpopo River by the Voortrekkers, did remnants of the displaced Tswana and Ndebele groups slowly return to rebuild their wrecked communities. Van Wاملo’s 1933-1935 survey, however, showed that the tribes did not necessarily all return to their original land.

The consequence of these events is that the land around what is today known as Pretoria, was barely inhabited for several years after Mzikazi’s influence expanded north of the Magaliesberg and then to the Marico River. The territory south of the Magaliesberg remained uninhabited; with many historians recording that this land was seemingly devoid of people. The absence of settlements are illustrated through the observations of Rasmussen and Thompson.

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91 C Jansen van Vuuren, "Die aard en betekenis...", pp 470-471; Interview: HPA, Manala King Makhosoke II (Mabena) and Mr JZ Mabena, Kwamthanga, 2015-07-03.
95 A Manson, B Mbuya & J Peires, Chapters 4 to 6 in H Giliomee & B Mbuya (eds), Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid Afrika, p 135.
97 R Kent Rasmussen, Migrants kingdom..., p 94.
South of the Magaliesberg, Mzilikazi cleared the country of all human settlement, evidently in order to maintain a buffer zone through which his enemies would have trouble moving [Rasmussen].

In much of the central Highveld, the population was sparse throughout the 1830s. The surviving inhabitants, fearing further disruptions, tended to conceal themselves from intruders, which gave white travellers the impression that the area was uninhabited and unclaimed... Dingane and Mzilikazi continued to send impis through the sparsely occupied southern Highveld [Thompson].

Schoon and Mc Luckie (fortune-seekers) entered the Magaliesberg on a visit to Mzilikazi. On their observations Becker reports:

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64 Figure used, verbatim borrowed from PL Breutz, A history of the Batswana ... p 4.

SAJCH/SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
Schoon realised that at last they were entering the territory of the ill-fated Crocodile People, and were now approaching the first Mzilikazi's outpost. Five years earlier this had been one of the most populated parts of the Transvaal, now there was not a living soul in sight.

The TRTT Report reduces this vital historical evidence to one paragraph.64

The established historical facts around the arrival of the Voortrekkers

When the Voortrekkers moved across the Vaal River to the southern parts of the Highveld and the Magaliesberg in the 1830s and 1840s, they found the area largely depopulated by Mzilikazi’s wars of vanquish and disruption.65 One of the key encounters was at the Battle of Vegkop (between the Wilge and Renoster Rivers) where Kaliphi, a general of Mzilikazi’s, attacked Hendrik Potgieter’s Voortrekkers and seized 100 horses, 5,000 head of cattle and 50,000 sheep. Moroka, chief of the Rolong, and the Wesleyan missionary, James Archbell, provided the Voortrekkers with cattle and food to alleviate their losses.66 The Voortrekkers gradually crossed the Vaal River. When they reached the Highveld they settled in a region that was once ruled by Mzilikazi.67

JGS Bronkhorst and his family settled on the farm Elandspoort JR 357 in 1836; his brother, Lucas C Bronkhorst arrived shortly thereafter and settled on the farm Groenkloof.68 The ruins of his home can still be seen today at the source of the Apies River at the Fountains Valley, south-east of the Pretoria city centre (Figure 8).

From 1841 more pioneer families settled on several farms in the area and in 1848 the Fourie-party brought a number of people to the banks of the Apies River.69 In 1849, ADJ (Andries) van der Walt bought a portion of the farm Elandsfontein from the Bronkhorst family, which is today’s Berea suburb around the Pretoria station. The De Lange and Botha families also settled on the banks of the Apies River.70

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64 M. Siraji, Naming of Pretoria...", p 52.
67 AT Bryant, The olden times in Zululand..., p 437.
69 GS Preller, Old Pretoria brief story of the city’s Voortrekker-period (Pretoria, 1938), p 15.
70 FA van Jaarsveld, Die Afrikapers...", p 9; GS Preller, Andries Pretorias ..., p 381.
A most vivid description of the untamed Apies River region is found in the narrative of one Maria Minnaar, a niece of Lucas Bronkhorst. Nowhere in this recollection did Ms Minnaar mention any inhabitants other than her family and their neighbours. In A boer maiden views Pretoria in 1844, she narrated her recollections to Dr Gustav Preller as follows:

... Daspoort when we came to live here was covered with a variety of big trees, but seemed so far away that we seldom came there except on horseback. The trees along the Apies made a beautiful pleasure, remarkable for its scenery, and the place was blessed with a fine climate and abundance of the purest water... But the river and the rise to the left, where Burgers Park now lies, was at the same time a veritable lion's den. So bad and dangerous were these and other ferocious wild creatures that the men of our little settlement got into the habit of making a joint hunt along the river every Wednesday and Saturday... There was satisfaction in seeing one's garden grow from year to

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74 GS Preller, Old Pretoria ..., pp 12-16.
75 GS Preller, Old Pretoria ..., pp 13,15.
year, and yield the things one wanted; to watch the fruit trees come on, to add from day to day and year to year by one's own labour or by purchase, to such domestic comforts, elsewhere regarded as indispensable [sic].

In 1849, APJ van der Walt became a field cornet (civilian official) of the settlement within the Potchefstroom republic, later to be called Pretoria, after being given the responsibility to inspect and survey the farms Elandspoort, Groenkloof, Rietfontein and Hartebeespoort.76

Though Andries Pretorius was the Commandant General of the then Potchefstroom Republic, he lived on the farm Grootplaats at what is now known as Hartebeespoortdam.77 Pretorius initiated the merger of the three Boer Republics (Potchefstroom, Lydenburg and Schoemansdal) when the Volksraad met in 1856 in the new village of Pretoria.78 The TRTT Report only offers a short and superficial account of this history.79

Pretoria proclaimed the capital of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR)

An agreement to merge the three Boer Republics was reached at Derdepoort on 22 May 1849. A Volksraad-resolution was taken to make Pretoria its capital in 1855 and was written into the ZAR Constitution in 1856.80

Andries Pretorius (Figure 9) died on 23 July 1853 and never experienced the proclamation of Pretoria in 1855, or the founding of the ZAR in 1857.81 His son Martinus Wessel Pretorius succeeded him and named Pretoria in honour of his father.82

The TRTT Report does concede this important fact.83 Andries Pretorius' remains were reburied, with pomp and ceremony in 1891 in the Hero's Acre 84 (on the corner of WF Nkomo Street and Es'kia Mphahlele Drive in Pretoria).

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76 FA van Jaarsveld, Die Afrikamers ..., p 29; HM Rex, Pretoria van kerkplaas tot regeringsetel (Cape Town, 1960), p 30.
77 JM Meintjes, The Voortrekkers, p 273.
78 EA Walker, A history of South Africa ..., pp 256-257; M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria ..., p 44.
79 M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria ..., p 42.
80 C Saunders (ed), Search for a 'promised land' in Illustrated history of South Africa (Cape Town, 1995), p 146; GS Pretler, Andries Pretorius ..., p 403; JM Meintjes, The Voortrekkers, p 301; EA Walker, A history of South Africa ..., p 276.
81 JM Meintjes, The Voortrekkers, p 308; VC Carruthers, The Magaliesberg, p 221.
83 M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria ..., p 44.
84 JM Meintjes, The Voortrekkers, p 273.
The settlement of Pretoria was established as Kerkplaats-Pretoria Philadelphia and the first church was built on Church Square in 1857. Harry Struben describes in his diaries the scene of the building of the church with references to pitched tents and the firing of bricks (Figure 10). The TRIT Report agrees with this history.

Figure 10: The church on Church Square circa 1860-70

Voortrekker Monument collection: Photo of a painting of Andries Pretorius.
FA van Jaarsveld, Die Afrikapers, p 9; N van der Walt, Pretoria – 150 Years old, ASY 22(2005), p 228.
SJ Kritzinger, Rustig vloei die Moreletta (Pretoria, 1980), p 130.
M Strayi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 44.
The City of Pretoria on the farm Elandspoort is today the domicilium of some of the most prominent institutions in South Africa such as the Union Buildings, the Reserve Bank, museums, the Universities of South Africa and Pretoria (Unisa and UP), the Palace of Justice on Church Square, the National Archives and Records Service, City Hall, Pretoria Station, the High Court, the State Theatre and Loftus Versveld. It also hosts international organisations such as the European Union, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations and the World Health Organisation.

The institutional chartering and constitutional development of Pretoria from a settlement to a town then a capital city, is profound and has international status. The narrative of the pioneers and the contributors to its evolution is well documented. This history cannot be negated or ignored to suit any political agenda. With the exception of some municipal historical facts, the TRTT Report is silent on the above institutional and constitutional components of the capital.

Comment on the TRTT report

The TRTT Report accuses the historians and academics of the 1940s, 50s and 60s (especially at UP) as being servants of the Afrikaner “volksgeskiedenis” (history of the nation) and nationalistic ideology. It is significant that the Report makes no reference to other highly rated historians (with many of their publications available in pre-2004), such as TRH Davenport, R Kent Rasmussen, C Saunders, FA van Jaarsveld, F Welsh and E Walker. The research conducted for this article is an attempt to fulfil these recommendations.

The TRTT Report is based on information regarding the Tswana and the Hwaduba in particular and it motivates for the name change based on this selective oral history alone. The interviewees’ oral accounts in the Report were not subjected to in-depth academic scrutiny. The researchers of the Report should have taken note of the comprehensive opinion of Hamilton, Mbenga and Ross that oral traditions should be understood as follows:

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97 M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 43.
98 M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 45.
99 M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p vi.
100 M Sirayi, Renaming of Pretoria: ..., p 41.
101 C Hamilton, BK Mbenga & R Ross (eds), *The Cambridge history of South Africa...*, p 5.

SAJCH/SATK 31(1), July/Julie 2017, pp. 134-158
... whereas oral texts were deemed 'traditions', that is, sources fraught with subjectivity and biased and denuded by their oral tradition, over time require careful, professional interpretation.

In addition, the Report displaces and devalues the Ndebele history, Mzilikazi's impact on the area, and that of the Voortrekkers' pioneers. Because the Report is based on incomplete historical research its findings can be disputed and the intended renaming of Pretoria to Tshwane would be based on a false premise.

Deductions: Towards a more truthful consideration of the meaning "Tshwane"

The motto, of the City of Tshwane, "we are the same", is not true. Tshwane, if anything, would mean "we are not the same" in Tswana.102 The observation that the name "Tshwane" is derived from the Ndebele word for "little monkey" is totally unfounded as Ndebele does not have a corresponding term.103 This view was supported by the Ndebele Manala King, according to whom the Ndebele name for the Apies River is "Uzumhlungu", which means "to feel pain" because the dolomitic content in the water causes stomach ache.104

Even though the Tswana did not reside in the area, it is may be accepted that the Tswana name for the Apies River is indeed old and that it was referred to as Tshwane at the time of the arrival of the white pioneers. As per Louwrens' expanded theory, it could be associated with a ceremony for rainmaking with a black cow (tshwane) and sprinkling of water from the river.105

Conclusion

The Tshwane Metropolitan area comprises the former municipalities of Pretoria, Akasia, Centurion, Rayton, Cullinan, Bronkhorstspruit, and the Transitional Councils of Winterveld, Crocodile River, Mabopane, Hammanskraal, Soshanguve and GaRankuwa among others, as well as former peri-urban areas and farms.106 The City

104 Interview: BPA, Manala King Makhosuko II (Mabena) and Mr JZ Mabena, KwaMhlanga, 2015-07-03.
of Tshwane is not registered as a geographical place name, but Pretoria is and has been registered as a city for more than 160 years. In the context of this discussion, it can be argued that the word Pretoria is so entrenched in everyday speech, that Ndebele speakers refer to it as iPitori and Nguni speakers' as iPitoli.\footnote{LJ Louwrens, The origin and meaning..., \textit{SAJCH} 20(1), 2006, p 19.} Louwrens noted that Ndebele speakers adopted the Afrikaans name, which raised the question as to why particularly Ndebele speakers would do so if Tshwane was the name of one of the sons of their legendary Chief Musi.\footnote{Interview: BPA, Royal Council of the Ndzundza Ndebele, Tribal Council Office, Siyabuswa, 2015-06-18.}

The name Pretoria is entrenched in world vernacular, international relations and the tourist industry. In addition, to name a metropolitan area and a city differently is generally accepted. For example, if a job advertisement appeared in the \textit{Sunday Times} where Durban is referred to as the seat of the eThekwini Municipality, it could equally be argued that Pretoria could then be named the seat of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.\footnote{Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority, \url{http://cdn.lgseta.co.za/resources/tenders/Erratum%20Advert%201472185.pdf}, viewed 2016-10-29.}

This would bring the geographical area of Pretoria in tandem with all current legislation naming Pretoria as \textit{domicilium} (the address nominated by a party in a legal contract). A name change would have a domino effect when all legislation wherein the name Pretoria features, would have to be amended. Worldwide, Pretoria is named and known as the seat of the government of the Republic of South Africa, as Washington is the seat of government of the United States of America. As in the past, it would make sense to retain the current boundaries of the former Pretoria municipal area as the current boundaries of the city. The status of the total municipal area named Tshwane as a Metropolitan Municipal Council could however, be accepted for financial and practical reasons, as well as for the purpose of reconciliation. On substantive historical scrutiny, legal grounds, convention and popular speech, it seems as if the city of Pretoria would forever be named so by the citizens of South Africa and the world.