

**GENEALOGY AND MIGRATION OF THE VA KA VALOYI PEOPLE OF
LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**

by

MANDLA DARNECE MATHEBULA



THESIS

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in

HISTORY

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

(School of Social Sciences)

Department of Cultural and Political Studies

at the

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

SUPERVISOR: Prof S. Mokgoatšana

2018

DECLARATION

I declare that **GENEALOGY AND MIGRATION OF THE VAKA VALOYI PEOPLE OF LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution.

.

.....

Mandla Darnece Mathebula

.....

Date

Acknowledgements

I want to thank the following persons for their respective contributions to this thesis:

- My spouse N'waMagezi and children, Nyiko, Hlamalami, Tlangelani, Masingita, Sibusiso, Mandla, Nkateko, Mixo, Nsovo, Akani, Sthe, Muhluri and Khwatsi, for their support and understanding.
- My parents N'waButhelezi and Mdungazi, for their perseverance in my upbringing
- A special thank you to my supervisor, Prof S. Makgoatšana, for his guidance, support and encouragement.
- My research assistants, Sikheto Basil Baloyi (Driver & Photographer), Michael Shilowa and Makhuva Mathebula (Interviewing Assistants).
- Ms B. Woods for editing the manuscript.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the genealogy and migration of the va ka Valoyi people of Limpopo Province, South Africa. Qualitative, narrative research was used to study the oral history of the va ka Valoyi to determine the origin, migration routes and the genealogy of the 20 (twenty) communities of the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo. Data collection was done using semi-structured questionnaires. An initial list of 20 (twenty) respondents was drawn and through Snowball Sampling, the list was increased as per referrals made by the 20 (twenty) respondents during their individual interviews. At the end of the research, 67 (sixty-seven) respondents had been interviewed and secondary sources also consulted. The study has reconstructed the history of the va ka Valoyi, which had not been written before and managed to fill some gaps in the history of their associate groups that historians had not been able to fill in the past. The findings revealed that all the 20 (twenty) communities of the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo are related and identified the various relationships among them. It also revealed how the va ka Valoyi are related to ancient dynasties of the Munhumutapa, Changamire and Torwa and how they reached the Limpopo Province.

KEY CONCEPTS

Genealogy; Migration; va ka Valoyi; Arrival in Limpopo Province; Oral history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Research Problem.....	3
1.3. Theoretical Framework	4
1.4. Operational Definitions and Indicators	8
1.4.1. Genealogy	8
1.4.2. Migration	8
1.5. Purpose of the Study	8
1.5.1. Aim of the study	8
1.5.2. Objectives of the Study	8
1.6. Methodology	9
1.6.1. Research Design	9
1.6.2. Sampling	9
1.6.3. Data Collection	10
1.6.4. Data Analysis	11
1.6.5. Reliability, Validity and Objectivity	12
1.6.6. Bias	13
1.7. Ethical Considerations	13
1.8. Significance of the Study	14
1.9. The va ka Valoyi Communities in Limpopo	16
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	18
2.1. Oral history in Reviewed Literature	18
2.1.1. Justification of Oral History	18
2.1.2. Description of Oral History	19
2.1.3. Significance of Oral History in History of Africa	20
2.1.4. Significance of Oral History in this Study	22
2.1.5. Application of Oral History in this Study	23

2.2. The va ka Valoyi in Literature	24
2.2.1. The pre-va ka Valoyi Era	25
2.2.2. The va ka Valoyi Era	27
2.2.3. The Limpopo Migration Literature	29

CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF THE MUNHUMUTAPA AND CHANGAMIRE DYNASTIES32

3.1. The Rise of the Munhumutapa Empire	32
3.2. The Rulers of the Munhumutapa up to the Rise of the Changamire Dynasty.....	33
3.3. The Rise of the Changamire Dynasty	41
3.3.1. Relationship with the Torwa	42
3.3.2. Relationship with the Munhumutapa	47
3.3.3. Changamire’s Steady Rise to Power	52
3.3.4. Changamire as a Munhumutapa	55

CHAPTER 4: THE RULERS OF THE CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY AFTER THE FIRST CHANGAMIRE UP TO THE TIME OF THE BREAKAWAY OF THE VA KA VALOYI60

CHAPTER 5: THE HISTORY OF THE VA KA VALOYI FROM FOUNDATION TO ARRIVAL IN MOZAMBIQUE75

5.1. Founding of the Group	75
5.2. Migration to Mozambique	80
5.2.1. Place of Origin	80
5.2.2. Migration Route	81
5.2.3. Method of Transport	84
5.2.4. Composition of the Migrant Group	85
5.2.5. Period of the Founding of the Group	85

CHAPTER 6: SETTLEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE87

6.1. The Country of the va ka Valoyi	87
6.2. Neighbours of the va ka Valoyi	89
6.3. First Immigrant Groups	91
6.4. Main Lineages of the va ka Valoyi	94
6.5. The Post-settlement Consolidations	101
6.6. Second Immigrant Groups from the South	103

CHAPTER 7: MIGRATION TO LIMPOPO105

7.1. Organisation of the va ka Valoyi in the Beginning of the 19 th Century	105
7.1.1. Lowani	106
7.1.2. Xifun'wana	112
7.1.3. Xivodze (Mukansi)	114
7.1.4. Mpondwana	116
7.1.5. Xirimbi	118
7.2. Prelude to Migration	119
7.2.1. The Nguni Invasion of Southern Mozambique	119
7.2.2. The First War with the Nguni	121
7.2.3. The Second War with the Nguni	122
7.3. Settlement in Limpopo	123
7.3.1. Period of Settlement	123
7.3.2. The Arrival of the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo	123
7.3.2.1. The Xilowa (Mahlathi)	123
7.3.2.2. The Xitsavi (N'wamitwa, N'wakhada, Muxurhu, Makhaveni)	124
7.3.2.3. The Maluvatilo (Hoyihoyi, Ngirivane, Masavana, Munyamani)	125
7.3.2.4. The Nhlongeni (Ribungwani, Gon'on'o, Malamule, Ximange, Hasani)....	126
7.3.2.5. The Phangweni (Makhuva, Mahuntsi)	127
7.3.2.6. The Xakamani (Khakhala) and the Xivandzale (Mavalani, Maxavele)....	127
7.3.2.7. The Xivodze-Mukansi (Nkuzana and Risava)	128

7.3.2.8. The Mpondwana-Mongwe (Khaxani, Mandlhakazi)128

7.3.2.9. The Xirimbi (Xikukwani)129

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION130

8.1. Findings130

8.1.1. Findings on Migration130

8.1.1.1. Great Zimbabwe is the Earliest Residence of the Ancestors
of the va ka Valoyi130

8.1.1.2. Movement to Mazoe131

8.1.1.3. Movement to Mozambique131

8.1.1.4. Migration to Limpopo132

8.1.2. Findings on Genealogy136

8.2. Conclusion139

**CHAPTER 9: MODELLING: ORAL HISTORY AS AN APPROACH
IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH141**

9.1. Background141

9.2. Research Stages in Oral History142

9.2.1. Identifying the Area of Interest143

9.2.2. Raising Questions143

9.2.3. Formulating a Title144

9.2.4. Reviewing Literature145

9.2.5. Data Gathering and Analysis146

9.2.6. Interpreting Data149

9.2.7. Writing Narrative(s)149

REFERENCES150

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

Table

Table 1.1 List of the va ka Valoyi communities in Limpopo Province	16
--	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

Fig. 3.1 Genealogy of the Munhumutapa in the middle of the 15 th century.....	41
Fig. 3.2 The Lowani genealogy between Nembire and Changamire.....	50
Fig. 3.3 Children of Munhumutapa Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza.....	52
Fig. 4.1 List of Munhumutapa rulers in the 15 th century (in order of succession).....	60
Fig. 4.2 List of Munhumutapa rulers before the formation of the Changamire state.....	61
Fig. 4.3 Common genealogy of the va ka Valoyi in the Changamire dynasty.....	72
Fig. 4.4 Rulers of the Changamire state from its inception to the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi	73
Fig. 4.5 Genealogy of the va ka Valoyi (15 th century to the late 16 th century)	74
Fig 5.1 Gulukhulu's children.....	80
Fig. 6.1 Gwambe's children.....	96
Fig. 7.1 Lowani Lineages.....	108
Fig. 7.2 Lowani genealogy and communities in Limpopo.....	111
Fig. 7.3 Xifun'wana genealogy and communities in Limpopo.....	114
Fig. 7.4 Founders of the two branches of the Xivodze (Mukansi) currently resident in Limpopo.....	115
Fig. 7.5 Mpondwana (Mongwe) genealogy and communities in Limpopo.....	117
Fig. 7.6 Xirimbi genealogy and succession history up to arrival in Limpopo.....	118

APPENDICES

ANNEXURES	
Annexure A	Interview Guide (Research Questionnaire)
Annexure B	Information Sheet for Participants
Annexure C	Consent Form
Annexure D	List of Informants
Annexure E	Table of Events Among the va ka Valoyi
Annexure F	Map of Ancient Butwa (Changamire's country)
Annexure G	Genealogy showing relationships of the va ka Valoyi communities of Limpopo

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The past of African communities remains a subject that needs to be vigorously pursued in the field of history and other related fields. Ki-Zerbo (1990:1) suggests that Africa has a history, but unfortunately, for far too long, little was known about it and the little that was known was misunderstood. The history of Africa, like the history of humankind as a whole, is really the story of an awakening. That story needs rewriting for it has been considerably distorted by ignorance or self-interest. Ki-Zerbo (1990:vii) adds that for a long time, all kinds of myths and prejudices concealed the true history of Africa from the world at large. African societies were looked upon as societies that could have no history. In spite of the important work done by some pioneers, a great many non-African experts could, for a very long time, not rid themselves of certain preconceptions and argue that the lack of written sources and documents made it impossible to engage in any scientific study of African societies.

Consequently, the history of many African societies has not been comprehensively researched and written. However, the introduction of the concept of African Renaissance by African leaders in the beginning of this century increased the interest to knowing and rediscovering the Africanness of the African societies and their past. Unlike before the middle of the 20th century, when African history was barely recognised as a regular field of study, the climate is now conducive to the undertaking of the research work of this nature (Curtin, Feierman, Thompson & Vansina 1995:xiii).

Kekana (1992:16-17) states that in addition to all these challenges about the history of African societies, South African historiography, in particular, has ignored, misrepresented and subjectively presented the history of the black African people because South African history was generally political. For centuries, South African historical research has been conducted upon the assumption that the indigenous African groups had no past worth studying. Chanaiwa (Zimba [s.a.]) suggests this

school of thought was propagated by scholars with “major characteristic of imperial historiography” such as Sir Harry Johnston (1897), Eric Walker (1928) and John S. Galbraith (1963). There are also those that explained the internal dynamics of South African history “primarily from the perspectives of settler colonialism and nationalism” such as A. Hobson (1900) and John Harris (1920). Whereas the common denominator between the two schools of thought is their disregard of the history of Africans prior to arrival of whites on the continent, the latter paradigm also seeks to completely exclude the African societies even after the arrival of Europeans.

Kekana (1992:16-17) suggests that in some cases, as in African history in general, the reason given was that there were no documents from which it could be read. Therefore, the attention of the historians was accordingly focused on the activities of the immigrant and politically dominant white minority of South Africa. The result has been a gross imbalance in the volume of studies of the two main groups – the indigenous African people and the immigrant whites. Thus, while a great volume of research into the history of the country could be found, the study of the indigenous African societies had remained the most underdeveloped – particularly for the period before their contact with the white immigrant or trading groups in the 17th century. Because African communities have been largely considered extraneous or at best peripheral to the main focus of South African historical writing, a severely limited historiographical tradition has been pursued and perpetuated with such tenacity (Kekana 1992:16).

Kekana (1992:17) maintains that the focus of the studies of the white communities’ past was also strengthened by a rigid insistence in South African universities and generally speaking, by South African-based publishing houses, of the inadmissibility of non-archival sources as valid evidence for historical reconstruction. The deliberate exclusion of the allied disciplines such as archaeology, social and physical anthropology and linguistics inherent in this narrow disciplinary focus has not only deprived South African historiography of all the insights and imagination that have enriched studies elsewhere on the continent, Europe and America, but has contributed tremendously towards maintaining the one-sidedness of historical studies in the country.

Very little has been written about the va ka Valoyi, and most of their history remains obscure due to lack of sufficient literature on the history of these people. Yet, there is scattered, incoherent and sometimes inconsistent information that has been written and published about the va ka Valoyi and very rich oral history that is yet to be explored and properly recorded. However, the oral history has also been found to be inconsistent and sometimes confusing and needs to be carefully studied with the assistance of the written literature and any other available evidence in order to properly reconstruct the factual past of the va ka Valoyi as a cultural group. It is studies of this nature that will help construct the history of Africa in general in the long run.

1.2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The history of the va ka Valoyi people of Limpopo Province must be understood from the same context of other African communities, which largely remains a subject that needs to be pursued. This kind of history needs to be (re)written due to the research backlog it has suffered (Ki-Zerbo, 1990:1; Curtin, Feierman, Thompson & Vansina 1995:xiii). In addition to all these challenges, there is a need to ensure representation of African past in the history of South Africa and the entire continent (Kekana 1992:16-17). An objective investigation that is without political influence will be able to correct what has been distorted and what has been under-researched.

The problem with the history of the various African groups in South Africa is that most research about them fails to scientifically link them with other groups outside the borders of South Africa, thus limiting their history to recent times. This is as a result of studies that approach these groups as if their current cultural attributes have always been the same since they came into existence. Studies such as those conducted by Krige (1937) on the history of the Sotho groups of Limpopo fail to properly record the history of these people beyond their settlement in their current province. Yet, there are various works by scholars outside South Africa about groups possibly with relations with the local groups, which are not fully explored. Works by Zimbabwean scholars such as Samkange (1968), Bannerman (1981) and Mudenge (1988) – if combined with works by Mozambican scholars such as Henriksen (1978) and Liesegang (1967, 1977) – as well

as records held in the archives of various institutions in these countries have a potential to enrich studies that have not yet been concluded on the link of various groups in the Southern African region and beyond. In so doing, the factual history of Africa and its various groups will be properly written and recorded.

Because very little has been written about the va ka Valoyi, most of their history remains obscure and limited in its recording. There is currently scattered, incoherent and inconsistent information that has been written and published about the va ka Valoyi, for example, in Junod (1927), Jacques (1938) and Mathebula (2002). These published works have recorded mainly some genealogies, oral traditions and oral history. Other written sources are found in the South African National Archives, mainly from records of the old Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek and later the Transvaal and Union of South Africa. Some are in various Mozambican works of scholars such as Liesegang (1967, 1977). There is also unpublished literature from the Mozambican National Archives in Maputo, which focuses mainly on the places occupied by the va ka Valoyi and their time of arrival. These include documents left by the governors of various colonial posts in the present-day Mozambique and some travellers and missionaries who operated there.

There is, however, very rich oral history that is yet to be explored and properly recorded, which could be used in conjunction with what is already written to package a consistent history for these people. Therefore, there is a need to use what is already written and combine it with newly-gathered oral history to study and reconstruct the past of the va ka Valoyi. This research, therefore, sought to investigate the genealogy and migration of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo Province of South Africa up to the time they settled in the Limpopo Province during the period straddling from end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. The research looked at the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi from both written collection of oral history and fresh oral sources, and their migration history from the present-day Zimbabwe, to Mozambique and to the Limpopo Province.

1.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this research draws from a notion that research cannot be conducted in a theoretical vacuum as scientists achieve their positions by virtue of their

knowledge of what the field has to offer in terms of its theory (Smit 1995:12). First of the relevant theories to this research is the theory of origin, which is also referred to as the “One Place” or “Out of Africa” theory and it states that all human beings originated in Africa and migrated from there to other parts of the world (Johanson 2001).

Following this theory are two sets of theories with regard to the study of historiography of the African communities in South Africa. These are theories of origin, which are concerned with the origin of the South African “African communities” and theories of the time of arrival, which are concerned with the period in which African communities arrived in what is known today as the South African territory (Kekana 1992:12-16). The theories dealing with origins can be divided into two categories: the three streams theory (Kekana 1992:12-16; Pereira, Macaulay, Torroni, Scozzari, Prata, & Amorim 2001:440) and the linguistic origin theory (Guthrie 1969, 1970). The three streams theory claims that Africans arrived in South Africa in three streams from the area of the Great Lakes in Africa (Guthrie 1969, 1970; Dalby 1975), with some of the proponents of this theory claiming that Africans arrived at the same time as whites in South Africa (Kekana 1992:12-16). The linguistic origin theory concerns the origin of the African languages that are spoken in South Africa and its proponent is J.F. van Oordt, a linguist (Van Oordt 1907). This theory claims that South Africa’s African languages belong to that group of languages, generally known as the Ugro- Altaic (Van Oordt 1907). It also suggests that the fact that in the African languages, there are two distinct groups of words, one of which is far more archaic than the other, means there have been two black invasions of southern Africa. The first black group invasion of the region is said to have commenced from some part in or near Hindustan, and the language of these first invaders is directly connected with the non-Aryan languages in India. The second black invasion is said to have started from the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, and probably took place about the year 680 BC. Another theory suggests that the original home of the black South Africans is the Peninsula of Malacca as the Pagan races at present found there are ethnologically and linguistically related to the present African people of South Africa (Van Oordt 1907; Kekana 1992:12-16). This theory has since been supported and enhanced by scholars such as Guthrie (1969,1970) and Ehret (2010).

The time of arrival theories strive to explain the time in which Africans arrived in South Africa. These theories try to explain the history of Africans in South Africa by explaining the period in which various African communities arrived in South Africa (Kekana 1992:12-16).

The theories about the history of the va ka Valoyi follow almost the same pattern identified above in that they are also concerned with the origin of the va ka Valoyi as propagated by Junod (1927:21-2), Jacques (1938:127) and Liesegang (1967,1977). However, within the theories of origin, there are theories that are concerned with the founder of the group (Junod 1927:22; Jacques 1938:63,126; Liesegang 1967:62, 1977:171-2; Mathebula 2002:96). The theories that concern themselves with the origin of the group all agree with the notion that the va ka Valoyi came from the Lozwi or Rozvi of Changamire (Jacques 1938:126; Liesegang 1977:171-2), a member of the Munhumutapa royal house (Shilowa 2009). This study acknowledges a Lozi (or Lozwi) group resident in south-western Zambia which has its links with the Basotho. The historical differences between them and the va ka Valoyi is presumably distant links broken by spatial and linguistic borders and framing. Each grouping assumed different identities over time.

The theories that deal with the founder of the group are divided on the leader of the group who should be regarded as the founder, some suggesting Gulukhulu (Jacques 1938:126), others Changameri (Jacques 1938:63; Mathebula 2002:96) and others mentioning Gwambe (Liesegang 1977:171). The issue of the time of arrival has not explicitly arisen, but it is bound to emerge as the history of the va ka Valoyi is explored. There is also almost a consensus among historians on the migration route of the group (Junod 1927:21-2; Jacques 1938:63,126-127), although nothing specific has been recorded except a vague route that is provided by the already recorded oral history (Liesegang 1977:171; Junod 1927:22; Jacques 1938:63,127).

The two sets of theories share the same proponents because they are not necessarily opposed to each other. For example, scholars such as Liesegang, Jacques and Junod agree that the va ka Valoyi originated from "Vukalanga" and that the group had a

founder. They also agree that “Vukalanga” was located in what is Zimbabwe in the present world. However, they do not agree on who is the founder of the group and they all have cautiously dwelled on the issue of the time of arrival of the group in the Limpopo Province of South Africa.

Therefore, this research was pursued within the following areas identified by the various theories discussed above:

- **Place of Origin** – The place of the origin of the va ka Valoyi people of Limpopo Province was investigated to establish where the va ka Valoyi came from when the group was founded. The name of the founder of the group was also crucial and was investigated, and so was the group from which the va ka Valoyi originated and the leader or leaders of that group. Flowing from these reconstructions was the identification of the various branches to which the present-day lineages of the va ka Valoyi belong and how these link with the originator of the va ka Valoyi from ancient times.
- **Migration History or Route** – The main places, which the va ka Valoyi have occupied before they settled in the Limpopo Province and their leaders in different times and places were investigated to gather the genealogy of their leadership and the migration history of the group.
- **Time of Arrival** – The time of arrival of the va ka Valoyi in the Limpopo Province was also investigated together with their leader or leaders at the time.

Therefore, this approach was able to record the genealogy and migration of the va ka Valoyi people of Limpopo Province from their place of origin and up to the time they arrived where they are found today.

1.4. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS AND INDICATORS

1.4.1. Genealogy

In anthropological terms, genealogy is defined as a family tree or web of kinship relationships traced through parents and children (Oregon University [s.a.]). For the purpose of this research, the word “genealogy” must be understood to mean a record or table of the descent of a person, family or group from an ancestor or ancestors or a family tree of the leaders of the va ka Valoyi people of the Limpopo Province.

1.4.2. Migration

Migration refers to the movement of people to a new area or country in order to find better living conditions (The Free Dictionary [s.a.]). The word “migration” is used here to refer to the movement of a group of people from one point to another during its history of existence.

1.5. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.5.1. Aim of the Study

The aim of the study was to reconstruct the genealogy (which includes succession history) and migration history of the va ka Valoyi group from foundation to their arrival in Limpopo Province, South Africa.

1.5.2. Objectives of the Study

The following were the objectives of this study:

- a. To explain how the va ka Valoyi group of Limpopo Province traces its origins and genealogy from Changamire;
- b. To determine links between the founder of the va ka Valoyi people of Limpopo Province and the founder of Changamire dynasty;
- c. To reconstruct the migration of the va ka Valoyi people from their point of origin to their current place of residence in the Limpopo Province.

1.6. METHODOLOGY

1.6.1. Research Design

This research used a qualitative research design, namely, narrative research. According to Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick (2008), narrative research is a term that subsumes a group of approaches that in turn rely on the written or spoken words or visual representation of individuals. Sandewoski (1991:161) suggests that these approaches typically focus on the lives of individuals as told through their own stories. Thus, the emphasis in such approaches is on the story, typically both *what* and *how* is narrated.

According to Gottfried (1998: 452), there is a new attention across disciplines to narrative knowledge, which is described as the impulse to story life events into order and meaning. Gottfried (1998: 452) also argues that the use of narrative method in social science research is growing as researchers seek to find research tools that are able to 'prise open the different dimensions of lived totality'.

This method is relevant in historical research, which describes past events, problems, issues and facts and, as Stan (2007) suggests, describes "what was" in an attempt to recreate the past, and involves interpretation of events and its influence on the present. Data in this kind of research are gathered from written or oral descriptions of past events, artefacts, and so forth (Leedy & Ormrod 2005; Stan 2007). Here, the oral descriptions were the main focus. Even though literature was also studied, such literature was also about oral history that was gathered before and stored in written form.

1.6.2. Sampling

The research used a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Bernard (2002) describes purposive sampling as the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. Engel and Schutt (2010:96) suggest that the selected informants must be knowledgeable about the subject being studied, be

willing to participate and be representative of a range of points of view. Through the purposive sampling, a list of 20 (twenty) pre-selected individual experts was compiled. These people were drawn from the traditional leaderships of the various chiefdoms of the va ka Valoyi in and outside the Limpopo Province or at least belonged to the royal family and were known at least to their respective traditional leaders to be in possession of historic information of the va ka Valoyi. The individual experts from outside Limpopo were selected as a result of their relationships with the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo. Snowball sampling – also known as chain referral sampling (Engel & Schutt 2010:96) – was used to access social networks of the pre-selected participants in the purposive sampling with whom contact had already been made to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially be interviewed for the same information the pre-selected individuals also had. This was followed through until the saturation point, which Engel and Schutt (2010:98) describe as the situation in which the interviews start to produce the same responses already gathered.

Each interview took about an hour and half as recommended by various experts in this kind of research (Seidman 2006:20). Ostrander (1993) found that interviews of this nature typically lasted an hour and a half. Stephens (2007) also found that an average interview of this nature lasted the same amount of time.

1.6.3. Data Collection

Riessman (2008:3) suggests that a number of data collection methods can be used as the researcher and the research subjects work together in this collaborative dialogic relationship entrenched in narrative research. Collins and Bloom (1991) state that data can be in the form of field notes; journal records; interview transcripts; one's own and other's observations; storytelling; letter writing; autobiographical writing; documents such as school and class plans, newsletters, and other texts, such as rules and principles; and pictures. To this list, Thompson (1988) adds audio and video recordings as another useful data in narrative research.

The chosen primary technique for this research was interviews. Because interviews can be structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick 2008), this research opted for semi-structured interviews due to their levels of flexibility (Edwards & Holland 2013). A standard questionnaire (Bryman 2001; May 1997) was prepared to guide interviews, with some flexibility being allowed here and there to optimise results. However, the research also studied documents as secondary data. According to proponents of this technique, its relevance is important in as far as documents being studied contain existing data, which can be used to find answers to research questions that differ from the questions asked in the original research (Long-Sutehall 2010:336; Hinds, Vogel & Clarke-Steffen 1997). Mogalakwe (2006:221) suggests that these can be used only as a supplement to the interviews (where interviews are a primary technique). The documents were sourced mainly from the books already published about oral history relating to the one being studied. Some information was sourced from government archives in South Africa and Mozambique and documents from other institutions in Zimbabwe.

1.6.4. Data Analysis

In analysing the data collected for this research, the information from the secondary data was combined with the data from the primary sources. A combination of typology (Lofland & Lofland 1995) and constant comparison (Morse & Field 1998:130) techniques were necessary for this research. Typology was used to classify patterns, themes and other kinds of this data (Morse & Field 1998:130). Constant comparison of data from all sources was important in developing a theory that is grounded in the data obtained from both interviews and documents (Tesch 1990). In this regard, each piece of data was compared with every other piece of relevant data (Morse & Field 1998:130). The latter technique was used mainly to look at documents, compare codes to find consistencies and differences between codes.

Therefore, analysis of the collected data included transcription, coding and themes. Simply put, transcription captured the features of the content gathered (Bailey 2008), whereas coding was about inducing themes from texts (Berelson 1952). There are

various types of coding (Hatch 2002:155). The most suitable form of coding in this regard was the pattern coding, which codes for patterns in the data, looking at similarity, causation, difference, frequency, sequence and correspondence (Hatch 2002:155). According to Maxwell (1996), themes are abstract constructs, which investigators identify before, during and after data collection from the characteristics of the phenomena being studied.

1.6.5. Reliability, Validity and Objectivity

Reliability was measured through the research tool selected, which is a standard questionnaire with common questions (Charles 1995). This was specifically designed to ensure that it measured what it intended to measure and gave the correct or truthful answers (Kirk & Miller 1986) that were tested and re-tested through other sources to reach an acceptable level of “generalisability” (Payne 1999; Silverman 2001). The selection of informants through the initial list and to allow room for additional new informants identified by those already interviewed allowed accurate representation of the total population under study. This could make the results of this study remain the same under a similar methodology (Joppe 2000:1). Some of the information was tested using sources that are not part of the va ka Valoyi.

The basic contention of validation of data in this context was that data should not be taken at face value as pointed out by Bogdan and Biklen (1982). The selected methods of interviews and secondary sources together with the spread of informants among the various lineages of the va ka Valoyi and those selected outside the va ka Valoyi made the research truly measure what it was intended to measure and enhance the truthfulness of the research results. Using secondary sources was done in order to look for the answers in the research of others and compare these to those from own informants as supported by Joppe (2000:1). Thus, validation was conducted in the form of cross reference between the primary and secondary sources of data, the approach supported by the likes of Kirk and Miller (1986). Responses from interviewees were cross-examined and validated against available sources, and triangulated with further interviews (Hammersley & Atkinson 1993). The employ of the interviews and secondary

sources also assisted the researcher with objectivity in that these are difficult to manipulate if used in combination, especially as there was adherence to the consistency with which the questionnaire was used in interviews as propagated by Charles (1995).

1.6.6. Bias

This research, like all qualitative researches, required that the researcher guard against his own biases (Patton 1990). Bias was managed by not confining all the fieldwork (interviews) to one geographical area (Smit 1995) and subgroup of the group being studied (Field & Morse 1992), as well as allowing views from members of other groups who share a history with the va ka Valoyi. Steps were also taken to recognise the personal views of the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson 1993), using techniques such as bracketing (Patton 1990), which concerns itself with mitigation of potentially deleterious effects of preconceptions that may taint the research process (Tuford 2010). The geographical spread of the various lineages of the va ka Valoyi included Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the Limpopo Province. The combination of documents and interviews also limited bias in this regard, and the use of the two methods limited each of these methods' shortcomings (Chi 1997).

1.7. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research considered ethical issues, which are identified as key by proponents of ethics in this kind of research (Ramos 1989). These were aimed at protecting participants (Dresser 1998) and addressing ethical dilemmas that may not have been anticipated in the research plan (Field & Morse 1992). These ethical issues are the following:

- **Informed Consent** – All respondents were well briefed of their right to participate in the research at their own will. A consent form was designed for their signature to consent their participation in the research.
- **Privacy** – The right to privacy for all the informants was respected to protect the informants' identity where they so wish.

- **Confidentiality** – What was more important in this research was that the relevant information was treated confidentially. The informants were advised to indicate if there was any information they wished to be treated confidentially such as not disclosing them as their sources.
- **Anonymity** – it was anticipated that not all informants wanted to be known and some means were designed to accommodate them. In this kind of research, there are many who may not mind to have their identities disclosed. However, those who wish to remain anonymous should be granted their wish. However, none of the participants elected to conceal their identity.
- **Harm** – The research committed not to disclose information that may lead to the harm of any informant or people contained in the information being disclosed. The consent form that was developed gave participants an option of selecting information they felt may harm them if not properly handled. However, no participant selected this option.
- **Deceit** – The researcher did not deceive any informant in any manner whatsoever.
- **Copyright** - The researcher observed the copyright law to the letter by acknowledging all sources accordingly.

1.8. SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

The research, therefore, was conducted with the understanding in mind that it would help in providing the necessary information to the broader histories of the Vatsonga and other African societies in general. Several factors made this study interesting and important to the history of the va ka Valoyi, the Vatsonga and Africans in a broader sense.

Firstly, there was no comprehensive record of the history of the va ka Valoyi that was available anywhere and therefore, this kind of research was able to provide the basis for that kind of study and provide future studies on the va ka Valoyi and the Vatsonga with

a source for historic information. For a first time, the ancient history of the va ka Valoyi has been investigated and compiled into historical information to be used for further research on the subject and related fields.

Secondly, it has been difficult to compile the history of the Vatsonga because most of the history of the various communities that constitute the Vatsonga cultural group has not been recorded and it has not been able to feed well to the broader history of the Vatsonga. Thirdly, the investigation into the history of the va ka Valoyi will feed to the history of the Vatsonga and help in feeding to the history of Africa as well as help to establish the various relationships that African communities have with each other.

Lastly, this research is expected to trigger similar research in other groups of people and fill the gaps that other researchers have left behind by answering a number of yet unanswered questions about the origins, migrations and genealogies of various groups of African people. The choice of the va ka Valoyi group was therefore a very strategic one as the va ka Valoyi constitute one of the largest sub-groups within the Vatsonga cultural group based in South Africa along with the Van'wanati, Varhonga and Vahlengwe. The prevalence of some members of the group in other cultural groups such as the Swazi is an added advantage of this kind of a study.

A further advantage of this study is that it will help historians and anthropologists understand the history of the va ka Valoyi people in general and help other researchers to explore further topics on the matter with this study as a basis for their research. Scholars and researchers will also be able to draw from the findings and recommendations of this research to further investigate the history of the va ka Valoyi and the Vatsonga in general as well as in investigating the African history and the history of Southern Africa and South Africa. The study, therefore, should be viewed as one of the milestones in the history and its recordings of African communities.

Any study into the history of less researched groups as represented by this research certainly contributes to the history of South Africa and of Africa in many ways. The fact that the va ka Valoyi are linked historically with other groups in the country and elsewhere in Southern Africa and the continent makes it relevant to the study of Africa's

past. In this regard, the study has helped explore the hidden past of not only the va ka Valoyi, but will also contribute to histories of other groups associated with them and others who may have had some historical link with them.

The results from this study will assist in recording the history of the va ka Valoyi by acting as a comprehensive and thoroughly investigated record of the va ka Valoyi people's past. It will also add value to the recorded history of South Africa and Southern Africa by determining the linkages of the people of Southern Africa. The study will also contribute a measure breakthrough in the history of the Changamire dynasty as one of the most important ancient dynasties and help many other communities to investigate their own histories and therefore help reconstruct the history of the various African communities in the country, in the region and on the continent as a whole. Most importantly, this study is a landmark research in the history of the Vatsonga people to whom the va ka Valoyi belong. Up until now, this has been one of the less recorded, less written-up or researched history of all peoples of South Africa.

1.9. VA KA VALOYI COMMUNITIES IN LIMPOPO

There are 20 (twenty) communities belonging to the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo. They are located in 12 (twelve) traditional/ community authorities in four local municipalities.

Table 1.1 below is a list of these communities with the traditional and community authorities they fall under and the local municipalities in which they are located:

Community	Traditional/Community Authority	Municipality
1. Hasani	Mudavula	Collins Chabane
2. Khakhala	Shiviti	Greater Giyani
3. Mavalani	Shiviti	Greater Giyani
4. Mahlathi	Shiviti	Greater Giyani

5. Xikukwani	Mavunda	Greater Giyani
6. Maxavele	Hlaneki	Greater Giyani
7. Gon'on'o	Hlaneki	Greater Giyani
8. N'wakhada (Kheyi)	Dzumeri	Greater Giyani
9. Khaxani	Dzumeri	Greater Giyani
10. Makhuva	Mathevula	Greater Giyani
11. Maluvatilo	Mathevula	Greater Giyani
12. N'wamitwa	Valoyi	Greater Tzaneen
13. Mandlhakazi	Valoyi	Greater Tzaneen
14. Risava	Valoyi	Greater Tzaneen
15. Makhaveni	Sekgopo	Greater Letaba
16. Mahuntsi	Vuyani	Greater Letaba
17. Ribungwani (Tiyani)	Tiyani	Collins Chabane
18. Ribungwani (Helderwater)	Ribungwani	Collins Chabane
19. Ntshuxi	Khomanani	Collins Chabane
20. Nkuzana	Khomanani	Collins Chabane

Source: Researcher's own compilation

(Table 1.1)

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. ORAL HISTORY IN REVIEWED LITERATURE

The history of the va ka Valoyi falls within the subjects that are not recorded in literature and have been preserved and passed through generations in the form of word of mouth. The literature that is available about the va ka Valoyi has been largely developed through oral history and it suffers specific information such as dates and complete chronology. In short, the literature that is available is not well developed. It requires the use of more oral history to fill in the gaps that still exist.

2.1.1. Justification of Oral History

There is a wide range of literature that justifies the use of oral history in historical research. Obviously, chief among these is by the main proponents of this method. These include authors such as Vansina (1985), who justifies the use of oral history in historical research in Africa by saying the technique has long been used by historians elsewhere in the world, including areas where conversational methods that are overreliant on written evidence are emphasised. Woolf (1988:26) argues that early modern England historians such as John Leland, William Camden and Ralph Thoresby relied to a great extent on a variety of sources, ranging from popular traditions to stories told and personal recollections of the aged. Some of the evidence of the use of oral history is dated as far back as 1500 (Woolf 1988:26). There is also a record of the use of oral history in other areas and countries, for example in the United States of America (USA), where Di Leonardo (1987:4) states that scholars such as Jules Michelet and Henry Mayhew were prominent in the nineteenth century. Therefore, evidence suggests that whereas oral history may have been discouraged or rather not encouraged as a historical methodology because of preference of written history, it has been used in many instances to fill the gap that other methods could not cover. This has been done in

societies that discouraged its use in Africa as well. However, its use in historical research can be said to be inevitable as certain circumstances require it and some have it as the only methodology that is available or even relevant. There is no doubt that where oral history was explored as an integral part of history, it has contributed a great deal in enhancing the history of those societies. The work by Di Leonardo (1987:4) suggests that the works of the 19th century historians managed to stress the historical value of the narrated life experiences of those who, through lack of economic resources, education and political power, or because of their traditional manner of purporting their own records did not produce the documents and memoirs upon which more conventionally-orientated historians rely in representing the past. Vansina (1978:352) goes further to suggest that this approach has managed to fill many historical gaps in the European history, arguing that there has been more than a century of diligent work that was conducted through oral accounts to elucidate the succession of events in various spheres of human activity in other parts of the world. But until recently, this had scarcely begun in Africa, especially for pre-colonial history. The understanding is that there remain major gaps in African history that could only be filled by oral history. Therefore, the continued overemphasis on written sources when exploring the history of African societies would do a disservice to the due diligence that is still needed on researching the history of this part of the world.

2.1.2. Description of Oral History

Wilson (2003:1) offers what could be a simplistic description of oral history by stating that it is a non-written history, but one which is in a spoken word only, while Rosaldo (1980:89) suggests that oral history involves telling stories about stories people tell about themselves. Whereas Vansina (1985) suggests others define oral history as involving eyewitness accounts and reminiscences about events and experiences, which occurred during the lifetime of the person being interviewed, Portelli (1981:101-102) argues that today's narrator may not necessarily be the same person who took part in the distant events, which they are relating. Therefore, oral history should be understood as a historical method involving history that is told through word of mouth, by

eyewitnesses or anyone who possesses such information but who may not have witnessed such historic events.

2.1.3. Significance of Oral History in the History of Africa

The importance of oral history within the context of the history of Africa is found in various works that argue that this methodology cannot be divorced from the history of humankind as a whole. In other words, human history has not been entirely written since there are events that remain unwritten in all societies. In general, people express their inner experience in an oral form before such expression is written. Hjort (1987:i) maintains that it is natural that the kind of artistic expression given by people to their inner experience of life is the oral one. Another argument in historical research is that research techniques used in investigating history cannot be the same in all the research projects. Each method will always be determined by the specific situation in each case that is being investigated. Newbury (2007:214) suggests that if it was accepted that history was incumbent to any society, then it was equally incumbent on historians to develop the techniques most appropriate to understanding those histories.

Literature also argues that in any society, it is almost impractical to record the entire life experiences in a written form. Most or at least some of those experiences will remain undocumented. Scholars argue that what is recorded is, most of the time, not the full representation of what actually happened. As Blaeser (1996:15) puts it, oral record can never be fully, accurately and appropriately expressed in the written format and experience cannot be duplicated in text. This implies that even what orthodox scholars regard as the most suitable form of historical methodology is also not a representation of what transpired in its full form.

Further, literature is of the view that oral history is part of a history of all societies and not only African history. Canonici (1996:12) states that population groups identify themselves through their language, customs and culture, supposedly known by everybody. This will even be more critical to peoples who did not have the means or

tradition of writing down their history in their early developmental stages. Vansina (2009:1) suggests that in those parts of the world that were inhabited by peoples without written forms of recording their history, oral history forms the main available source of a reconstruction of the past, and even among peoples who have written records, many historical sources, including the most ancient ones, are based on oral history.

There are three factors that make oral history so important in the study of histories of African societies. The first is that oral history has been the way to preserve the history of many African societies for many centuries and, therefore, cannot be simply wished away. As Wilson (2003:1) suggests, in African societies, oral history is the method in which history, stories, traditions and habits, folktales and religious beliefs are passed on from generation to generation. Historically, most African societies did not have an invented alphabet. Mbiti (1975) argues that most African people did not invent an alphabet for the art of reading and writing and therefore could not keep written records of their history. Instead, they passed on information from one generation to another by word of mouth. The implication, therefore, is that if historians are to rely solely on written evidence to reconstruct the history of African societies, this would perpetuate the perception that has been rife in the past: The incorrect belief that African societies simply do not have a history because very little of it is in written format and therefore can be scientifically verified. The proponents of such attitude therefore believe that orally retold history cannot be classified as history because it cannot be scientifically verified. However, there is a strong body of scholars that suggests that oral history should be regarded as forming an integral part of the study of history in Africa. Vansina (1978:355), for example, argues that oral history is indispensable if we hope to arrive at a genuine understanding of what happened in Africa in the past.

The second factor is that should the history of African societies ignore oral history, it will, in the process, theoretically be discarding most history from the Africans themselves. This would result in reconstructing the history of the African societies without involving the majority of Africans. Therefore, this would be tantamount to telling the story of the African people without allowing them to adequately participate in telling it. Vansina

(1978:354) suggests that the importance of oral history for historians of Africa is huge because of the paucity of other data and because of the need to hear the voice of Africans themselves. In essence, the overreliance on written historical records to reconstruct Africa's past would derail the very same idea and would therefore produce dismal results.

The third factor refers to what has already been pointed out, that oral history has already been used to successfully fill the gaps in many other established histories of many societies around the world. The question, therefore, arises if other societies have successfully used oral history to address gaps in their histories, why can Africans not do the same especially considering the fact that most of the African societies once relied on it solely to preserve their history?

2.1.4. Significance of Oral History in this Study

Whatever problems may have been encountered in the analysis and application of oral history, the challenge appears to have been around its correct use and interpretation. Scholars such as Di Leonardo (1987:4) decry the fact that the collection and interpretation of oral data were left to administrators, missionaries, African intellectuals or a range of eccentrics. Vansina (1985:xi-xii) regards oral history as a special methodology in historical research because it has messages which, though not written down, are significant in that their preservation is entrusted to the memories of successive generations of people. The fact that the people who possess these messages may distort the facts, add legends or forget to recount important parts does not make the method itself less significant. Despite the raised criticism, Vansina (1978:355; 2009:1) believes that anthropologists, sociologists, folklorists and specialists in African oral literature have highly valuable and interesting contributions to make in this field, but it remains the truth that only historians have the past as their main concern and must therefore take the lead in developing this genre. Vansina (1978:354) thus defends what conventional historians refer to as the selectivity of the method of oral history, stating that even written sources are selective, but historians must be aware of

the impact of selectivity in their sources if they are to avoid distortions. On the other hand, they must not abandon a source merely because it is selective, but only remember that what it says is not all that can be said. Di Leonardo (1987:4) states that historians of oral history should not only focus upon narrative and artefactual modes of data collection, but must emphasise the need to correctly interpret these. Spear (1981:165) sums it all up when he says that African history was meant to be the history of Africans, which began well before the much acclaimed European “discovery” of Africa. But its problem was lack of conventional sources, whereas Western historiography was firmly based on written sources, which could be arranged in sequence and analysed to trace incremental changes and establish cause and effect relationships in evolutionary patterns of change.

2.1.5. Application of Oral History in this Study

The view of this research is that similar to every methodology in any scientific research, oral history needs to be thoroughly analysed, understood and information carefully interpreted. In order to do all these, one needs to understand the whole technique of using oral history. Therefore, the issue of verifying facts presented by oral history should not hinder the use of the methodology as some historians have argued. In the same breath, the methodology should not be regarded as inferior from others. Vansina (1978:353) argues that since it is possible for oral history to contain facts of the past, it should also be possible to verify these facts of the past scientifically. This view is supported by authors such as Canonici (1996:12) who argue that an oral text must be listened to, digested like a poem and carefully analysed to make it yield up its meanings. Vizenor (Blaeser 1996:15) also advocates for both the oral history-teller and the listener to it to be active and not passive, meaning the oral history sends out a particular message, which must be actively interpreted by the listener.

There appears to be a suggestion by different literature that oral interviews should not be used in isolation if they are to be verified and authentic. Artefacts and other symbols

must be included in the data that is collected. Di Leonardo (1987:4) suggests that oral history uses narrative and artefactual modes of data collection, while Rosaldo (1980:97) states that an oral testimony is collected in order to reconstruct the past and not as an end in itself, adding that any oral source is a cultural document that organises perceptions about the past and is not a container of brute facts. This implies that oral sources can best be interpreted by using convergent lines of evidence and not through internal criticism of single testimonies. More broadly, all possible lines of evidence should be used in reconstructing the past. As to which sources will further understanding, that will depend more on the peculiarities of specific problems than on general principles of investigation.

Therefore, literature on oral history generally believes oral history must not be used alone and remain unsupported. There is also a belief that a single source of oral history must not be taken at face value, but it must be juxtaposed with other related sources. Vansina (2009:7-8) argues that oral data must be related to the social and political structure of the peoples who preserve it, compared with the history of neighbouring peoples, and linked with the chronological indications of genealogies and age-set cycles, of documented contacts with literate peoples, of dated natural phenomena such as famines and eclipses and of archaeological finds. In short, oral history must be substantiated by other historical sources. Portelli (1981:102) is also more specific, suggesting that oral interviews must be checked against notes and available documents. Rosaldo (1980:92) says that historical sources, whether oral or written, not only contain facts to be mined, but they also organise perceptions in ways that require interpretation.

2.2. THE VA KA VALOYI IN LITERATURE

The history of the va ka Valoyi people of the Limpopo Province is available in various literature, albeit in an incoherent and incomplete form. This literature can be classified in three categories:

- The one that focuses on the pre-existence of the va ka Valoyi, mainly on the activities that occurred in the Munhumutapa and the Changamire dynasties, which are widely seen as the dynasties that produced the va ka Valoyi. This literature has been classified in this research as the “Pre-va ka Valoyi era literature”. It constitutes the largest of the three categories because it has developed consistently for the period longer than the literature in the other two categories.
- The second category deals with the period of the existence of the va ka Valoyi and is classified here as the “va ka Valoyi era literature”. This category contains the second largest number of the literature available.
- The last of these categories is the literature that deals with the migration of some of the va ka Valoyi to Limpopo, and although it includes some of the literature in the second category, it is the least developed and constitutes the smallest of the literature available about the history of the va ka Valoyi. This research elects to categorise this literature as “the Limpopo migration literature”.

2.2.1. The Pre-va ka Valoyi Era Literature

The literature in this category has been largely developed from the oral history of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. Few other collections include the archaeological reports of ancient sites within Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and reports on archived material that some of the scholars have studied and stored in secondary data. However, many of the archived data has been found to have been sourced from oral accounts as well. This literature generally supports the Munhumutapa dynasty as the one that precedes the Changamire dynasty, both of which are regarded by the va ka Valoyi oral history as predating their existence and to have produced the va ka Valoyi.

The pre-Munhumutapa period, albeit briefly dealt with in this research, is contained in the work done by Beach (1984), using both oral history and archaeological reports. Similar work was produced by Mutyambizi-Dewa (2008) who, unlike Beach, relied purely on secondary data. Both these authors suggest the Great Zimbabwe (ancient state) is the precursor of the Munhumutapa, even though their estimated dates of the

founding of this state are 150 years apart, with Beach suggesting 1250 AD and Mutyambizi-Dewa estimating 1100 AD. Henriksen (1978), also using secondary data on the Shona oral history in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, goes further to identify the rulers of Great Zimbabwe as the Lozwi. Mabasa (2006), using secondary data from Zimbabwe, supports the association of the Lozwi with Great Zimbabwe. A more comprehensive study that was conducted by Mudenge (1988) has also produced what is widely seen by historians as a trendsetting history of the Lozwi, Great Zimbabwe and the Munhumutapa. His work also deals with the Munhumutapa dynasty in detail, its foundation period, composition and political organisation. He attempts to deal with its relationship with the Changamire and the Torwa (two of the other dynasties prominent at the time), but his theory on this relationship is not convincing and has been widely criticised by later authors. His estimated period of the founding of the Munhumutapa, being around 1420 AD, has become the accepted truth in the history of the Munhumutapa, although some of the scholars, such as Davidson (1967) slightly differ with him by putting it at 1425. Mudenge and Davidson, as well as a wide range of other literature drew guidance from a document compiled by traveller Diogo De Alcacova, in 1506, relating events that he obtained from oral accounts about the Munhumutapa, Torwa and the Changamire. This document, though useful, suffers from serious deficiencies, contradictions and vagueness.

The growth of the Munhumutapa's power is contained in works done by Samkange (1968) and Randles (1979). These works have since been expanded in studies done by Shillington (2004) and some low-key works by Mabasa (2006), Nkuna (2008) and Shilowa (2009), mainly in speeches and unpublished notes.

The emergence of the Changamire dynasty from either the Munhumutapa or the Torwa or both is contained mainly in literature by Lipschutz and Rasmussen (1980) and Beach (1980). Both these works contain some serious deficiencies in chronology, which may have influenced similar deficiencies among the later studies done by scholars such as Mtetwa (1984), Newitt (1995), Mudenge (1988) and Mutyambizi-Dewa (2008), all of whom failed to present a single and conclusive chronology of the history of the Changamire. For example, they all failed to define the relationship with the Torwa and

the Munhumutapa and to produce a complete succession history in Changamire's kingdom as well as a basic genealogy of his dynasty. It is the work done by Beach (1980), even though it relies heavily on the oral history, that attempts to establish these relationships, but falls short of doing so as well. This work suffers the same deficiency of the earlier works by Gann (1966) and Ranger (1968). Both works use oral accounts, and these focus mainly on the successor to Changamire and refer to the rulers of the Munhumutapa and their relationship with each other. The study by Beach (1980) is more significant as it fills a few gaps by mentioning some family background of the first Changamire, albeit not in a complete chronological order. For example, although the study mentions that Changamire was the son of the Munhumutapa and mentions the name of that Munhumutapa, it does not mention the names of his mother and successor. Gann's work has been captured widely in online literature such as The New World Encyclopedia [s.a.] and the Britannica Online Encyclopedia [s.a.] and the likes of Wills (1985) and Bannerman (1981).

2.2.2. The va ka Valoyi Era Literature

There is literature that deals with the origin of the va ka Valoyi. The main pioneer in this regard is Junod with selected studies that he conducted in 1896, 1905 and 1927. With his missionary, anthropological and medical backgrounds, he conducted various studies about various Vatsonga groups, including the va ka Valoyi. His works on the va ka Valoyi begin with a mere reference to the va ka Valoyi in 1896, in oral history of the Rhonga people. The work focuses mainly on the Rhonga speech. In his 1905 report, which studied ancient documents of the Portuguese, he only mentions a few things about the Kalanga origin and settlement of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique. Both these works merely deal with the location of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique, but do not get into details of their land in terms of size and acquisition. It is in his 1927 work, in which he delves deeper into the origin of the va ka Valoyi, their country and some aspects of the way of life, where he discusses the Vatsonga people as a whole, whom he calls the "Thonga". The work is based purely on oral history gathered among various groups of the Vatsonga. But his works generally suffer from a deficiency in explaining relationships among the various communities and lineages constituting the va ka Valoyi.

He also puts more emphasis on the few of these lineages and communities, apparently only those that he could access their information with ease, mainly through his missionary work.

Following in the studies conducted by Junod, is the work done by Jacques (1938), another author with missionary background. His work covered the brief histories and genealogies of all the major lineages of the Vatsonga in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa. Where he deals with the va ka Valoyi, either as communities or lineages, he gives a clearer description about their foundation and major events. His work also covers a lot of orally recorded traditions of the va ka Valoyi. Although his work covers more lineages belonging to the va ka Valoyi than the works of Junod, he, too, does not explain the various relationships among these lineages, except where these relationships explain themselves in their genealogies. Most of the information in this work, though, is full of inconsistencies and contradictions, mainly because it was published raw, without analysis. There are very few interpretations that are attached to the data collected, mainly on oral traditions, but most of such interpretations appear to be rather unrelated or off line.

The works of the two pioneers have been partially adopted by H.P. Junod (1977), a son of Junod (discussed above) who was also a missionary and public servant and Mathebula (2000), who added some few oral accounts in the works already done. The works of the two authors focus only on the few of the va ka Valoyi communities and they hardly delve into deeper details of their history. They also suffer from the same lack of coherence and incompleteness found in their predecessors' works.

Liesegang (1967,1977), a history professor from Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique, with volumes of published literature on other topics in history, attempted to study documents about the va ka Valoyi that are stored in the Mozambican State Archives in Maputo. In his 1967 work, he only mentions the va ka Valoyi in passing, while his detailed study focussed on Nghunghunyani, the king of the Gaza in the late 19th century. His 1977 work focuses on the oral history gathered by the Dutch in Lourenco Marques in the early 18th century, which, unfortunately, was collected from

mainly third-party witnesses. Although some significant information has been gathered through the two studies, very little information has been sourced from them about origins, genealogy and migration largely because this is scanty in the archived documents.

Smith (1973) specifically deals with the settlement of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique and the advantage of this work is that it is based on the oral history of the va ka Khosa, va ka Rikhotso and va ka Ntimane, who were neighbours of the va ka Valoyi. Such work helps to address subjectivity that would be picked up in the oral history of the va ka Valoyi if used alone. This work has gone a long way in answering some questions about the country of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique and their settlement and consolidation there. So far, it is the only work that details the settlement part of the va ka Valoyi history.

Although Loveday (1961) did not specifically study the va ka Valoyi and does not mention them at all in his work, his work is useful in the study of the va ka Valoyi in as far as it talks about ancient residences of the Munhumutapa. Most of the information in this study is derived from ancient documents of the Portuguese and contains significant information that can be used in the study of the history of the va ka Valoyi, especially if combined with information from other sources. The same applies to the work done by Hedges (1978) on some of the groups that became neighbours of the va ka Valoyi; this work is important in the study of the va ka Valoyi only in as far as it covers some valuable information about some neighbours of the va ka Valoyi and some of the important events they were involved in with those neighbours.

2.2.3. The Limpopo Migration Literature

Literature about the migration of the va ka Valoyi to Limpopo and their settlement there is not yet as developed as the literature dealing with the aspects of history prior to this period. Most of it is in low-key notes, largely compiled with less detail to scientific approaches.

The first stream of this literature deals with their point of departure prior to the commencement of the migration. The work by Junod (1905) that was mentioned earlier, kick-starts the literature on the migration of the va ka Valoyi, although focusing only on a few of their communities and lineages. The rest in this category is unpublished. Among such work is that of Malwandla and Nkuzana (1996), which was a mere collection of the Xivodze (Mukansi) genealogy. Others include a document by Makhuva (1997), which is a mere submission to the Land Restitution Commission, giving the historical background of the Lowani lineage and several of its communities. The document simply explains the last royal residence of the va ka Valoyi prior to some breaking away from it and migrating to Limpopo. It is similar to those compiled by Mhinga (1997), Shilowa (2004) and Mathebula (2009) for the same purpose. There are also notes compiled by various people for their respective lineages, which include brief histories of these lineages. They include those done by Mhlongo (1998), which he intended to publish, but died before doing so and Shipalana (2009) for the purpose of the inauguration of Hosi N'wamitwa II. Almost every lineage of the va ka Valoyi has some form of a document compiled on genealogy, which range from obituary information, pure genealogy as related by elders and printed programmes of some family event. Several of these have been examined and are listed in the bibliography.

Shilubana and Ntsanwisi (1979), in their discussion of the history of Vankuna, also give some details about the main settlements of the va ka Valoyi prior to their departure to Limpopo, their migration and settlement in Limpopo, but their focus is only on the va ka Valoyi communities and lineages that had relationships with the Vankuna. Their work has been adopted in the unpublished work by Mhlongo (1998) and later by Mathebula (2002).

The available literature has adopted the notion that the migration of the va ka Valoyi to Limpopo was largely (some argue that solely) induced by the invasion of southern Mozambique by the Nguni of Soshangane. Such literature includes the works by Omer-Cooper (1966), Warhurst (1966), Wheeler (1968), Liesegang (1969), Denoon (1972), Elkiss (1981) and Bhila (1983), all of whom have thoroughly studied the movements of

Soshangane and his invasion of southern Mozambique, with details of many of his events and activities and those of their descendants. Most of this literature is biased towards the views of the Portuguese on these activities and has very little or nothing of the data obtained from the local peoples. The works of these scholars have since been enhanced by the likes of Etherington (2004), whose studies largely expand what their predecessors had chosen as their paradigm.

Although the archived documents in the South African National Archives on the va ka Valoyi have not been thoroughly studied, a look at some of the few items elicits that they too could enhance this kind of study. For example, in one such document by Albasini (1859), there is detail information about the Lowani lineage and the Makhuva community of the va ka Valoyi. The same applies to the fieldwork conducted by Erskine (1875:78), which describes some of the areas occupied by the va ka Valoyi, including the royal residence of Maphangweni, which was occupied by Phangweni.

Literature talking about other groups could also help enhance all studies of this nature and should be considered. For example, the study on the Limpopo Sotho groups by Krige (1937) contains information relevant to the study of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo.

Despite incoherence suffered by the literature containing the history of the va ka Valoyi, information in these documents provides a base on which to conduct further research of the history of the va ka Valoyi. Should more and more studies be conducted on the subject and properly documented, future studies will have less challenges in enhancing the documentation of this and other related histories.

CHAPTER 3

OVERVIEW OF THE MUNHUMUTAPA AND CHANGAMIRE DYNASTIES

3.1. THE RISE OF THE MUNHUMUTAPA EMPIRE

The history of the va ka Valoyi, as enshrined in the theoretical framework already discussed, links them with the ancient state of Great Zimbabwe. This is the best-known state in what is known as the ancient Zimbabwe. Details of this ancient state, although widely researched, remain inadequate, considering its importance in the history of Central Africa and the continent as a whole.

The overall assessment of the content available on this subject suggests that there is no historian who seems to be able to explain the founding of the Great Zimbabwe, whether through written, oral or archaeological evidence. The oral history, though widely used, has a lot of limitations and generally lacks cohesion. However, Beach (1984:25), using oral history and archaeological reports, estimates that Great Zimbabwe was founded by its inhabitants around 1250 AD. But some estimates, also largely based on oral history, suggest it may have been founded some time earlier, around 1100 AD and only prospered around the middle of the 13th century (Mutyambizi-Dewa 2008).

Little or nothing is known about the political history and the people of the Great Zimbabwe area or their predecessors. In fact, Beach (1980:37), through the oral history he gathered among the Shona, whose accounts claim they are descendants of Great Zimbabwe, concludes that the contribution of Great Zimbabwe to the history of the people of the current Zimbabwe state is difficult to comprehend. Judging by the analysis some historians made on the material culture of Great Zimbabwe and oral history collected among its descendant peoples, Mutyambizi-Dewa (2008) concludes that there is credence to the suggestion that the state was already there around 1100 AD.

There are suggestions that the people of Great Zimbabwe were the group that became known as the Lozwi. Henriksen (1978:6-7), using secondary data on the Shona's oral history in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, suggests that the Lozwi were the ruling lineage

in the Great Zimbabwe era, prior to the formation of the Munhumutapa, Torwa and Changamire dynasties (three major ruling dynasties that became dominant around the same time in the 15th century). This would imply that the Lozwi dynasty could be the predecessor of the Munhumutapa dynasty and the other two dynasties, which were founded around the period of the founding of the Munhumutapa. Thus, the Lozwi dynasty may have been dominant in the period preceding the emergence of the Munhumutapa in the 15th century.

There is a strong belief among the secondary sources that the ancestors of the three dynasties lived and probably ruled in Great Zimbabwe. Mabasa (2006), using secondary data on the Shona of Zimbabwe, concludes that the founders of the three dynasties all once lived and were part of Great Zimbabwe. Yet, there is confusion about the relationship the three states of Munhumutapa, Torwa and Changamire had with one another. More confusion exists on the difference between the Torwa and the Changamire as some historians and historical evidence point to the possibility that they constituted one state, at least at some point, as propagated by Mudenge (1988:37-39), who also argues that there is a possibility that all three states may have emerged from the ancient lineage or rule of the Lozwi, either as royal descendants or mere subjects.

3.2. THE RULERS OF THE MUNHUMUTAPA EMPIRE UP TO THE RISE OF THE CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY

The oral history of the va ka Valoyi is emphatic on the fact that the Munhumutapa, Torwa and Changamire dynasties all have a bearing on the history of the va ka Valoyi (Baloi, A. 2011. Personal interview, 9 August, Nkuzi; Baloi, S. 2012. Personal interview, 1 October, Mahanuke; Baloi, X. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Ntshokati; Mathevula, MM. 2013. Personal interview, 13 August, Mavodze). It must be stated from the onset, though, that the name “Dyambewu” is more prevalent to the va ka Valoyi oral history than that of Torwa. As explained later in this chapter, “Dyambewu” is the same man called Torwa according to Shona oral accounts (Shillington 2004:1912). The va ka Valoyi accounts refer to the three dynasties, albeit in an inconsistent and sometimes vague manner. For example, Vele Neluvhalani, an informant with insight on the

relationship between Great Zimbabwe and some Vhavenda, Balobedu and Vatsonga communities and lineages, states when trying to justify the relationship among the three dynasties that “*u nge va hambanyisi*” (you simply cannot separate them) (Neluvhalani, V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March, Johannesburg). Mabasa (2006) writes that there is an expression among some of the va ka Valoyi that says “*Changameri wa Dyambewu*” (Changamire the Torwa). The remainder of the informants from the va ka Valoyi lineages, at least those who refer to the Torwa relationship (not all of them delve into this part of history), generally argue that Changamire was the son of “Munhumutapa” while Torwa was his “maternal grandfather”. For example, Ketlani Baloi, an informant from N’wamahunyani (the first capital of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique) was emphatic that “*Changameri (as in Changamire) i n’wana wa Munhumutapa*” (Changamire is the son of Munhumutapa) and “*Dyambewu i kokwani wa yena*” (Torwa is his maternal grandfather) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). Of particular interest in these dynasties is that all three of them were founded in the 15th century, and the oral history of the va ka Valoyi refers to all three of them as having a relationship with the va ka Valoyi. Mudenge (1988:37-39) argues that the Munhumutapa dynasty was founded in the beginning of the century, the Torwa in the middle of the century, and the Changamire dynasty emerged towards the end of the 15th century. This is almost in line with a rather vague or unsubstantiated suggestion by the va ka Valoyi oral history, especially from the N’wamahunyani and Mhangeni areas in Mozambique, that suggests the Munhumutapa was first to be established, followed by the Torwa and later the Changamire. Fenias Baloi, a resident of KaTihoveni with strong roots at Mhangeni, could simply say, “*Loko va ka Changameri va ta humelela, ka Munhumutapa na le ka Dyambewu a kuri kona*” (When the Changamire dynasty was founded, the Munhumutapa and the Torwa were already there) (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). Another informant with close links with Mhangeni, Fernando Baloi, stated: “*Ku rhange Munhumutapa, ku ta Dyambewu ku ta hetelela Changameri*” (Munhumutapa was first, followed by Torwa, then Changamire) (Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). This is in line with the va ka Valoyi’s argument that the former was created by a dynasty that was a product of the latter two (Macaringue, SB. 2010).

Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe; Baloi, S. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Xibotani; Mathevula, MM. 2013. Personal interview, 13 August, Mavodze).

It is perhaps justifiable, taking from the oral history of the va ka Valoyi and secondary data on Shona oral history, to agree that the reigning lineage in Great Zimbabwe in the beginning of the 15th century was related to the Munhumutapa. The va ka Valoyi oral history hardly differentiates between the “Valozwi” (Lozwi) (which Shona oral history refers to as a ruling lineage) and “Vakalanga” (Kalanga) (which both the va ka Valoyi and Shona oral histories refer to as a state or nation). Shona oral history suggests that the Munhumutapa rose from both the Lozwi ruling lineage and the Kalanga state or nation. Henriksen (1978:6-7) specifically states that before its military expansion into what is known today as Mozambique, the Munhumutapa empire (which he suggests was still known as the Kalanga state), underwent far-reaching changes. The Lozwi (also spelt Rozvi), a reigning dynasty, ruled the Kalanga polity in Great Zimbabwe by a more or less feudal system, with vassal chiefs governing territorial fiefs and paying tribute and homage to them. This suggestion links the Munhumutapa directly with the Lozwi dynasty, either as part of the ruling lineage or as subjects.

Another point is lack of specific date on which the Munhumutapa empire was founded. However, solid research by various authors in Zimbabwe and Mozambique has at least given later researchers something to work on as a foundation. Mudenge (1988:37), though admitting that the history of the Munhumutapa from its foundation in the beginning of the 15th century until about 1490 suffers from a lack of accurate dating, is among those who have made great strides in reconstructing the important milestones of the Munhumutapa. Using the Portuguese sources dating from 1500, most of which had obtained their information through oral history as well, Mudenge (1988:37) concludes that attempts to use the Portuguese sources proved useful for him in determining some of the possible dates in the history of the Munhumutapa during the first century of its existence.

Therefore, even though it is not clear exactly when the Lozwi ruling lineage came into power in Great Zimbabwe, its reign, or at least dominance, seems to have ended in the

beginning of the 15th century. The end of its dominance is best captured by Henriksen (1978:6-7), who points out that the Lozwi leadership “*faltered at the start of the 15th century, which gave an opportunity to a new ruling lineage to emerge*”. However, this statement seems to move from a premise that the Lozwi lineage ruled over the entire land that later became known as the Munhumutapa and that the new dominant lineage grasped the entire territory almost at once. As is indicated later in this chapter, the Munhumutapa grabbed power from the south and expanded to other areas that were later included into the empire. Moreover, evidence presented later in this chapter makes it clear that prior to the 15th century, no ruling lineage dominated the entire territory that became known as the Munhumutapa. Mutyambizi-Dewa (2008) describes the founding of the Munhumutapa state as “*systematic and incremental*”.

The oral history of the Shona talks about the “take over” of the “state” by the Munhumutapa lineage around 1420 (Mudenge 1988:38). For example, Mudenge (1988:38) talks about the emergence of the Munhumutapa in about 1420, while Davidson (1967:250) suggests this happened around 1425. Significantly, all the suggested dates are confined to the beginning of the 15th century.

However, evidence in the available data of any takeover by the Munhumutapa dynasty of any kingdom, is very limited; it is based largely on the narrative that the ruling lineage (the Lozwi) faltered and another lineage (Nembire or Munhumutapa) took over, thus suggesting these may have been two different lineages. By all accounts, the Munhumutapa dynasty seems to have been founded during the time that the Great Zimbabwe was still intact. Diogo De Alcacova, in Newitt (1995:38), suggests the Munhumutapa may have broken away from the Great Zimbabwe ancient state to found their kingdom elsewhere. The reason for the breakaway may not be easy to find, but the reasons given by various Shona oral histories differ from the most simplistic one of looking for more salt to the more sophisticated one of growing power of the first Munhumutapa (Randles 1979:10). Moreover, information in many of the secondary data, sourced from Diogo De Alcacova in 1506, suggests the Munhumutapa may have left Great Zimbabwe only in the late 15th century when he was defeated by Changamire. This is in line with the many suggestions that the Nembire family first stayed in Great

Zimbabwe before it abandoned it (either by force or voluntarily). Nembire is thought to have been the leader of the Munhumutapa lineage before the group crossed the Zambezi; and there are unsubstantiated suggestions that there were two other rulers between Nembire and the first Munhumutapa, both only remembered by the same name (Samkange 1968:5; Randles & Roberts 1975:8). This is supported by oral accounts in various secondary sources, which go further to state that the Munhumutapa, especially the first three, were also still referred to by the same clan name during their respective reigns (Randles 1979:6; Mabasa 2006; Nkuna 2008; Shilowa 2009; Randles & Roberts 1975:8). Randles (1979:6) states that the second Munhumutapa (called Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza) was also called Nembire. Randles (1979:15) also quotes sources referring to the same Munhumutapa as Nembire Nhantekwe (an apparent pollution of Nyanhehwe, as in Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza).

There seems to be agreement among the recorded accounts that the person who emerged from the Nembire lineage and took over the reigns in the Kalanga state was called Nyatsimba Mutota and that he claimed his power at the beginning of the 15th century, around 1420 (Davidson 1967:250). Nyatsimba Mutota seems to have been known by other names to various people. Randles (1979:14) suggests that some of the oral accounts call him Nemapangere and Nemassengere. However, Nyatsimba Mutota is the most prevalent in the memory of his names.

Pachero (Randles 1979:10) suggests that Nyatsimba Mutota was a great elephant hunter of Shangwe (apparently northern Zimbabwe). According to Pachero (Randles 1979:10) he was attracted (to Shangwe) by the cloth and salt brought into the Kalanga country towards the middle of the 15th century by a Mutonga from Chedima, called Netondo, who had acquired them from the White traders in Tete (currently part of Mozambique). He began the conquest of the Kalanga state and succeeded up to Chitacoxangonha Mountains, overlooking the land he sought. This may sound too simplistic, but if taken within the ancient context, it could have some significance. It seems he was attracted by economic interests as salt and cloth could be but two of the things of economic value that prompted his conquests for more resources as these two items were just some of the important commodities of the time. Perhaps the wealth that

the Munhumutapa controlled in the later years best supports this notion. Mabasa (2006) suggests it included gold, cattle and other goods.

Some accounts seem to state this aspect in a more logical and realistic manner. Henriksen (1978:6-7) relates some accounts he obtained that state Nyatsimba Mutota marched at the head of a formidable army of Kalanga warriors, who were called *Korekore* (Kalanga for locusts), for the way they devoured the countryside. Because of the devastation brought by his army, he received the praise-name of Munhumutapa (master pillager), and this praise-name became a royal title for the Kalanga kings, including his successors. Thus, Nyatsimba Mutota became the first Kalanga leader to be known as Munhumutapa, which later became the legendary title of this dynasty. In the process, Nyatsimba Mutota consolidated his power and built a strong empire before he died around 1450. He was substantively succeeded by his son Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza (Davidson 1967:252; Mudenge 1988:15). The estimated date of the death of Nyatsimba Mutota suggests that he died before the lineage dominated the entire Zimbabwe plateau. Instead, he seems to have entrenched his authority within the present-day northern Zimbabwe. In the present-day southern Mozambique and to the east, up to the Indian Ocean, he did not have control or at least his control was not strong in some of those areas. Mabasa (2006) suggests that instead, his successor, Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, extended the Munhumutapa rule to new areas during his rule.

The Torwa dynasty seems to have been founded around the same period of Nyatsimba Mutota's death. Whereas some sources suggest that it could have developed out of the weakening power of the Munhumutapa in the south, there is more evidence suggesting it developed while the Munhumutapa were still resident in the south (Munhumutapa Nyatsimba Mutota appears to have died in Great Zimbabwe and his successor, Munhumutapa Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, appears to have begun his reign there in the middle of the 15th century). The oral history of the *va ka Valoyi* and that of the Shona seems to suggest that the Torwa dominated the southern parts of the present day Zimbabwe, especially the southwest. Moses Macaringue, an elder of the Makaringe community at the confluence of Limpopo and Olifants rivers in Mozambique, argued this

point in a convincing manner during our interview in 2011. He stated that *“Ka Changameri a kuri xikarhi ka Dyambewu na Munhumutapa”* (Changamire’s place was between Torwa and Munhumutapa), and stated further that *“Changameri a pfalele Dyambewu kuri a nga hlaseli Munhumutapa en’walungwini”* (Changamire was a buffer preventing Torwa from attacking Munhumutapa in the north) (Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe).

Shillington (2004:1912) states that around the time of Nyatsimba Mutota’s death, a man known as Dlembeu founded the Torwa dynasty (it seems his power rose without necessarily eroding that of the Munhumutapa; he may have been operating under the rule of Munhumutapa). During this period, Nyatsimba Mutota had only managed to expand his dominance to the north. Pacheco (Randles 1979:10) states that it was Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, who expanded the Munhumutapa conquests by pushing forward to the valley of the Luenha River, southeast of the present day Tete Province in Mozambique in the east and northeast (evidence below suggests he spearheaded some of this expansion while still resident in Great Zimbabwe in the south).

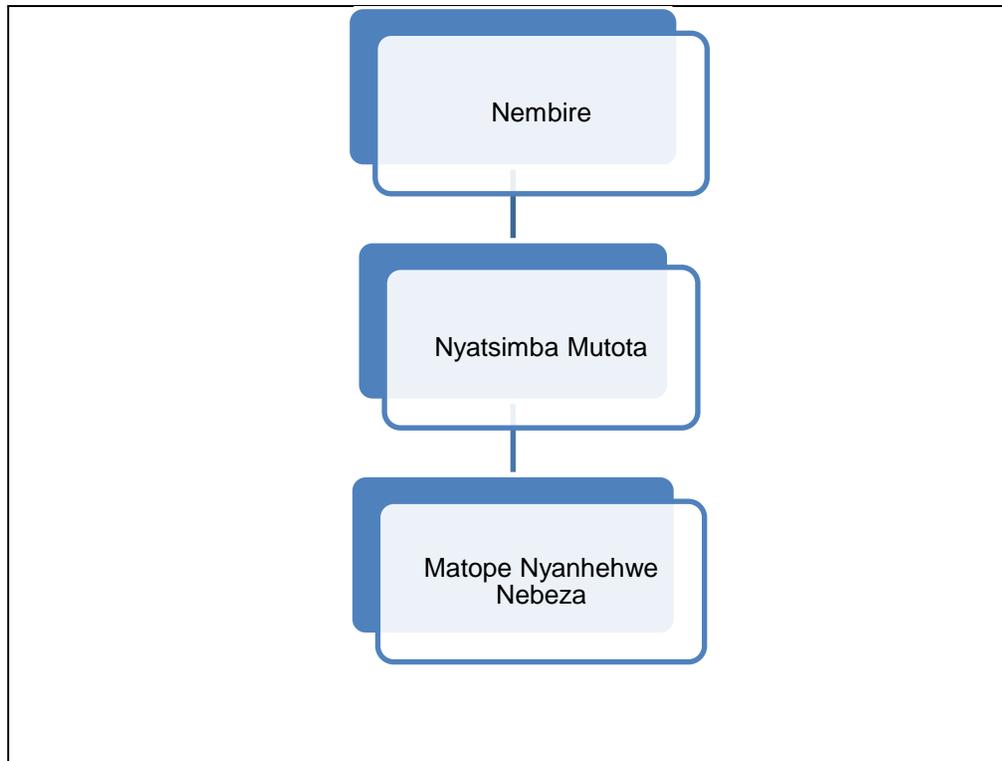
The nature of the Munhumutapa state was one of autonomous institutions reporting to the Munhumutapa as an overlord. It was not a nation state, but it was constituted by various groups and cultures because of its vast size. Henriksen (1978:9) describes the Munhumutapa state, which he calls the Mwene Mutapa, as a loose confederation of states under Rozvi (and later the Munhumutapa) chiefs (in reference to kings) rather than a unified empire, thus:

“At the apogee, it comprised several provinces. Munhumutapa’s capital was located in Dande province of the empire in what is known today as Zimbabwe, near Kadzi River. South of Dande were the long established provinces of Mbire and Guruuswa. To the east, in present day Mozambique, south of Zambezi and stretching right to the Indian Ocean, lay the newly subjugated provinces of Chidima, Manica, Barue, Quiteve and Madanda, which, during the reign of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, were placed under the control of his sons, relatives, generals, councillors

and favourites. Variants existed among the Tonga and Tarawa on the Zambezi, near the town of Tete, where Munhumutapa left the traditional chiefly lineages in power as his governors. The appointed chiefs of several provinces became hereditary with the reluctance or inability of the central authority to remove them, and they or their descendants, displayed independence. This far-flung empire defied cohesion. Its governance depended on the strength and political sagacity of the paramount mambo (as Munhumutapa was sometimes referred to), for the empire contained many ingredients of fragmentation such as an unwieldy size, poor communications, ambiguous governors, ethnic and cultural diversity, an onerous tribute, and the blandishments and appeals from rival powers”.

Evidence suggests that the first two rulers of the empire, Nyatsimba Mutota and Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, were politically astute and sought means to check the centrifugal pull. Henriksen (1978:9) argues that this allowed these rulers to manage keeping the empire intact.

Thus, by the middle of the 15th century, the genealogy within the Munhumutapa was as stated below (**Fig. 3.1**):



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 3.1

3.3. THE RISE OF THE CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY

The rise of the Changamire dynasty appears to have been influenced by the relationship between the founder of the dynasty, Changamire, and the Torwa and Munhumutapa dynasties. The documented oral history of the Shona links the first Changamire with both the Munhumutapa and the Torwa, and in both instances, the evidence that links him with these families or lineages is scanty and contradictory. Although some history of the Munhumutapa is known, very little information is available about this lineage's relationship with the Changamire. The Torwa history was almost unknown before 1650 and a lot of information about its relationship with the Changamire is confusing. To make matters worse, the little information that is available has been

interpreted differently by various authors, and it is difficult to follow a particular line of argument without totally dismissing other views.

3.3.1. Relationship with the Torwa

Newitt (1995:38) suggests that the information extracted from Diogo De Alcacova in 1506, which he also obtained from a traveller, suggests that Changamire belonged to the Torwa family. Mudenge (1988:47-49) seems to agree with Newitt when he suggests that Changamire belonged to the Torwa family or “clan” (lineage), but Mutyambizi-Dewa (2008) believes that later, Mudenge seems to agree with the suggestions that Changamire belonged to the Munhumutapa family (apparently caused by the confusing relationship with the two families). In a personal interview with Mudenge in 2010, he seemed to confirm this change of stance when he stated that “Changamire’s family and political details are tricky” (Mudenge, S. 2010. Personal interview, 14 October, Harare).

Other secondary sources only refer to Changamire as a relative of Torwa. Mtetwa (1984:50 – 52) suggests that the information points out that Changamire was a relative of a man called Torwa. Beach (1980:199) draws the same conclusion when he says that Diogo De Alcacova wrote that the Torwa were related to the Changamire. Lipschutz and Rasmussen (1980:46) simply declare Torwa as a relative of Changamire, without substantiating or clarifying any further the exact nature of the relationship.

The deficiency, of course, does not lie with the sources mentioned above. Instead, it is the gaps left by the primary author of the information, Diogo De Alcacova, and his informant, which leave the contemporary historians with little information to make a coherent conclusion. Diogo De Alcacova obviously did not probe his informant to the level that could establish this relationship beyond questionable status. Consequently, the only information that is left to assist in clarifying the relationship is that from oral history of the descendants of these people and few other sources such as the archaeological records, if any. The oral history of the Shona also seems to fall short of producing the necessary factual result.

The va ka Valoyi oral history gives some information that could be useful in this regard, although not necessarily in a straightforward manner as it could be preferred. There is unanimity in the oral history of the va ka Valoyi that their principal ancestor was a Changamire, whom they refer to mostly as “Changameri” (but also as Cangameri). For obvious reasons, though, they cannot date his period of reign, but they insist that he was a *ntukulu* (grandchild or specifically grandson) of a man they call Dyambewu, who was also a renowned king in southern Zimbabwe (or Vukalanga) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Malwandla, J. 2011. Personal interview, 11 May, Nkuzana; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). The name Dyambewu, though, is not found in the oral history of almost half the va ka Valoyi lineages and its omission in those lineages seems to suggest that it is completely unknown or forgotten. For example, lineages such as the Makaringe and Mongwe know nothing about the name (Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe; Makhubele, A. 2012. Personal interview, 23 December, N’wamankena). But where the name is mentioned, it is mentioned strongly and consistently in its pronunciation. Perhaps to the advantage of this research, among the lineages that mention it are the Lowani and the Xivodze (Mukansi), the two most senior and largest of the va ka Valoyi lineages (Baloi, H. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xikungulu; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni).

According to the oral history of the va ka Valoyi, Changamire was the son of one of Dyambewu’s daughters, who disappointed her father by engaging in a sexual relationship with a Munhumutapa – some say she was involved with the son of a Munhumutapa (It is common course that the man they refer to was the son of the Munhumutapa and later became a Munhumutapa himself). Some of the participants were rather soft in describing this relationship. Xigevenga Baloi, chief of Ntshokati community in the Shingwedzi valley, referred to Changamire as “*n’wana wa le handle ka xuma wa Munhumutapa na nhwana wa ka Dyambewu*” (child born out of wedlock between Munhumutapa and Torwa’s daughter) (Baloi, X. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Ntshokati). On the other hand, Simon Baloi, the headman of Xibotani in

Massingir (Masingiri) district in Mozambique, described Changamire as “*n’wana wo hungukiwa wa Munhumutapa na n’wana wa Dyambewu*” (An illegitimate child of Munhumutapa and Torwa) (Baloi, S. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Xibotani). Unfortunately, the oral history obtained does not name Dyambewu’s daughter, and some informants allege that the name was forgotten because Dyambewu ordered that she must never be called by her sacred name as she had disgraced the family and angered the ancestors in the process (Baloi, ZX. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Magezi). Be that as it may, evidence from the va ka Valoyi oral history suggests that Changamire’s mother was the daughter to Dyambewu and the oral history of the Shona (as stated earlier) suggests the founder of the Torwa dynasty lived in the middle of the 15th century (and that was Dyambewu if we draw from the va ka Valoyi oral history).

Some oral history of the Shona seems to agree with the oral history of the va ka Valoyi in this regard. Beach (1980:241) mentions similar accounts among the Shona, stating that Changamire was a *muzukuru* of a man called Dlembeu (*muzukuru* is a Shona version for *ntukulu*). This would imply that Changamire was born out of a union, whether formally or otherwise, between members of the Munhumutapa and Dyambewu (Torwa) lineages.

There are suggestions of various kinds of relationships between the Torwa and the Changamire, somewhat later. Beach (1980:241) adds that at some stage some members of the Torwa used to act as regents after the death of a Changamire in order to prevent infighting.

Getting the details of Dyambewu is as difficult as getting the same from oral accounts about many other leaders associated with the va ka Valoyi. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get the name of the people he reigned over from the va ka Valoyi oral accounts. Thus, the suggestion by the Shona oral accounts and some literature that he ruled the Torwa remains the only version obtainable by this research at this stage.

The Shona oral history generally refers to “Dyembeu” or “Dlembeu”, whom they call a legendary leader of some people in the present-day Zimbabwe in ancient times

(Shillington 2004:1912). In fact, some accounts state that he lived in the beginning of the 15th century and founded the Torwa around 1450 (Shillington 2004:1912).

Some Shona oral accounts seem to link the same man with various other leaders with similar names. Beach (1980:44,260) refers to someone known as Chikurawadyembewu in the Shona oral history and another called Vele-la-mbeu in the Venda oral accounts (the latter is also said to be a principal ancestor of the present Vhavenda group from the Singo descendency). However, because Beach (1980:230) seems to suggest that Chikurawadyembewu was also called Chikura, it seems Chikura and Vele-la-mbeu, who is sometimes called Vele, could have been descendants of Dyembewu because they both seem to have lived more than hundred years after Dyembewu if one draws from the Shona, Vhavenda and va ka Valoyi oral histories (Neluvhalani. V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March Johannesburg). From the linguistic point of view, the “wa” that joins Chikura and Dyembewu in Beach’s “Chikurawadyembewu” could well refer to “of”, denoting “son of” or “member of the family of” (Dyembewu in this instance) (Mabaso, E. 2014. Personal interview, 21 January, Pretoria). This would also apply to the “la” in Vele-la-mbeu (Neluvhalani. V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March Johannesburg; Mabaso 2014). Therefore, it seems that Dlembeu or Dlembewu, Dyembeu, Dyambewu and Dyembewu are variants of the same name and they refer to the leader and founder of the Torwa in the middle of the 15th century. Mbeu could have been another variant too. This research is of the view that this was the man who was probably the father to Changamire’s mother and therefore the maternal grandfather to Changamire, as suggested by oral histories of the va ka Valoyi and the Shona.

Therefore, the solution to gaps in the relationship between Changamire and Torwa may lie in the information from the oral history of the va ka Valoyi, especially if this is juxtaposed with the little information that is available in the published oral history of the Shona. The va ka Valoyi oral history has elements that are not in the Shona oral history and there are some interpretations of certain events that appear to be clearer in the va ka Valoyi oral history than in the Shona oral accounts and vice versa.

If one examines the information regarding Dyambewu as the founder of the Torwa dynasty, one must also explore the origin or possible origin of the name Torwa. The name appears in the secondary data of Shona oral history as Toloa, Torwa, Thorwa and Togwa (Beach 1983a; Mudenge 1988:47-48; Newitt 1995:38). In some literature, such as in Newitt (1995:38), the name is simply treated as a “clan” (lineage) name for everyone who has reigned in what they call “Torwa state”. But some authors such as Mudenge (1988: 47-49) go beyond this assumption, stating that it was a “clan” name, and are determined that it was a “clan name for Changamire”, among others. Therefore, if Dyambewu was the founder of the Torwa, this could be his other name or “clan” name (founder rulers usually gave a name to the groups they founded). But it could also be his predecessor’s or successor’s name, depending on the time in which the name became known. This would be consistent with groups such as the Zulu, Swazi, Shangane, Rolong and others who derived their names from those of their early rulers or their “clan” names (Barberton [s.a.]; Nkuna & Mabunda 2006).

In fact, Dyambewu may have used the name Torwa as his surname, nickname or even praise name as it has also happened in other groups such as the Ndebele (Mabena, CM. 2013. Personal interview, 10 June, Pretoria). But the name of the cultural group could also be derived from their original place, or event in their history. This would be consistent with the names of cultural groups such as Tlharu, Ndawu and the Rhonga, whose names are derived from their places of residence and some events in their history (Mabena, CM. 2013. Personal interview, 10 June, Pretoria; Thapelo, D. 2010. Personal interview, 10 April, Mafikeng). Another possibility is that it could have been a title, such as in Munhumutapa and Changamire as already stated earlier. Unfortunately, very few leaders of the Torwa are known in history and a conclusion on this issue is not easy. This research, therefore, elects to confine its interest in the Torwa name being either a “clan” name of Dyambewu or his alternative name at this juncture.

As already pointed out, the information from the va ka Valoyi oral accounts explicitly suggests that Changamire was the son of one of the daughters of Dyambewu and was therefore related to the Torwa through its founder, Dyambewu and his daughter, whose name is unknown. Therefore, this means he was not a Torwa, but could have been

regarded as such because he was an illegitimate child born within the Torwa family (a child, in the African sense, belongs to the family of his father and therefore to the cultural group to which his father belongs) (Mahonisi. R. 2012. Personal interview, 16 December, Malamulele). This implies that Changamire was related to the Torwa through his mother and he was therefore not a member of the Torwa family as this was his mother's "clan". He may have been associated with it because he lived with the Torwa family and grew up in the "clan".

The association of Changamire with the Torwa (Mudenge 1988:47; Newitt 1995:37-8) should also be scrutinised with care and with the information from sources other than the Shona oral history. Despite the limited reference to Changamire's maternal family by the va ka Valoyi oral accounts, the few lineages that mention something about this family stress the point that Changamire may have been born and bred at his mother's place. Hadamu Baloi of the Lowani lineage emphasised this point during the interview, stating "*u kulele ka va kokwani wa kwe*" (he grew up at his mother's family) (Baloi, H. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xikungulu), while Marcello Baloi, chief of Pfukwe community in Mozambique, stated that "*u kurise hi vakokwani*" (he was brought up by his maternal grandparents) (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Pfukwe). Some, but only the Ntamele and Makaringe, call the family the Ntola (which is somewhat closer to Torwa) (Macaringue SB. 2010. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe), although similarities in pronunciation should not be taken at such face value. Changamire himself could have been known by this "clan" name as opposed to the Nembire one, although he may have been recognised as being a Nembire by blood. This could be the reason why at some stage, some rulers of the Changamire may have been referred to as the Torwa or why there is confusion between the Changamire and the Torwa.

3.3.2. Relationship with the Munhumutapa

Regarding Changamire's relationship with the Munhumutapa, suggestions that he was the son of Munhumutapa Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza are supported by both the Shona oral history and the accounts of the va ka Valoyi. The same applies to the general

suggestion that Changamire's father was the son of a Munhumutapa whose name is sometimes not mentioned (it is common knowledge that Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza was the son of another Munhumutapa, Nyatsimba Mutota).

From the oral history of the Shona, Mtetwa (1984:50-52) identifies the sons of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza (the second Munhumutapa) as Chiware and Kadembo Nyautando from the house of Queen Pfute. There was also Mavura Muobwe and Mukombero Nyahuma from the second house of Queen Nematikoni and another son called Changa, later to be called Changamire, whose mother was not a true queen, but a "concubine". Other sources refer to her as a "slave wife" (Wills 1985:22; Mudenge, S. 2010. Personal interview, 14 October, Harare).

Several other sources describe the relationship between the first Changamire and the Munhumutapa or Nembire in a similar manner, albeit with some variations. Wills (1985:22) concurs with the oral accounts that suggest Changamire was the son of the second Munhumutapa who was called Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, but refers to Changamire's mother as "*a slave wife of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza*".

The New World Encyclopedia [s.a.] also concurs that Changamire was the son of Matope Nyanhemwe Nebedza. This view is supported by the Britannica Online Encyclopedia [s.a.], which states that Changamire (whom it calls "Changamir") was the "lowly son" of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza. Gann (1966:16) describes Changamire, whom he refers to as Changa, as the "*younger son, born out of the lowly wife of Monomotapa Matope*".

There are other descriptions of the relationship between the first Changamire and the Munhumutapa, which, though not directly disputing the above-mentioned view, give other dimensions. Da Silva (Randles 1979:6) states that Changamire was the son-in-law of the Munhumutapa because he had been given the Munhumutapa's eldest daughter as his wife and land and chiefs to rule over.

The va ka Valoyi oral history strongly supports the suggestion that Changamire belonged to the Munhumutapa family and that he was the son of one of the

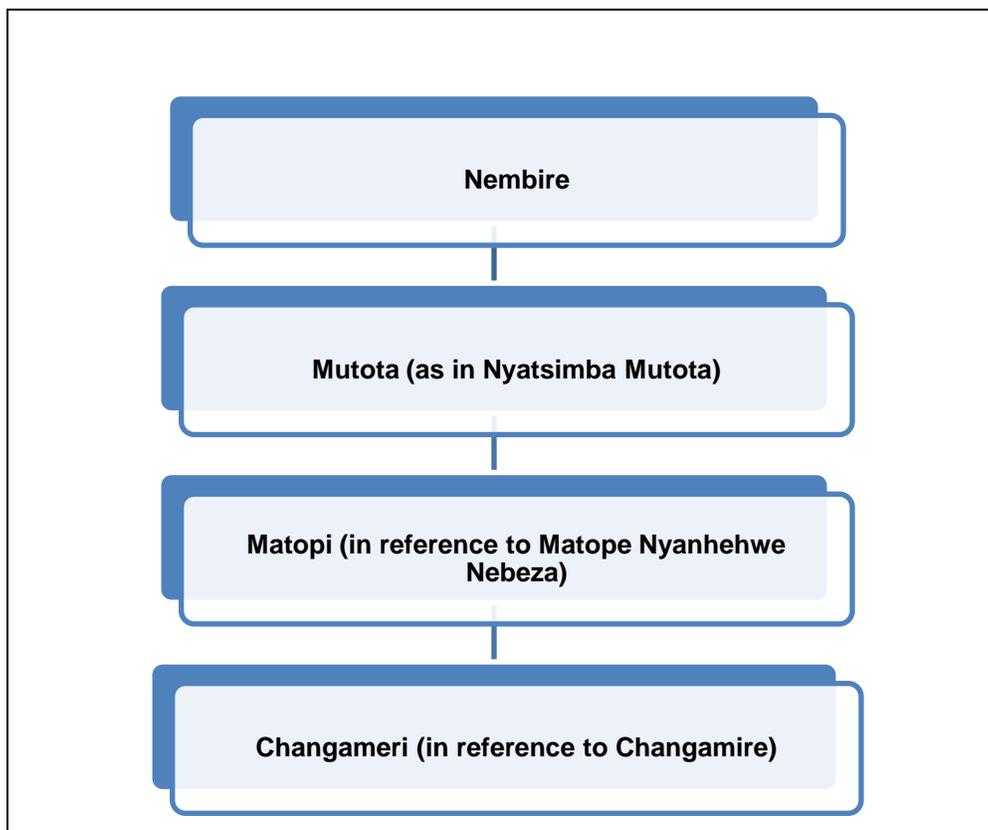
Munhumutapa rulers, often not mentioning the name of the Munhumutapa. All the accounts collected among the va ka Valoyi emphasise the point that “*Changamiri ari wa ka Munhumutapa*” (Changamire belonged to the Munhumutapa) (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 August, Munyamani; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). When probed further, to avoid referring to him as such merely because he reigned as a Munhumutapa, they entirely agree that he became a Munhumutapa because he was a member of the ruling lineage. The Lowani lineage of the va ka Valoyi goes further to suggest that this is the reason why Changamire called himself a Munhumutapa after taking over the reigns from Mukombero Nyahuma instead of calling himself by another title such as “Changamire” (Mbhombhi, R. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makhwaxani; Nghulele, M. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele). Some oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi refer to Changamire’s father as Matopi (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Baloyi, T. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Chiawelo), an apparent corruption of the name Matope. But it must be noted that this name is not common among the va ka Valoyi and the few oral sources that mention it, with the exception of the N’wankoti lineage (where informants were relatively illiterate), appear to have been exposed to literature on Shona oral history, containing this name. Otherwise, the va ka Valoyi oral history generally refers to Changamire’s father as the Munhumutapa. One of these sources, Michael Shilowa, an elder of the Mahlathi royal family, specifically argues that:

“Loko ari wa ka Dyambewu, a ta tivitana hi vito ra ka Dyambewu. U tivitane Munhumutapa hikuva a ri wa ka Munhumutapa”. (If he was a Torwa, he would have called himself by a Torwa title. He (therefore) called himself a Munhumutapa because he belonged to the Munhumutapa family). (Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani)

As the second lineage in seniority and largest among the lineages of the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo, the Lowani pride themselves as the descendants of Munhumutapa and Nembire and are proud to be members of the ancient Kalanga royal family. They refer to Nembire as “*Tata wa hina Nembire*” (our father Nembire) (Shilowa, MJ. 2012.

Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani) and “*Changameri i n’wana wa Munhumutapa*” (Changamire is the son of Munhumutapa) (Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva).

The Lowani, especially the Mahlathi, also list their genealogy from Changamire backwards (that is from the first Changamire to some of his ancestors) as follows (Fig.3.2):



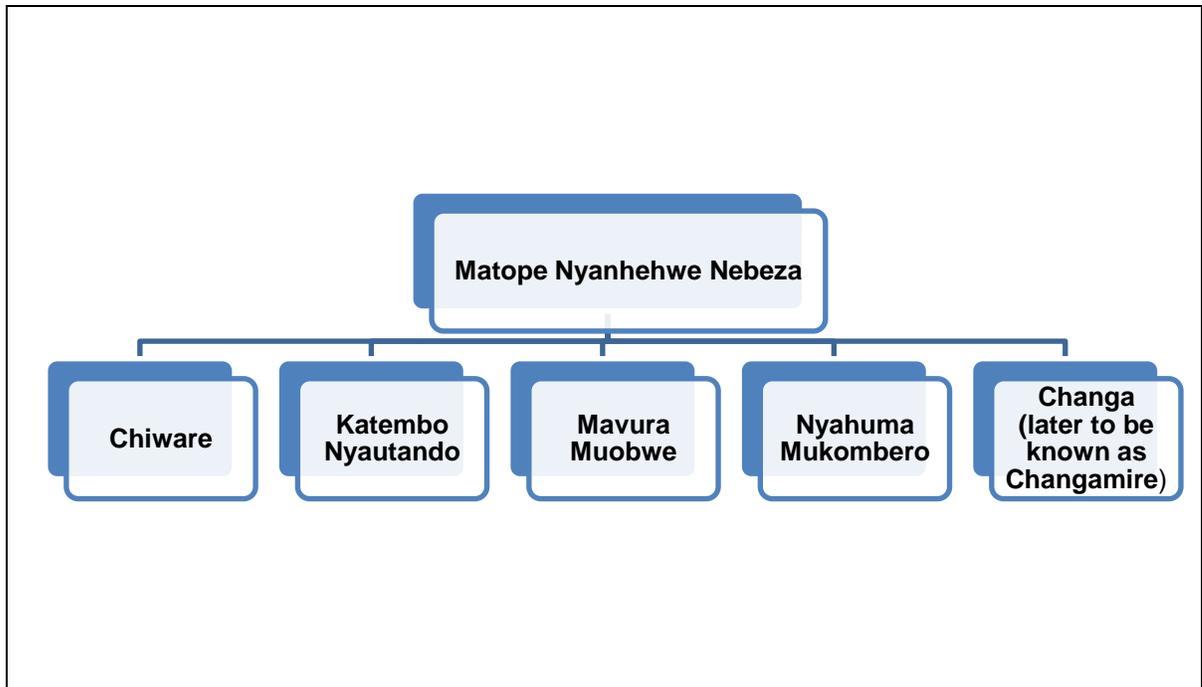
Source: Researcher’s compilation

Fig.3.2

All these views could be brought about to constitute one story, when and if other accounts about the Munhumutapa are taken into consideration. The suggestion by Da Silva (Randles 1979:6) that Changamire married the eldest daughter of the Munhumutapa Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza must not be dismissed in order to accept the one that says he was the son of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza. In fact, it would be incorrect to suggest that if one of the two indeed happened, the other could not have happened. The oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi, especially those of the Lowani and the

Xivodze, together with those of the Ntamele (a Valoyi lineage falling outside the royal family), suggest that Changamire was both the son and son-in-law of the Munhumutapa (obviously in reference to Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza) (Baloi, X. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Ntshokati; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe). These accounts suggest he was the son of the Munhumutapa and he also married one of his half-sisters (Baloi, X. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Ntshokati; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni), but these oral accounts do not state that she was the eldest. Therefore, he may not necessarily have married the eldest daughter of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, but it is possible he married one of them. This practice seems to have been common in the Munhumutapa. Mtetwa (1984:16, 50) suggests that Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza himself married his sister named Nyamita Nehanda, with full approval of Nyatsimba Mutota, their father. Oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi suggest this could have happened with other members of the ruling lineage as well (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Munyamani; Mathevula, MM. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Mavodze; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). In fact, Lorraine N'waXivuri Mkansi, mother to Hosi Ben Mkansi of the Xivodze community in Gumbeni, suggests that the fact that Xivodze, the founder of the Xivodze lineage, married his paternal aunt means "*a kuri vutomi bya kona*" (it was their way of life) (Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). Therefore, this research accepts both versions of events without disqualifying any of them in order to accept one.

Thus, the children of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, with Changa among them, are as stated below (**Fig. 3.3**):



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 3.3

This research, therefore, accepts the view that Changamire was the son of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza and therefore belonged to the Munhumutapa and the Nembire. The research also accepts the view that he was also related to the Torwa family through his mother, who was one of the daughters of Dyambewu, the founder and ruler of the Torwa dynasty.

3.3.3. Changamire's Steady Rise to Power

By all accounts, Changamire's rise within the Munhumutapa polity was systematic and it started during the reign of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza and not at the time in which he (Changamire) became a Munhumutapa. Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza appointed him

governor of his southern portion of the empire, including either Mbire or Guruuswa or both (sources do not agree on this matter). Henriksen (1978:9) specifically suggests that Changamire first became the governor of Guruhuswa (also spelt Guruuswa or Guruwuswa) province, encircling the former court of Zimbabwe, which was handed over to him for his outstanding services to Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza. However, several other sources say he was also in charge of the other southern province of the empire called Mbire (Henriksen 1978:9). Together, these provinces constituted what became known as the Butua state later in history (Newitt 1995:102). This explanation, together with many other theories of relations Changamire had with other lineages gives a better understanding of the Changamire. The suggestion that Changamire rose in ranks during the reign of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza also gives credence to the belief that he was his father. Mabasa (2006) argues that the Munhumutapa rulers were fond of appointing their sons to important positions of the empire.

A better understanding of the Changamire and their different relations (with the people he ruled) can also be derived from various sources that have indirectly referred to them. From the available information in the history sources, it seems the ruling lineage before the Munhumutapa or Nembire lineage came into the picture, the Lozwi, resided around the area that Changamire ruled later as the governor. Xavier (Randles 1979:16) states that the area that was under Changamire was occupied by the people referred to as "Borobzes" (as in Valozwi). Various sources state that Changamire was sent with the king's herds of cattle to this land to rule it on behalf of the king as his vassal (Mtetwa (1984:41; Mabasa 2006), although evidence already discussed points to Changamire having possibly grown up in this area. However, these sources claim that the king's name was Mukombero Nyahuma, although evidence already discussed shows it was Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza who first appointed him (Mtetwa 1984:41). Da Conceicao (Randles 1970:16) identifies the land which Changamire occupied to have been located around what later became known as Butua, south of the empire.

Changamire's rise in the Munhumutapa politics did not end with the rule of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, but continued after Mukombero Nyahuma succeeded the former in about 1480. Evidence suggests he rose to be the chief justice and army commander of

the entire empire. Mtetwa (1984:41), drawing from Diogo De Alcacova (many other sources draw from this ancient source), notes that Changamire was appointed by Mukombero Nyahuma as chief justice, which Mtetwa claims was equivalent to “governor”; and his appointment went with the granting of land. Mtetwa (1984:41) also suggests Diogo De Alcacova noted that Changamire’s kingdom had many towns and villages, which the Munhumutapa (probably Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza who first appointed him) had given to him. Once given, the land and title became hereditary (Mtetwa 1984:41). Therefore, Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza appointed Changamire as governor, while Mukombero Nyahuma appointed him as chief justice. The understanding here is that the two positions (chief justice and governor) were not the same, as Mtetwa wants to suggest with the interpretation of Diogo De Alcacova’s account. Mtetwa (1984:31) also states that Changamire was commander of Mukombero Nyahuma’s army, meaning he occupied three senior positions in the Munhumutapa state (none of these positions are mentioned in the *va ka Valoyi* oral history).

As already pointed out, it seems Changamire could have been appointed as governor under Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, and this could have propelled his rise to power. It also means when Changamire became governor, Mbire was still the seat of the capital because both Nyatsimba Mutota and Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza appear to have reigned from and died in Mbire province (or Great Zimbabwe). The only problem is to be able to establish exactly, which province or provinces Changamire was appointed the governor for. Some sources seem to suggest he was appointed as governor for Mbire and Guruuswa, while others argue that he was governor for either Mbire or Guruuswa, but not for both, with one of these provinces being under a leader called Torwa. But this seems to be in reference to him as well, as pointed out earlier.

Historians such as Mudenge (1988:47-49) argue that the whole name of “Changamire” was not a name, but an honorific title and that Changamire actually belonged to the Togwa (Torwa) clan (lineage), which means Changamire and Torwa were one and the same man. This was also the understanding among the early Portuguese as reflected in the account of Diogo De Alcacova in 1506 (Newitt 1995:37-8; Mtetwa 1984:17,31). Ranger (1968:11-16) believes Changamire belonged to the Torwa dynasty, and that he

was appointed by Mukombero Nyahuma as the governor of the Guruuswa province in the south, where the capital was, and that another man called Togwa (as in Torwa) was appointed to govern the province of Mbire, between Guruuswa and Dande (which later became the new capital for the Munhumutapa). Ranger (1968:11-16) suggests Changamire and Togwa rebelled against Mukombero Nyahuma, with Changamire being in the forefront of the rebellion (thus suggesting no relationship between the two). But Ranger (1968:11-16) further concedes that at the end of the rebellion, Changamire seized the entire Munhumutapa kingdom in 1490 (which perhaps confirms confusion of the two names). Mtetwa (1984:51), quoting Abram, states that Mukombero Nyahuma, eager to emulate the feats of his father, Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, but lacking the ability or courage to enter the battlefield himself, appointed his half-brother, Changamire (thus confirming him as the son of Munhumutapa), who was based in Mbire, to become his chief justice and instructed him, among others, to occupy the country called Uteve, extending from the eastern borders of Manyika to the vicinity of the Indian Ocean, between the Pungwe and Budzi rivers, to the north and south, and to install Mukombero Nyahuma's son, Manyenganyura as its ruler. In light of the above-stated information, this research is of the view that there is a genealogical relation between the Changamire and the Munhumutapa (which gave him an advantage to rise in ranks within the polity) and that his rise to power was systematic and took some years to be accomplished (Henriksen 1978:9; Ranger 1968:16).

3.3.4. Changamire as the Munhumutapa

Secondary sources on the Shona of Zimbabwe and Mozambique are in agreement that towards the end of the 15th century, Changamire seized power and that when he assumed the throne as a Munhumutapa, he defeated Mukombero Nyahuma, who was the reigning Munhumutapa. These sources differ, though, on the manner in which he seized power, but a lot of them seem to agree that the founding of the Dande capital had to do with this seizure of power by Changamire and the dislodgement of the Munhumutapa to the new capital of Dande. This paradigm is linked to the one that propagates for a link between the decline of Great Zimbabwe in the south as the first capital of the Kalanga state (and later the Munhumutapa), and the emergence of the

Munhumutapa capital in the northern part of the empire. Samkange (1968:3-4) agrees with this notion, but states only that Munhumutapa relocated to Dande (without explaining the circumstances).

Newitt (1995:37) also agrees, stating:

“ ... the rapid decline and abandonment of Great Zimbabwe, the first capital of the Munhumutapa empire, after centuries of prosperity, took place in the final years of the 15th century, while the rise of the important Kalanga kingdom of Munhumutapa in the northern part of the plateau dates from the same period”.

Another evidence is that of Diogo De Alcacova's account in 1506 (Newitt 1995:37-8; Mtetwa 1984:17,31), which states that the conflict between Changamire and the Munhumutapa Mukombero Nyahuma preceded the movement of the Munhumutapa to the new capital in the north. Newitt (1995:37-8) relates the account as it was made at the time thus:

“About thirteen years earlier (1493), conflict broke out between the Kalanga ruler Mucombo (as in Mukombero Nyahuma) and one of his subordinates who carried the relatively common chiefly title of Changamire, but whose clan name was Toloa (as in Tolwa or Togwa or Torwa). In the conflict, which followed, Mucombo, the Munhumutapa, was expelled from his stone-built capital and took refuge with a kinsman”.

According to Newitt (1995:37-8), Diogo De Alcacova's suggestion that Changamire “expelled” Munhumutapa Mukombero Nyahuma to a location in the north is key to understanding the latter's relocation to the new capital. Mtetwa (1984:17, 31) supports this notion and equates the expulsion of Munhumutapa Mukombero Nyahuma with his “defeat” and “fleeing”. Newitt (1995:37-8) concludes that this account should be viewed as being about the “*replacement of the ruling paramount lineage with a new one*” (in this case Changamire replacing the reigning Munhumutapa). Samkange (1968:3-4) only states that Munhumutapa relocated to Dande, while Beach (Newitt 1995:37) is one of

the authors who do not believe there is any link in those two historic events. But Great Zimbabwe continued to decline after its abandonment by the Munhumutapa, and Newitt (1995:38) states that when the Portuguese next heard of Great Zimbabwe in the middle of the 16th century, it was in a report from a Muslim traveller who made it clear that the capital had become an abandoned and mysterious ruin.

For this research, there are more reasons to believe that these events could be related than not, considering evidence discussed earlier that a Munhumutapa may have been dislodged from the south to create more power base for Changamire. Moreover, evidence discussed earlier suggests that when Great Zimbabwe ceased to be the capital of the Munhumutapa, Dande assumed the role.

Circumstances in which the conflict occurred are discussed by Mtetwa (1984:43) in some detail, stating:

“The two princes (Mukombero Nyahuma and Changamire) became enemies after it was realised by the rival princes at the Munhumutapa’s court that Changamire was using the army to conquer territories for himself and his allies. Therefore, they demanded his dismissal. They at first protested their loyalty in vain, and when it became obvious that the matter would have to be settled by force, like an already overmighty subject, Changamire was able to use force to seize the throne. The fear that the other princes had expressed regarding Changamire’s power thus became a self-fulfilling prophesy, when he became the Munhumutapa and killed all the sons of the previous Munhumutapa whom he could find”.

Apart from killing Mukombero Nyahuma’s sons in 1490, Changamire also pursued the Munhumutapa and killed him (sources sometimes confuse the date of this conflict and the date of Changamire’s defeat, but 1490 has become the accepted date in which Changamire became a Munhumutapa). Randles (1979:6) suggests what had led to Changamire following Mukombero Nyahuma and killing him could have been caused by the latter sending a cup of poison to Changamire to drink (as a measure of punishment).

Changamire reportedly refused to drink it and instead killed Mukombero Nyahuma (Newitt 1995:37-8; Mtetwa 1984:17,31). Mtetwa (1984:49) adds that Changamire subsequently killed all of Mukombero Nyahuma's sons and left only Manyenganyura, who was already leader of Uteve or Quiteve and Chisamarengu, who was only sixteen years at the time (who would later kill Changamire).

Changamire's reign was very short, lasting for a mere four years. Ranger (1968:11-16) says that he reigned for four years before he was killed by Mukombero Nyahuma's son (without mentioning his name). Newitt (1995:37-8), also in agreement, only identifies Changamire's killer as "his (Mukombero Nyamuma's) son". Wills (1985:22-3) goes further to name Mukombero Nyahuma's son who killed Changamire as Kakuyo Komunyaka. Some sources refer to Kakuyo Komunyaka as Chikuyo (Mabasa 2006), while others, especially in the ancient literature, refer to him as "Quesarymgo" (probably Chisamarengu) (Randles 1979:5,-6).

However, Kakuyo Komunyaka did not succeed in taking control of the entire empire. Wills (1985:22-3) suggests he only managed to gain control of the northern part of the empire. Ranger (1968:11-16) states that Changamire's son, whom he calls Changamire II, maintained Guruuswa and Mbire. Newitt (1995:37-8) suggests the "Toloa ruling family" retained their independence (in the two provinces they initially controlled), and Ranger (1968:11-16) states that in the following years, the Changamire won Uteve and Madanda, but Barwe and Manyika remained loyal to Munhumutapa. This was the situation as found by the Portuguese when they arrived and settled in the country in the 16th century, and by that time, the Munhumutapa empire had severely collapsed (in strength and influence).

Evidence suggests Changamire survived the attempt by Mukombero Nyahuma to kill him by forcing him to drink poison. The failed attempt led to Changamire killing Mukombero Nyahuma. However, Bannerman (1981) suggests that Changamire, when he was finally killed by Kakuyo Komunyaka, was forced to swallow poison so that he retained his status for his children. According to Mtetwa (1984:42), this may be an assumption brought about by Diogo De Alcacova's account, suggesting that a dismissal

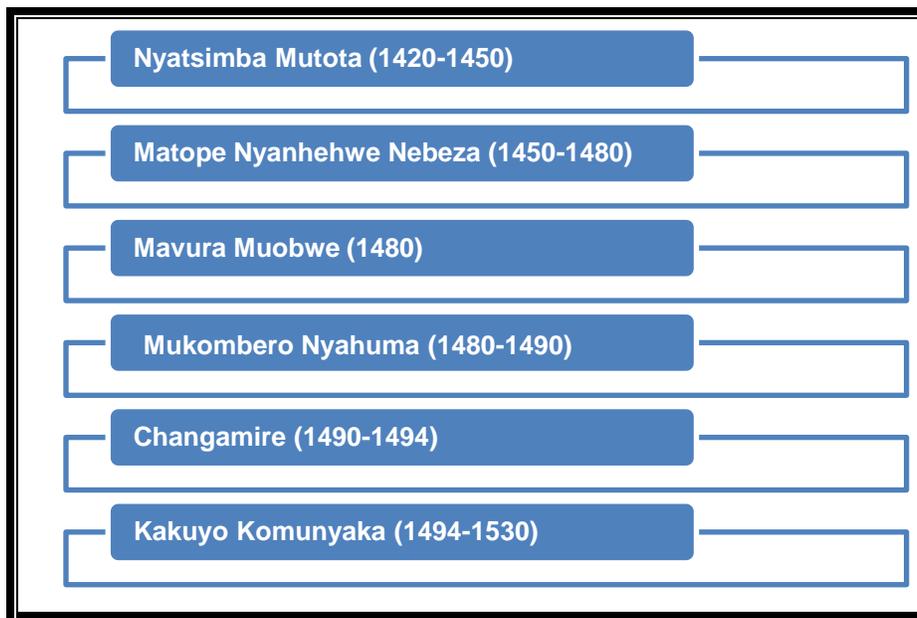
by Munhumutapa of any of his sub-chiefs meant death and that it was usual that when the Munhumutapa wished anyone to be killed, whether high or low, to send him poison to drink and they drank it, and this was equivalent to beheading by justice. The family of a sub-chief who thus incurred the Munhumutapa's wrath were usually disposed to cooperate in the dispensation of such justice (Mtetwa 1984:42). This would ensure that if he drank the poison, his children or relatives who were heirs, inherited all his lands and goods. To that extent, the overlord's right to make subsequent appointments was restricted in that he could not appoint anyone other than the relatives of the deposed chief to inherit his lands and title (Mtetwa 1984:42).

However, in the case of Changamire, he was no longer indebted to the Munhumutapa, since he had taken power from him by force. To suggest, therefore, that he was killed in this way is not convincing since he was already independent from Munhumutapa. This research, therefore, does not think Changamire was killed through this process and does not believe his heir retained the crown because of such action. Thus, the history of the Changamire dynasty reflects that Changa, who later became Changamire, reigned as Munhumutapa from 1490 to 1494 before he was assassinated by his brother's son called Kakuyo Komunyakya or Chikuyo or Chisamarengu (Mabasa 2006).

CHAPTER 4

THE RULERS OF THE CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY AFTER THE FIRST CHANGAMIRE UP TO THE TIME OF THE BREAKAWAY OF THE VA KA VALOYI

After the death of Changamire, Kakuyo Komunyaka became the Munhumutapa, thus becoming the sixth ruler of the Munhumutapa state. Mudenge (1988:50) lists Nyatsimba Mutota, Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, Mavura Muobwe, Mukombero Nyahuma and Changamire as having reigned as the Munhumutapa before Kakuyo Komunyaka continued the Munhumutapa legacy from 1494 until he died in 1530. The Changamire were no longer part of the Munhumutapa during the rule of Kakuyo Komunyaka. The list is as stated below (**Fig.4.1**):

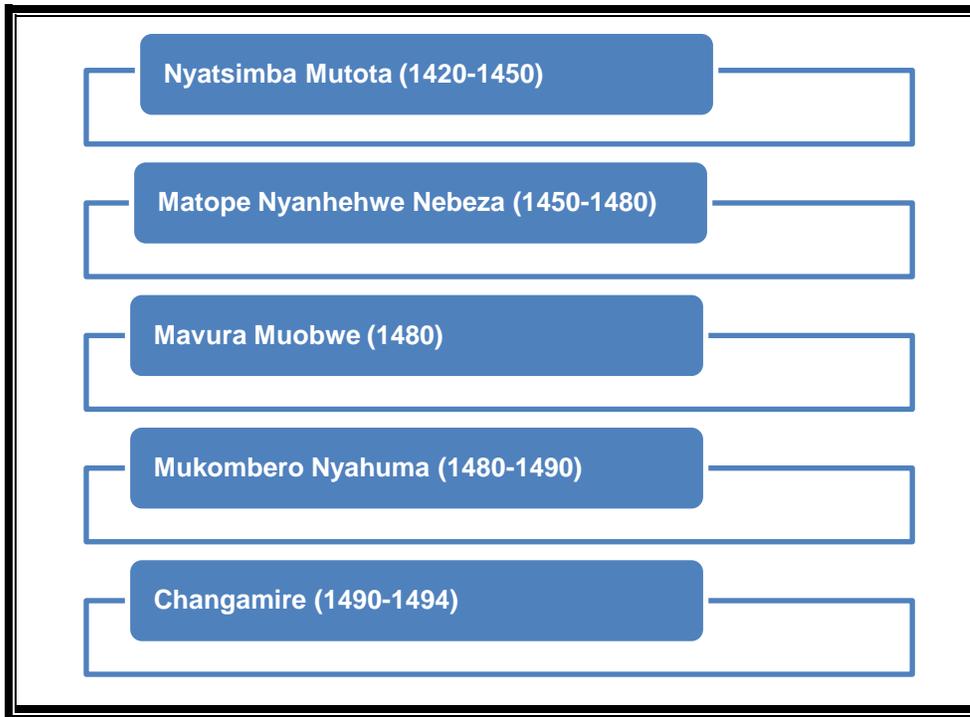


Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 4.1

Because the Changamire territory ceased to be part of the Munhumutapa state, it began to exist as an independent state from the Munhumutapa. Randles (1979:7) points out that the correspondence left by the Portuguese in the beginning of the 16th century indicates that the Changamire was independent from the Munhumutapa and was as powerful as the Munhumutapa. This was during the reign of Kakuyo Komunyaka in the Munhumutapa and Changamire's successor (widely mentioned as Changamire II) in the

newly independent Changamire state. The Munhumutapa succession before the formation of a separate Changamire state is as stated below (Fig. 4.2):



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 4.2

The breakaway of the Changamire from the Munhumutapa meant the rulers of the Changamire also became independent from the rulers of the Munhumutapa. Instead of being known as the Munhumutapa, the Changamire rulers became known by the title of Changamire. Thus, Changamire became the title for the rulers of the Changamire state, or what Mudenge (1988:47) calls “an honorary title” for the Changamire rulers. Evidence available about the Changamire overwhelmingly confirms that Changamire became an honorary title for the Changamire rulers over many years, until the 19th century (The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.]). As pointed out earlier, the va ka Valoyi oral history also refers to “Changameri” as “vito tlhelo xidlodlo” (name and title) (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Baloi, L. 2012. Personal interview, 28 September, Munyamani).

The available literature suggests that the first Changamire was succeeded by his son, known in the oral accounts gathered among the Shona only as the “second Changamire” or “Changamire’s son” or “Changamire’s successor” (Randles 1979:16; Mabasa 2006). Randles (1979:16) refers to him simply as Changamire II and literature says he died in 1547, after being killed by the Munhumutapa in a struggle to reclaim the control of the provinces that Changamire had broken away with from the Munhumutapa. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the Munhumutapa managed to regain control over the territories under the Changamire. Mabasa (2006) suggests that from 1547 to 1661, there are no records of the rulers of the Changamire dynasty. In other words, Shona sources are almost united on the succession history of the Munhumutapa from the 1400s to the 17th century, but they are divided on the succession history of the Changamire dynasty between Changamire II and Changamire Dombo of the 17th century and history after Changamire Dombo. Almost all the sources on the Changamire dynasty so far have an incomplete succession history of the Changamire dynasty, obviously owing to the incomplete information from the oral accounts thus far collected among its descendant lineages among the Shona. As much as these sources suggest that the Changamire dynasty operated from Butwa (apparently the collective name for the two provinces he governed), they also claim its succession has been difficult to follow until the reign of Changamire Dombo in the 17th century (The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.]).

Some sources suggest Changamire Dombo was the founder of the Changamire dynasty and that the Changamire dynasty was founded in the 17th century and not in the 15th century (The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.]). This, however, has been proved to be inaccurate. However, there are also suggestions that the first Changamire dynasty of the 15th century cannot be linked with the dynasty of Changamire Dombo of the 17th century (The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.]), giving an impression that these were two different dynasties altogether.

There is indeed a challenge in linking the first Changamire and Changamire Dombo and their dynasties, using the available literature and the Shona oral history. To be precise, there is a gap in the history of the Changamire dynasty from the end of the 15th century

until towards the end of the 17th century as most sources have omitted it. The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.] states that it is not known who reigned in the Changamire dynasty between 1494 and 1660 when Changamire Dombo came to the picture. According to the Regnal Chronologies [s.a.], the successor to Changamire Dombo, when he died in 1695, is also not known. Even the few sources that have followed the succession history and genealogy of the Changamire dynasty have done so in a very disjointed manner that will require careful reconstruction and analysis.

However, the oral history of the va ka Valoyi suggests that there have been at least three rulers of the Changamire dynasty between the first Changamire and Changamire Dombo. The accounts of the Lowani, especially those of the Mavanyisi and Phephenyani, mention “Nyarumbe” as the successor to the first Changamire. They point out that he was “*n’wana tlhelo mudyandzhaka wa Changameri*” (son and heir of the first Changamire). These accounts also suggest that “*Nyarumbe a ri na xidlodlo xa Changameri*” (Nyarumbe had a title of Changamire) and he ruled after the death of Changamire (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville). These accounts, however, do not specify when and how this “Nyarumbe’s” reign ended. No other account among the va ka Valoyi mentions “Nyarumbe”, apart from those of the Lowani. However, almost all the other oral accounts mention a man called “Nelombe” as the son and successor of the first “Changameri” (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Munyamani; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). This name is also available in some literature covering the oral history of the va ka Valoyi of Mozambique and South Africa (Jacques 1938:126), stating that “Changameri’s” father was Nelombe. Jacques (1938:126) states: “*Van’wana vari (Changameri) u tswariwa hi Nelombe*” (some say Changameri is the son of Nelombe), referring though to the third generation Changamire, who is discussed later in this chapter.

Literature on the Shona oral history refers to a leader of the Lozwi by the name of Nerombo, who appears to be related to Changamire (Beach 1980:205). However, such

literature states that “Nerombo” was also the name of one of the members of the Munhumutapa rulers (Beach 1980:205). Therefore, it seems Nelombe and Nerombo are variations of the same name. It also seems the Lowani’s reference to “Nyarumbe” might well be the reference to Nelombe. The Ximbukutsu and Mpon’wa have the name “Nalombi”, which they mention as one of the praises for va ka Valoyi (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane). Therefore, Nelombe seems to be more prevalent in the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi than Nyarumbe and Nalombi and these could be simply the variations of the name Nelombe. Thus, in this research, the version preferred is that of Nelombe as it is the one most prevalent among the subject people of this research, the va ka Valoyi.

Therefore, the successor to Changamire, who reigned from 1494 to 1547, is Nelombe. Instead of referring to Changamire’s successor as the “second Changamire” or “Changamire’s successor”, the va ka Valoyi’s suggestion that he was Nelombe should fill the gap that exists on the successor to Changamire.

Further, historical sources show that Kakuyo Komunyaka continued to fight with Nelombe until the former died in 1530 (Mabasa 2006). The successor to Kakuyo Komunyaka was Neshangwe Munembire who also continued the war with Nelombe and eventually killed him in 1547 (Randles 1979:7; Shilowa 2009). This gives credence to the suggestion by Randles (1979:7) that throughout the first half of the 16th century, the Munhumutapa and the Changamire were at war with one another (and Neshangwe Munembire finally killed Nelombe towards the middle of the century). However, Neshangwe Munembire did not manage to seize Nelombe’s country and the Changamire continued to be independent of the Munhumutapa after Nelombe’s death.

According to the available literature, oral accounts gathered in Zimbabwe also do not indicate the name of the person who reigned in the Changamire after 1547. The oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo generally state that he was called “Changameri” (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). As already pointed out, historical evidence shows that this could be in reference to Changamire, and during that

period, the name Changamire was used as an honorary title and not a name. The va ka Valoyi oral accounts refer to Changameri as the name of the first ruler of the Changameri dynasty and title of subsequent rulers of the dynasty, with Mavanyisi, an elder in the Lowani lineage, stating *“I vito ra Changameri wo sungula tlhelo xidlodlo xa va Changameri lavan’wana”* (it is the name of the first Changamire and title for other Changamire rulers) (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville). “Changameri”, therefore, could not be a name of the successor to Nelombe as the va ka Valoyi oral accounts sometimes suggest. It could have been a title. As already pointed out, it was used as the name for the first Changamire and this has been found in the earlier discussion to be consistent with other historical sources across the three countries of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa. Therefore, there should be an actual name for this “Changameri”, who all the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo province refer to as one of their principal ancestors and the man who belongs to the third generation before the founder of the va ka Valoyi.

The answer could be found in some accounts of the va ka Valoyi, such as those of the Lowani (specifically the Mavanyisi and N’wankoti), Mpondwana and Mpon’wa (largely those based in Mozambique). The Lowani suggest it was a man called Thohoyapase or Thopasi (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville; Baloyi, T. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Chiawelo). However, whereas some seem to suggest that Thohoyapase was a name, others use it as praise (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville). Only those who pronounce it as “Thopasi” use it as a name, specifically as an alternative name for the man they also call “Changameri” and third ruler of the Changamire state (Baloyi, T. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Chiawelo). The Mpondwana and Mpon’wa only refer to “Thopasi” or “Topasi” and although they use it as a name, they fail to position it consistently within the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi (Mongwe, M. 2013. Personal interview, 4 August, Polokwane; Baloi, D. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Chokwe). To make matters worse, neither Thohoyapase nor Thopasi/Topasi exists among the Shona accounts. Another problem with this name is that it is not as prevalent as names such as

Changameri and Nelombe in the oral accounts of va ka Valoyi (only a few lineages have it in their oral history).

A name that is also mentioned in the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi, by members of the Xirimbi and some belonging to the Lowani and the Xifun'wana, is that of Xirimbi (others say Xirimbi-xi-kulu) (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Baloyi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 14 April, Johannesburg). Fortunately, those who mention this name also confidently place it as the name of the successor to Nelombe (or predecessor of the revered Gulukhulu) (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Baloyi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 14 April, Johannesburg). But interestingly, some of the Lowani members use the names Thohoyapase and Xirimbi interchangeably, although sometimes using the latter name as a praise name (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville). The names Thohoyapase or Thopasi/Topasi are not known among the Xirimbi, Mpondwana, Xivodze (Mukansi) and Mpon'wa, neither as name nor as praise (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Baloi, X. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Ntshokati; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). But if we consider the interchangeability of the two names in some instances, we could easily conclude that the two names could be referring to the same person. Whereas the Lowani use both Thohoyapase and "*Xirimbi-xi-kulu xa Vanyayi*" (*the Great Xirimbi of the Nyayi people*) as praises (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville), the Xirimbi lineage uses Xirimbi as a pure name and indicates that this was the third "Changameri" (Baloyi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 14 April, Johannesburg).

The meaning of *Xirimbi* is not known among the va ka Valoyi, but their accounts are clear that it was a Kalanga name or a name derived from Kalanga language (Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville). But Randles (1979:39) seems to suggest that the Kalanga version of the name Xirimbi could be Chirimbe (the name of the man who reigned as a Munhumutapa from 1698 to 1711). In fact, Axelson (1960:185) refers to him as "Chirimbi". A linguistic investigation suggests a "Ch-" in the

current Shona language, which incorporates the Kalanga language as its dialect often becomes “X” in the present-day Xitsonga language, for example Chimanimani in Shona, which is Ximanimani in Xitsonga (Mabaso, E. 2014. Personal interview, 21 January, Pretoria).

Portuguese records reflect the name of a ruler of either the country of Changamire or the south-western portion thereof as a man or prince called Burrom or Boromo. Randles (1979:8) indicates that some Portuguese thought the prince was in charge of the whole of Changamire country and that he was still under the Munhumutapa around 1552. It is difficult to link him with Chirimbi as he might have been a regent or the ruler of the western side only. Beach (1980:242) states that there is wide tradition that the Torwa used to act as regent for a while after the death of each Changamire. Burrom, therefore, could have been one of those regents.

It seems Xirimbi reigned from the middle of the 1500s until the end of the century because his successor seems to gain prominence in history around 1600 (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoven). This research elects to use both variations of Chirimbi and Xirimbi to conform the name to the current Xitsonga language, while retaining its most probable original version.

The man who succeeded Thohoyapase/Thopasi/Topasi or Chirimbi/Xirimbi was called Gulukhulu, and it seems he came into power towards or around the end of the 16th century. The va ka Valoyi oral accounts are generally in agreement that there was a man called Gulukhulu who reigned after Thohoyapase or Thopasi (or Xirimbi) (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The oral accounts do not put a specific date or period of the reign of Gulukhulu, but generally suggest he reigned towards and during the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Makhuva,

F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, D. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Nkovele; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva), which historians estimate was towards the end of the 16th century and early 17th century (Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani). Gulukhulu seems to have reigned beyond the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi as well (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Shilowa 2009).

Gulukhulu's name is found in all the accounts of the va ka Valoyi, with the suggestion that the va ka Valoyi broke away from the Changamire dynasty during his reign (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, D. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Nkovele; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The accounts state that Gulukhulu was the ruler of the country where the va ka Valoyi came from and that he was the father to the founder of the va ka Valoyi (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Tzaneen; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). One of the participants, Fifteen Makhuva, states that "*Gulukhulu u fele eVukalanga*" (Gulukhulu died in Vukalanga) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani), an implication that he remained in "Vukalanga" when the va ka Valoyi broke away. The oral accounts further state that Gulukhulu was himself the son of a Changamire and that he also became one, although the accounts often suggest "Changameri" was the name of his father rather than his title and that of his father (Shilowa 2009).

The va ka Valoyi oral accounts are supported by several written records, which could be divided into two groups. The first group is that of the Vatsonga historians, which includes those who have done studies about the va ka Valoyi history. The main proponents of this group are Jacques (1938) and Mathebula (2002), and both men

derived their records from the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi. Therefore, this should explain why they agree on the spelling of the name “Gulukhulu” as it was pronounced in the va ka Valoyi oral accounts. Jacques (1938:127) suggests that the va ka Valoyi are the descendants of Gulukhulu. Mathebula (2002:96) supports this notion and states that Gulukhulu reigned in the Changamire dynasty before the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi from the Changamire state. The second group consists of experts in the history of Zimbabwe, the Shona and other groups based in the present-day Zimbabwe and Mozambique. They include Randles, Beach and Liesegang. Randles (1979:16-17) refers to ancient sources that mention Changamire’s country as the country of Goro or Goremucuro and even goes further to say it had the same description as that of Changamire’s Butua in terms of the geographical landscape and vegetation as well as minerals found in it and the kind of trade that took place there (Randles 1979:16-17). Therefore, Randles (1979:16) specifically quotes a source that describes this country as:

“... (situated) a long way from Manica ... The Africans call it Goromucuro ...”

Beach (1980:227) only states that the country south of the present-day Zimbabwe was also called Gore or Goremucuro. Liesegang (1977:172) states that the same country was called Gole, Goremucuro or the country of Gole ‘tsangamene. Whereas Randles, Beach and almost all other historians in this category do not seem to attach any person in the name, Liesegang seems to suggest that it could be associated with a person who might have reigned in that country. Other sources only attach it to the country, but admit struggling to trace its origin (Beach 1980:227; 286).

The period in which the name becomes popular or at least it is recorded in historical records, causes some degree of a dilemma. Beach (1980:227; 286) suggests that the name was prominent in the late 17th century. Randles (1979:16) and Liesegang (1977:172) also seem to suggest the 17th and early 18th centuries. Therefore, this implies that the person whose name it was may have lived during this period or before or his reign may have overlapped the period and the one immediately before it.

From the linguistic point of view, the “l” and “r” are the main distinguishing factors in “Gole” and “Gore” and there can be no doubt that this has to do with “phonology”. The same applies to “Great Gole”, “Goromucuro”, and “Goremukuru”, which could refer to the same person (Mabasa 2006; Mabaso 2014). The words “-mucuro” and “-mukuru” are the variations of the word “great” (Liesegang, G. 2010. Personal interview, 2 October, Maputo; Gondola, E. 2014. Personal interview, 7 March, Polokwane). These are very close to “Gulukhulu”, the name of the man who is described by the va ka Valoyi oral accounts as the successor to Xirimbi. The name combines the words “Gulu”, which is close to “Gole” or “Goro” and “nkulu” which is close to the words “mucuro” and “mukuru” and it also means “great”. “Gulukhulu”, “Goromucuro”, and “Goremukuru” could therefore be variations of the same name and could refer to the same person. Although other sources do not link the name to a person, the suggestion by the va ka Valoyi oral accounts is the only brave contribution to the origin of the name. In fact, the oral accounts are the only source that stretches to the extent of the origin of the name as that of the name of the person.

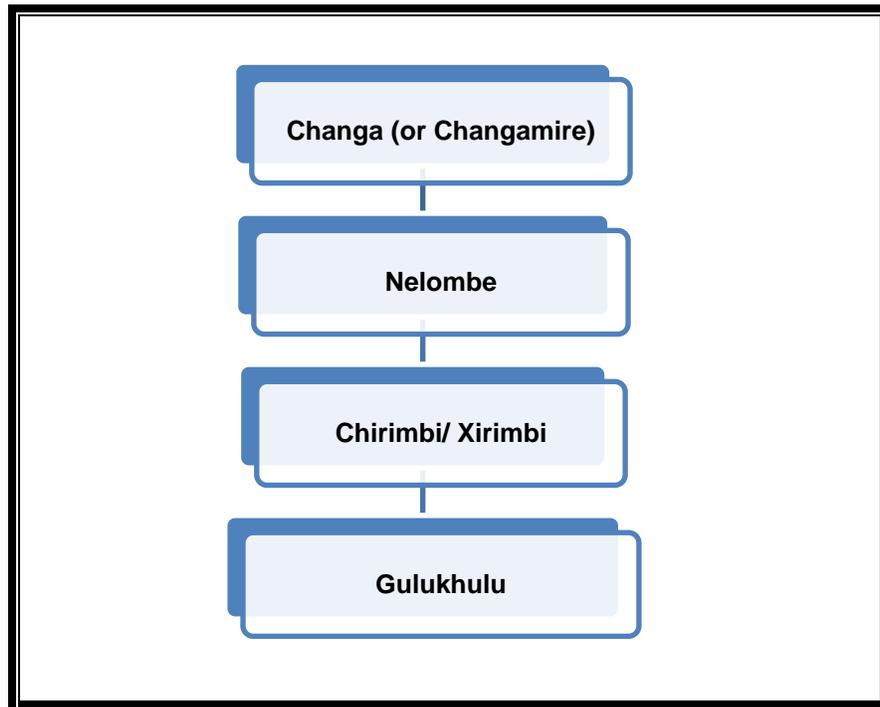
The suggestion by Liesegang (1977:171) that the Dutch documents also refer to “Gole” as “Gole ‘tsangamene” also gives credence to the suggestion by the va ka Valoyi oral accounts that it could have come from a person’s name and probably a former ruler of that country. The name “‘tsangamene” is close to “Changameri”, but Liesegang feels “-ene” in “‘tsangamene” is different from “-meri” in “Changameri” (Liesegang, G. 2010. Personal interview, 2 October, Maputo). The documents were transcribed from handwritten originals and it is possible that the “n” in “-mene” was originally the “r” and was mistakenly converted to the “n” by the original transcribers of the handwritten information into typed material. “Changameri” is also very close to Changamire and it is clear that the two names are a variation of one name and they could be referring to the same person.

Interestingly, the va ka Valoyi oral traditions do not attach the name Gulukhulu to a country, but specifically to the ruler of “Vukalanga” in the present-day southern Zimbabwe (Shilowa 2009). This is a sharp contrast to the Shona and written sources, which link the name Gole or Goromucuro specifically to the country so named.

The va ka Valoyi oral accounts refer to the ancient state of the Changamire as “Vulozwi”, “Vukalanga” or “Vunyayini” (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). Where they attach the name of the person, this is only on Changamire where they refer to “*tiko ra Changameri*” (the country of Changamire) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). Nowhere do they refer to it by Gulukhulu’s name. Apart from Gore and Goremucuro, Beach (1980:227) refers to it as Urozvi and Ukalanga. Randles (1979:16-17) refers to it as Urobze and Karanga. Liesegang (1977:172) calls it Okalange. All these names conform to the va ka Valoyi’s “Vulozwi” and “Vukalanga” that are dealt with above.

Gulukhulu could have started his reign before 1600 as people from afar already knew him by the beginning of the 17th century. Liesegang (1977:171) suggests that the Changamire country was known as the country of Gole in the 1720s. This information is supported by accounts from other groups. Mathebula (2002:33) mentions that the Mnisi, who claim their origin from Mnambithi (Ladysmith) in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, in the beginning of the 17th century, claim one Gulukhulu as the founder of their lineage. They claim he led them in their migration to Mancolo in Swaziland (Mathebula 2002:33). Oral accounts of the Vanhlanganu, to whom the Mnisi belong, state that this Gulukhulu died in 1661 (Mnisi, N. 2013. Personal interview, 24 December, Nelspruit). The oral history of the Vanhlanganu suggests that this Gulukhulu got his name from “*un’wana wa varhangeri va ndhuma*” (one of the greatest leaders of the time), but the elders of the lineage claim they do not know where this leader resided (Mnisi, N. 2013. Personal interview, 24 December, Nelspruit). There are no other records referring to any other leader in Southern Africa with the name Gulukhulu except the leader of the Mnisi and that of the Kalanga (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). There are some of the accounts of the Vanhlanganu that suggest that the Gulukhulu of the Mnisi was named after the Gulukhulu of Kalanga (thus implying that Gulukhulu of Kalanga could have lived before the Gulukhulu of the Mnisi (Mnisi, N. 2013. Personal interview, 24 December, Nelspruit). If the Gulukhulu of the Mnisi lived in the early 17th century, then the Gulukhulu of the Kalanga could have become known much earlier.

A common genealogy of the va ka Valoyi from the first Changamire to the one who reigned before the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi, therefore, according to accounts of all the va ka Valoyi lineages, is as indicated in **Fig. 4.3**:

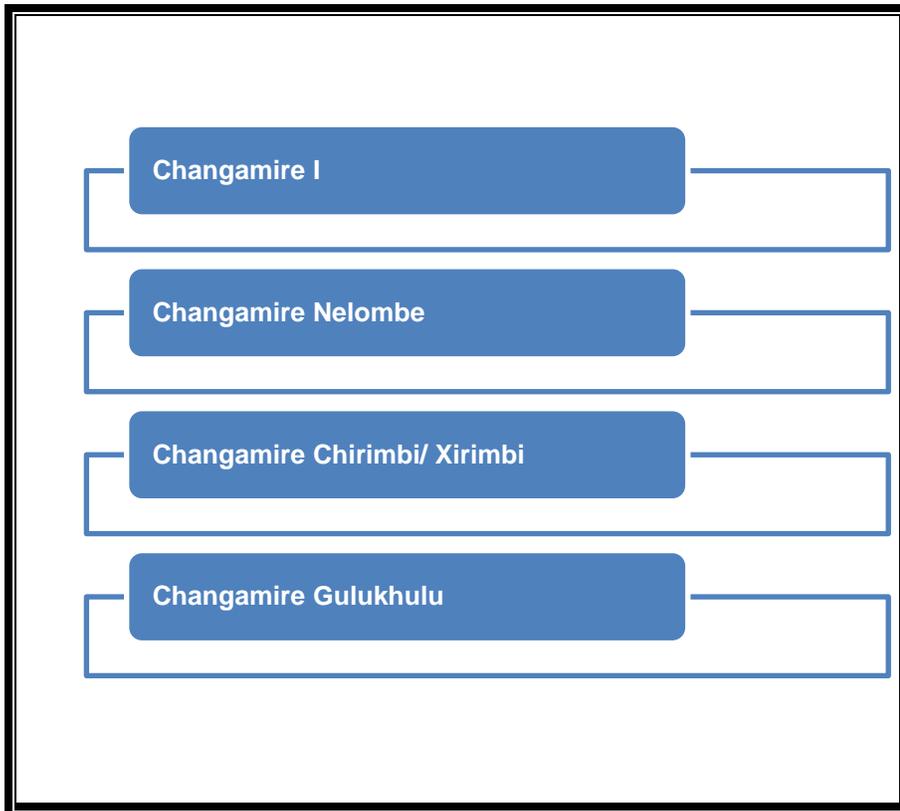


Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 4.3

Therefore, even though the name of Gulukhulu could have been linked to the name of the country after it was derived from the leader of that country, that country could have had other names. This man reigned after Xirimbi and his reign covered the period of the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi. This research prefers to use the version of Gulukhulu because it is common in the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi.

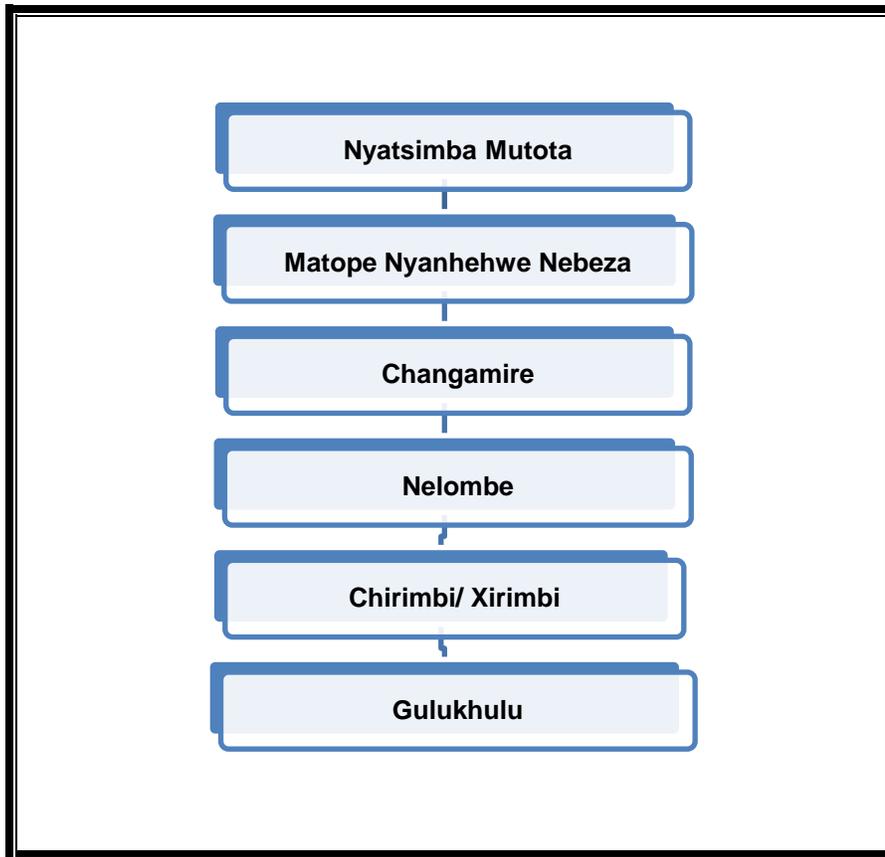
Therefore, the rulers of the Changamire state from its inception until the breakaway of the va ka Valoyi are as indicated in **Fig. 4.4** below:



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 4.4

Therefore, the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi from the beginning of the 15th century to the late 17th century is as indicated in **Fig. 4.5** below:



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 4.5

CHAPTER 5

THE HISTORY OF THE VA KA VALOYI FROM FOUNDATION UNTIL ARRIVAL IN MOZAMBIQUE

5.1 FOUNDING OF THE GROUP

The circumstances of the origin of the va ka Valoyi are almost a straightforward process. As pointed out later in this chapter, there is no disagreement among the oral accounts already published and those gathered by this research on how the group was established. The same applies to the founder of the group about whom both the already published and newly-gathered oral accounts agree. The place of origin, as already pointed out, is common knowledge in the oral history of the va ka Valoyi.

Therefore, the already published oral history unanimously suggests that the group originates from what is known today as Zimbabwe (Jacques 1938:127; Junod 1913, 1927:20). Oral accounts also agree that the va ka Valoyi group was founded when its founding leader was banished from the “Vukalanga” country (presently Zimbabwe), where the founder of the group was a royal prince in the family of the leader of the “Vukalanga” country (Liese gang 1977). The oral history gathered by this research confirms this fully. In fact, this type of knowledge among the va ka Valoyi is so general and common that their own children grow up knowing about it – it is general knowledge among these people.

Jacques (1938:127-8) identifies Gwambe as the man who led the va ka Valoyi from a country called “Vukalanga” to “Mozambique” and as the founder of the va ka Valoyi group. Gwambe’s name is spelled “Hwambi”, “Gwamba”, “Gamba” and “Gwambi” in various published sources (Junod 1977). By all accounts, these various spellings refer to the same name and to the same man (Junod 1977). Further, Jacques (1938:128) states that Gwambe’s other name was Gutse and maintains that it was Gwambe who led the va ka Valoyi from “Vukalanga” to the present-day Mozambique. Fortunately, this is supported by all the accounts gathered by this research in Mozambique and South

Africa and among all the lineages (some not members of the *va ka Valoyi*) who were reached by this research (Shilowa 2009; Shipalana 2009; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni; Neluvhalani, V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March, Johannesburg). Although the Gutse name is not popular among the *va ka Valoyi* lineages of South Africa, it is common among those of Mozambique (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). Jacques (1938:128) further reports that when some of the *va ka Valoyi* lineages praise themselves, they say they belong to the “*Soko ra Gwambe*”, and he states this means the road that Gwambe used when he led the *va ka Valoyi* from “Vukalanga”. Furthermore, Jacques (1938:78) suggests that when the Mongweni (also known as Mongwe), a lineage of the *va ka Valoyi*, praise themselves, they say they come from “*eSokweni ra Gwambe*”. The same applies to the Xirimbi, also belonging to the *va ka Valoyi*, who call themselves “*Soko ra Gwambe*” (Jacques 1938:127). As already pointed out, Jacques (1938:127) suggests the meaning of “*Soko ra Gwambe*” is a reference to the road that the *va ka Valoyi* used to migrate to their current country in the Mozambican territory from a country he calls “Vukalanga”. Bannerman (1981), however, established from both the Shona and *va ka Valoyi* oral history that “Soko” is a Kalanga word for “baboon” or “monkey”, which is a totem for the *va ka Valoyi*. Bannerman (1981) also established from other sources that the *va ka Valoyi* refer to this totem as “mfenhe”. The *va ka Valoyi* oral history gathered by this research among the lineages that are based in Mozambique and Limpopo Province also refer to the totem as “mfenhe” or “mthondolovhane” (both referring to the baboon or monkey) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). Beach (1983:18) refers to this totem as “Shoko”, to which he subscribes the same meaning of baboon or monkey.

Therefore, there could be a dual meaning in the expression “*Soko ra Gwambe*”. Firstly, it may refer to the road as some accounts suggest and secondly, it could refer to the totem as suggested by other accounts. Most significantly is the emphasis of Gwambe as the founder of the group, which no other narrative disputes, although in reciting the genealogy, many sources misplace some names in wrong chronology (this is common in the recitation of genealogies all over among the va ka Valoyi and other groups). For example, others place Gulukhulu before Gwambe or vice versa, and the mistake also happens in other names in the genealogy.

Junod (1927:05) also states that the va ka Valoyi came from “Kalanga” to the present-day Mozambique under the leadership of Gwambe. Junod (1927:05) further suggests that when the va ka Valoyi migrated from “Kalanga” to Mozambique, their wagons created a big road that was still visible after many years and that the va ka Valoyi referred to it as “*the old road of Gwambe*” (which is in line with the expression of Soko ra Gwambe). Further, Junod (1927:05) reports that when the va ka Valoyi greet each other they shout “Mukalanga”, which their oral history suggests is an acknowledgement of their origin from “Kalanga”. Junod (1927:05) also adds that this salutation is consistent with those of other groups claiming the same origin, for example the va ka Tembe in South Africa’s KwaZulu-Natal Province and Mozambique’s Maputo Province. Mathebula (2002:89), who also agrees that the va ka Valoyi came from “Kalanga” with Gwambe as their leader, states that the salutation common among the va ka Valoyi is “Khalanga”. Therefore, evidence is overwhelming to the effect that Gwambe was the founder of the va ka Valoyi group and that the present-day Zimbabwe is the original place of the va ka Valoyi.

The name “Gwambe” is common in Kalanga language as it is also found among other Kalanga groups such as in Inhambane Province in Mozambique, where another man by the same name founded another Kalanga kingdom among the Tonga (also called Copi) (Jacques 1938; Junod 1977; Liesegang 1977). There is no relationship between the two leaders other than sharing the Kalanga origins (Shilowa 2009). As for the name “Gutse”, it has not been easy to trace it in the Kalanga language, except a similar name of “Gatse Rusere”, which is associated with the man who was succeeded by Chirimbi in

the Munhumutapa between 1589 and 1623, and whom the Portuguese had baptised as Dom Pedro (Randles 1979:32; Beach 1980:125). Although “Gutse” is close to “Gatse” (which could be the result of the same name being spelled differently), this research wants to avoid associating names on the mere fact that their pronunciations or spellings are closer to one another. But by all the accounts of the va ka Valoyi, the name is taken in Kalanga language and not in the Xitsonga language currently associated with the va ka Valoyi (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni).

From the already published oral history, it has been established, without contradiction, that Gwambe at least brought with him a brother and a sister. Jacques (1938:128) suggests Gwambe’s brother was Xirimbi, with whom he migrated to Mozambique when he left the Kalanga country. Jacques (1938:128) also identifies one female sibling of Gwambe, whose name he says is unknown in the oral history that he gathered. Both these siblings are common in the oral accounts gathered by this research, too (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). Unfortunately, as is the case in the published accounts, this research could not establish the name of the female sibling, although her role in the history of the va ka Valoyi is briefly discussed later in this chapter.

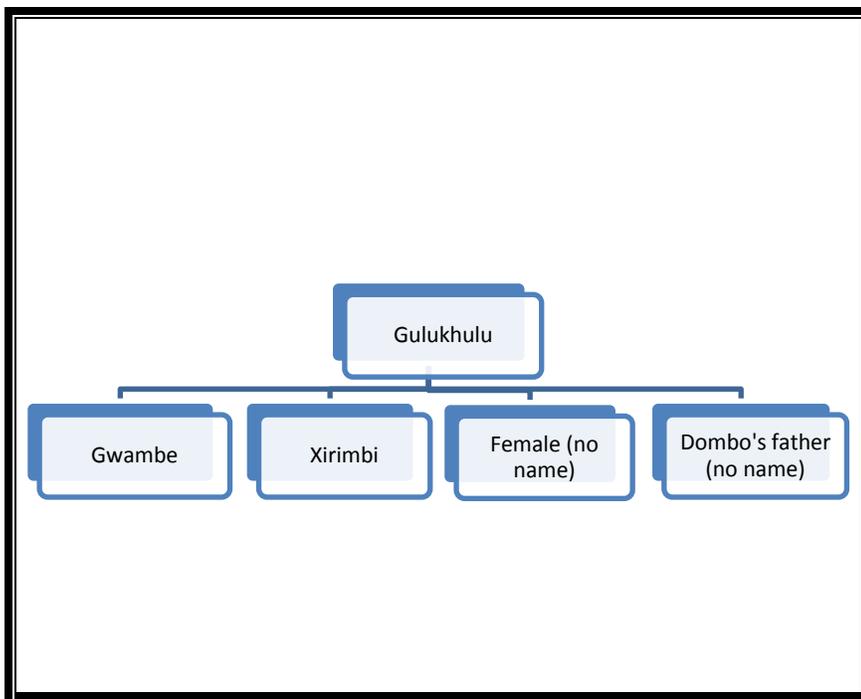
Literature generally does not have much information about Xirimbi. Although Jacques (1938:127) mentions the praise: “*Xirimbi-xi-kulu xa Vanyayi*”, that some of his sources used, he does not necessarily ascribe it to a person. However, the va ka Valoyi oral accounts gathered by this research suggest that “*Xirimbi-xi-kulu xa Vanyayi*” was an expression used by Xirimbi as his praise and that they, as his direct descendants, continue to use it as such to this day (Shilowa 2009).

Liesegang (1977:167) suggests the Changamire state continued to exist after the expulsion of Gwambe and some of his siblings and supporters. Literature also generally shows that other Changamires continued to reign after Gulukhulu in the Changamire state (Liesegang 166-7). Therefore, it means Gulukhulu had other children to continue his legacy. Oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi only go as far as suggesting that there could have been other sons. Makhuva Mathevula, an elder and advisor to Hosi Nkhavi Mathevula of the Makhuva community, states that “*vana van’wana va Gulukhulu va yise mahlweni vuhosi*” (other children of Gulukhulu continued with the kingship after his death), without mentioning names (Mathebula, MP.2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). In fact, most sources in the va ka Valoyi oral history honestly state they do not know what happened to the succession in the Changamire kingdom after the va ka Valoyi had left (Makhuva, F.2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). Therefore, the va ka Valoyi oral history can neither be relied on about this issue nor trusted. Shona oral history, as reflected in published works already discussed, has also proven to be of little assistance. The only indication, although not yet thoroughly probed, may come from the Dombo – a lineage among the Vhavenda, who claim one of the sons who remained with Gulukhulu was Dombo (the founder of their lineage), and who reigned as a Changamire in the late 17th century (Neluvhalani, V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March, Johannesburg). But this seems unlikely as Gulukhulu is believed to have died around the first half of the 17th century (the va ka Valoyi oral history suggests he may have died around the time the va ka Valoyi settled in Mozambique towards the middle of the 17th century) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). The oral accounts from both the Dombo and the va ka Valoyi suggest the two groups are related to one another, but fall short to properly provide a convincing genealogical relationship between them (Neluvhalani, V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March, Johannesburg; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani).

Owing to further probe into the genealogy of the Dombo, this research, with the available information, suggests it was Dombo’s father who was the son to Gulukhulu and brother to Gwambe and Xirimbi. The gap between the reign of Gulukhulu and that

of Changamire Dombo could have been filled by him. The fact that the Dombo oral history has a Gole as one of their ancestors (as in Gulu or Gulukhulu), the Dombo should be said to have been part of the Changamire (some of the Dombo lineages have songs about Gole) (Neluvhalani, V. 2012. Personal interview, 8 March, Johannesburg). The songs were, however, not used as part of data in this research. The fact that the name of Dombo's father is not known should not deter this research to regard him as providing the link between Gulukhulu and Changamire Dombo.

Thus, the genealogy would be as stated below (Fig. 5.1):



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 5.1

5.2 MIGRATION TO MOZAMBIQUE

5.2.1. Place of Origin

The exact point of departure of the va ka Valoyi's journey to the present-day Mozambique is not available in the already published accounts and those gathered by this research. As already pointed out earlier, all that the oral history suggests is that

they came from “Vukalanga”, which is in reference to the entire country of “Kalanga” or present-day Zimbabwe. However, as their history suggests they came from the royal family, it should be assumed that they came from one of the capitals of the kingdom or ruling lineage, with an assumption that there were several of those capitals over different periods of the existence of the kingdom. The assumption is based on the general practice by the rulers of the time in the surrounding states. Loveday (1961:23), drawing from oral accounts gathered by the Portuguese in the 16th century, states that the Munhumutapas had various residences, which were known as Zimbabwe, spelled by earlier Portuguese writers as “zimbae”, “symbae” or “simbae”, the name that was derived from a Kalanga word for “the walled tomb of a king”. The people of Munhumutapa, according to Loveday (1961:24) were known as “Mocaranga” or “Makalanga”. Therefore, it is possible that the Changamire, too, had different royal residences and only the establishment of the residence of Gwambe’s father at the time could give an indication of this.

Beach (1980:227-229) suggests that the original place for the va ka Valoyi could be the same original place of the Changamire’s main nucleus, between the Mazoe and Nyadiri rivers in the area between Manica and Torwa in the northeast of the present-day Zimbabwe towards the central part of the country. In this regard, therefore, the probability is that the va ka Valoyi migrated from the area between the Mazoe and Nyadiri rivers. This could be backed by the fact that the va ka Valoyi retained their baboon totem, while their family members who migrated from the area to the west at a later stage changed their totem and adopted the *moyo* (buck), which they took over from the people in the west. Beach (1983b:18) states that *moyo* was the totem of the people in southwest of Zimbabwe.

5.2.2 Migration Route

The exact route that the va ka Valoyi took to the present-day Mozambique requires careful investigation because neither the published accounts nor those gathered by this research are explicit on the matter. Although accounts gathered by this research are completely silent on the matter, there are a number of theories on the migration of the

va ka Valoyi, which are propagated by the published sources and which could be useful in the reconstruction of the route they took to the present-day Mozambique.

The first theory states that when the va ka Valoyi migrated from their traditional country, they came through the northern part of the present-day Gaza Province in Mozambique and settled near the Indian Ocean. The main proponent of this theory is Junod (1927:5) and his theory was adopted by Mhinga (1997), apparently because it links the migration of the va ka Valoyi with that of the va ka Maluleke or Van'wanati, to whom the Mhinga belong. The theory suggests that the va ka Valoyi and the Van'wanati or va ka Maluleke migrated together from Kalanga or Nyayiland until they reached the east coast in the present-day Mozambique (Junod 1927:5). As shall be explained later, it seems unlikely that the va ka Valoyi and the Van'wanati migrated together from Kalanga country. In fact, there is no historical evidence linking the Van'wanati with the present-day Zimbabwe. What seems to have happened is that they appear to have arrived in the Mozambique's interior almost at the same time, with the va ka Maluleke coming from N'wanati country on the east coast to the inland, where they settled in the vicinity of the va ka Valoyi, who had just arrived from the present-day Zimbabwe interior. This seems to have confused some historians and made them think that when they arrived in the same district almost at the same time, they had been coming from the same place. There is strong concurrence between the already published oral history and the accounts gathered by this research that the Van'wanati did occupy the Indian Ocean coast in the southeast of the present-day Mozambique. Junod (1927:5) states that when the Van'wanati migrated from the east coast to the interior, they were led by one Maxakadzi and they left part of the group at the coast and those left behind had allegedly tasted a fruit called *makwakwa* and decided to remain behind and started to refer to themselves as the va ka Makwakwa. This branch of the Van'wanati is still living along the coast to this day and refers to itself as the Van'wanati. It also acknowledges that the va ka Maluleke were once part of it before they migrated into the interior. In fact, the va ka Makwakwa, whose accounts seem to regard themselves as the real Van'wanati than their offshoots, do not associate themselves with "Kalanga" origins at all (Mabasa 2006).

The va ka Valoyi also appear to have lived with the Van'wanati on the coast of the Indian Ocean in Inhambane, which provides another possibility that from there, they may have migrated back inland with the va ka Maluleke (Mabasa 2009). The va ka Valoyi oral history, says Junod (1927:5), suggests they were uneasy with the sea, which they described as "*the large, restless river*", the kind of which they had never seen before. Therefore, they decided to migrate back to the inland. However, some oral accounts also claim the va ka Valoyi did not migrate to the coast, but instead, only part or some of the members of the group left the main group in the interior and migrated to the coast. Other oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi state that there was a small group of the va ka Valoyi who split from the main branch of the va ka Valoyi and settled along the east coast. This is the group that found the ocean in the neighbourhood unbearable and relocated to the inland, some of them went back to the main branch and others settled elsewhere away from the ocean (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). In his assessment of archived records from Maputo, Liesegang (1977:167), instead, suggests that the va ka Valoyi first occupied the area between the confluence of the Limpopo and Olifants rivers and Ximbutsu.

A similar theory suggests that on the way from "Kalanga" to Mozambique, the va ka Valoyi fought with and defeated several Vanyayi groups between Limpopo and Zambezi rivers. Jacques (1938:126-7) identifies the Vanyayi as among the people the va ka Valoyi defeated when they settled in the present-day Mozambique. Both theories suggest that the route followed by the va ka Valoyi (at least at some point) followed the Limpopo valley (Junod 1927: 22); Jacques 1938:126-7). Junod (1927: 22) says that the va ka Valoyi have a legend that says they came down the valley of the Limpopo (River). When describing the movement of the va ka Valoyi from "Vukalanga" to the southeast, the va ka Valoyi legend has it that "they came down the valley of the Limpopo (River)" and "*they came in such numbers that they opened out a wide track as wide as a wagon road*". Junod (1927: 22) described it as: "*... the old, old road of Gwambe, ... So well was the road trodden that to this day, the grass has not grown over it*".

Therefore, the va ka Valoyi seem to have moved from the Mazoe and Nyadiri rivers and took the southeast direction, moving along the Limpopo River along its northern bank, up to its confluence with the Olifants River. The oral history of the va ka Valoyi, specifically for the lineages currently based in Mozambique, states that on their arrival in Mozambique, the va ka Valoyi established a settlement north of the Limpopo River, near its confluence with the Olifants River. The settlement was named Gulukhulu, but it was also known as Gutse, and later as N'wamahunyani. It was only in the later years that other settlements came up as they expanded and consolidated (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni).

5.2.3 Method of Transport

The va ka Valoyi oral accounts are unanimous that they used wagons to move people and their goods from the Kalanga country to the present-day Mozambique (Mbhombhi, R. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makhwaxani; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi). However, there is no mention of the kind of wagons used or type of animals that pulled those wagons. It is also not known at this stage, which goods they carried. The va ka Valoyi oral history emphasises that the common animals used by the va ka Valoyi as transport in those years were cattle, as opposed to other animals such as donkeys and horses (cattle remain the common domestic animals among the va ka Valoyi of Mozambique) (Mbhombhi, R. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makhwaxani; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi). Khomisani Baloi, chief of Xinyeketi community in Mozambique emphasises this point by stating that *“na sweswi Vakalanga va tiva tihomu”* (to this day what the Kalanga know are the cattle). It could therefore be assumed here that the wagons were pulled by the cattle. Moreover, the accounts already quoted in previous chapters confirm that they used wagons (Junod 1927:5).

5.2.4 Composition of the Migrant Group

The number of people who migrated with Gwambe is not known, but the va ka Valoyi oral history suggests they were many and they used many wagons that created a road that for years became known as “*the old road of Gwambe*” (Junod 1927:5). The oral history, however, creates an impression that the migration could have been a single, uninterrupted movement of people and goods, instead of a systematic movement characterised by stoppages at certain points, and splits and mergers along the way. The oral history also does not clarify how the va ka Valoyi dealt with the groups they met on the way and those groups that decided not to proceed with the main group to further destinations, if any (except the mention of wars with the Nyayi) (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shilowa 2009). Although the oral history generally states that this was a large group, the suggestion that they created a large road that took years to disappear is certainly an exaggeration. The suggestion that the number of people in the group that migrated to Mozambique was so large that it left the grass trodden on the way sounds like a legend. Some of the va ka Valoyi oral accounts also create an impression that only the Gwambe family migrated (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N’wamitwa; Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville), which is contradicted by the number of people they claim were involved. Accounts from associated clans such as the Vombe, Ntamele and Mbhandze suggest there were a lot more people who were not members of Gwambe family who constituted the group (Jacques 1938:127-8).

5.2.5 Period of the Founding of the Group

Few of the sources currently available are specific on the period of the founding of the va ka Valoyi. The oral history gathered by this research is generally vague. The general expression of these accounts is that this happened “*khale ka khaleni*” (long time ago) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The same problem appears to have been experienced by those who gathered the va ka Valoyi oral accounts before this research.

Junod (1927: 22) states that all his sources could say about the period of the founding of their group was that it was founded “*in very remote times*”. Sources that derived their information from the va ka Maluleke oral history, as discussed earlier, seem to suggest the first half of the 17th century as the period of the founding of the group (Malwandla & Nkuzana 1996; Makhuva 1997; Mhinga 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). Some of the va ka Valoyi, too, seem to believe they were in Mozambique around the beginning of the 17th century, apparently due to the fact that the va ka Maluleke arrived after them (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani).

Accounts gathered by this research are generally silent about the date of the founding of the va ka Valoyi group, that is, the period in which the group broke away from “Kalanga”. Few sources that attempt to estimate the period, albeit unscientifically, also differ drastically with one another to the extent that their guesses are way apart. As stated above, there are those who suggest they may have settled in the present-day Mozambique in the first half of the 17th century (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani), an apparent influence of the va ka Maluleke oral history (Mhinga 1997; Maluleke, M. 2012. Personal interview, 16 December, Pretoria). In another theory that also seems to have been influenced by the va ka Maluleke oral history, they suggest 1640 (which is more specific) (Makhuva 1997). The Makhuva oral accounts (a section of the Lowani) also put the date at 1640 (Makhuva 1997), apparently in concurrence with the suggestion by the va ka Maluleke (Van’wanati), while the Xilowa oral accounts (another section of the Lowani) only suggest it was after 1500 (Shilowa 2009; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani). Therefore, this research can only deduce that this breakaway took place in the first half of the 17th century, probably between 1630 and 1640.

CHAPTER 6

SETTLEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

6.1. THE COUNTRY OF THE VA KA VALOYI

The oral history of the va ka Valoyi is sometimes incoherent regarding the description of the territory of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique and the extent of its size. For example, accounts of the Mbhandze and their later lineages such as the Mrori give a picture that the most eastern of these lineages, those who settled near the sea (including them), were no longer part of the va ka Valoyi (Jacques 1938:73,137). The same applies to the Xivodze (Mukansi), Xifun'wana and Mongwe, all of which were banished from the royal residence and eventually moved to the south, who give an impression that once they were banished from the royal residence, their new settlements were no longer part of the va ka Valoyi country (Jacques 1938:128). Yet, the accounts of those who remained in the royal residence are unanimous that all the three banished lineages occupied what still formed part of the va ka Valoyi country and that those who settled in the east remained part of the va ka Valoyi country too (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani). The accounts of the lineages that remained in the royal residence are supported by the accounts of the groups that migrated into the va ka Valoyi country in later years who state that the land they occupied formerly belonged to the va ka Valoyi (Smith 1973).

From the study conducted by Liesegang (1977:166-7) on the archived material from Maputo, all of which were compiled from oral accounts, he concludes that the country of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique once included what later became the country of the va ka Nkhavelana or va ka Bembana and Ximbutso or at least part of Ximbutso in the east, the country of va ka Rikhotso (whom he called Loucotte) in the south, the country of the va ka Maluleke (which he called Machicosse) in the north, and the eastern boundary of the country of the Mbhombhi (Maxavane) and Lebombo Mountains (which the va ka Valoyi called Longwe) in west.

According to the oral history of the va ka Valoyi, the Gulukhulu settlement near the confluence of the Limpopo and Olifants rivers became the capital of Gwambe and he stayed there with many other families (Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani;). The area is currently known as N'wamahunyani (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani), but local people also refer to it as Gulukhulu and Gutse (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani), the latter name confirming that this was the home to Gwambe, who also used Gutse as his name. A branch of the group settled across the Limpopo River in the south and southeast in what is known today as Mhangeni (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). There is a well-entrenched belief among the va ka Valoyi oral accounts that the leader of this branch was Xirimbi, who remained subject to Gwambe (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). Oral accounts obtained from the descendants of Xirimbi are unanimous on this notion (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). Among the va ka Valoyi, this part of the country is widely referred to as "*Tiko ra ka Xirimbi*" (Xirimbi's country) or "*KaXirimbi*" (Xirimbi's place) (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). The whole territory is jealously claimed by the va ka Valoyi, who have a strong belief that they own it and its natural features and that they also named its features. For example, Erskine (1875:78) reports that the va ka Valoyi were against the use of the names Olifants and Limpopo for the two rivers because they preferred "Belule" (in fact it is Balule in their

oral accounts) and “Vembe”, respectively, which they believed were names that were brought about by their ancestors. Makhuva (1997) says the same about the Lebombo Mountains, which he claims the va ka Valoyi had given the name of Longwe, which they considered to be original. Oral accounts further suggest that there were several other settlements of the va ka Valoyi across the vast territory, but most of the country remained uninhabited, which attracted many immigrant groups (especially from the south) into it (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). This believe is confirmed by the accounts gathered by Smith (1973) among the va ka Rikhotso, va ka Khosa and va ka Ntimane, suggesting at least the va ka Rikhotso to have occupied land belonging to the va ka Valoyi.

6.2. NEIGHBOURS OF THE VA KA VALOYI

The va ka Valoyi oral history identifies only three groups that they found in the vicinity, which they also consider as their original neighbours. The first of these groups was in the east and is identified in the oral accounts as the “Lenje” (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni). Other accounts identify the same group as the Vacopi (which appears to be a recent name for the same people) (Baloi, 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Pfukwe; Macaringue, M. 2011. 2 October, Makaringe) and as the Lenge (which appears to be a variation of the name Lenje) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). Said Ketlani Baloi about their eastern neighbours: “*A ku tele vona hinkwako le vuxeni*” (they were all over the eastern parts) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). The accounts also classify the va ka Maluleke and other members of the Van’wanati as part of the Lenje (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi; Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Pfukwe; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). From the look of things, the Lenje appear to have been part of the Tonga group (currently based in Inhambane in Mozambique).

The second group was in the north, and the oral accounts simply classify it as “Swingondzo” (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani), which is apparently a recently-invented derogatory name for the Vanyayi (or Nyayi). When probed further, the sources use the name “Vanyayi” to refer to these people, even though the latter name appears to have gone out of use completely in some of the va ka Valoyi communities (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Pfukwe; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). By all accounts, this group was part of the Kalanga group (like the va ka Valoyi themselves). The dominance of the Nyayi in the north was best captured by Ketlani Baloi, stating *“ku suka la hi nga kona ku ya n’walungwini a kuri vona ntsena”* (from where we are [N’wamahunyani] to the north the area was occupied by them) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani).

The last group was the va ka Mbhombhi (or va ka Maxavane) in the west between the Limpopo and Olifants rivers (regarded by the va ka Valoyi as the most fertile and water-rich land in the district) (Macaringue, SB. 2010. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe; Mbhombhi, R. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makhwaxani; Nghulele, M. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi). Oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi do not mention anything about the original place of the va ka Mbhombhi, but the available literature suggests this group came from the south, among the Rhonga (Hedges 1978:116), and was part of the Nyaka kingdom in the first half of the second millennium (Mabasa 2006). The group seems to have migrated to the north when the Nyaka kingdom split in 1626 (a few years before the arrival of the va ka Valoyi) (Hedges (1978:116). In the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi, the group is known as the va ka Mbhombhi because it is believed to have been founded by the man by the same name (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi), who appears

in the oral accounts of the va ka Mbhombhi as the son of Maxavane (Nghulele, M. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele; Mbhombhi, R. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makhwaxani). Jacques (1938:74) describes the va ka Mbhombhi as livestock owners and traders, who produced food and sold it to neighbours during times of hunger. One of the communities they traded with, who were also their neighbours, was the Vombe lineage, whom Jacques (1938:129) describes as a lineage of Kalanga origin who came to the area with the va ka Valoyi. Their praise is “Muthewuyi” (Jacques 1938:129), which is closer to “Mathevula”, the synonym for “Valoyi” (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). The va ka Valoyi oral history seems to agree with the wealth possessed by the Mbhombhi through a comment by Moses Macaringue that “*hi kokiwe hi ku nona ka tiko ra vona*” (the richness of their country attracted us to it) (Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe).

6.3. FIRST IMMIGRANT GROUPS

The first group to occupy what the va ka Valoyi refer to as their “*tiko ro ke vanhu*” (uninhabited land) was the va ka Maluleke, a section of the Van’wanati led by Malenga (Baloi, F. 2010a. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni) around 1640 (Mhinga 1997). Whereas the va ka Maluleke oral accounts state Maxakadzi founded this group (Mhinga 1997; Maluleke, M. 2012. Personal interview, 16 December, Pretoria), the va ka Valoyi accounts insist it was Malenga who founded it (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke). The va ka Valoyi accounts state that the va ka Maluleke first occupied some land near Pfukwe Lake, north of the Limpopo River, where Malenga lies buried (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). The accounts suggest the va ka Maluleke were later pushed further north under the leadership of Maxakadzi, Malenga’s son and successor (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke).

The second group, states the accounts, came from the south, in what later became known as Swaziland and occupied the eastern part of the va ka Valoyi's country (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani). The new country became known as Hlavi and its occupants became known as Vanhlave. They were led by Mavunda, who later established his own va ka Mavunda group in the same area (Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke). Oral accounts gathered by Jacques (1938:96) from lineages falling outside the va ka Valoyi suggest that other Vanhlave lineages included the Nkwinika and the Nhlongo, who were bounded by the Renasi Lake and the confluence of Limpopo and Mbejana rivers (called Nkolwana in the west). The va ka Valoyi oral accounts are unanimous that the va ka Nhlongo came from the south (present-day Swaziland) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi).

Later, in the further east (and east of the Vanhlave) the va ka Bembane came and settled there. Their new country became known as Bembane or Nkhavelana (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa). The accounts are supported in this instance by the available literature (Jacques 1938; Liesegang 1977:167). In his work, Liesegang (1977:167) identifies the country of Bembane, which was situated west of the Limpopo River (east of the Vanhlave). Jacques (1938:97) mentions Bembane (spelled Bembana), as the name of one of the former leaders of the va ka Nkhavelana. Junod (1896) identifies the place as the country of the va ka Nkhavelana and as being southeast of the Bileni (country of the Vanhlave) district, between the Limpopo River in the east and the Manzana River in the west, stretching up to the sea in the east. By all these accounts, this is the same area identified by Liesegang (1977:167) in the archived documents of the 18th century as belonging to the va ka Bembane, although the actual description of size differs slightly. In the va ka Valoyi oral history, the names Nkhavelana and Bembana are used interchangeably to refer to the same group of people and country east of the va ka Valoyi in the present-day Mozambique (Baloi, F.

2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni). The va ka Masilane followed and settled between the Manzana River in the north and the Nwanedzi River in the south (Baloi, L. 2012. Personal interview, 23 September, Munyamani). The va ka Valoyi oral accounts are completely at a loss regarding the origin of the va ka Masilane (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Pfukwe; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi).

Accounts gathered by Smith (1973:574) suggest that the va ka Valoyi and the va ka Maluleke already dominated the district near the confluence of the Limpopo and Olifants rivers when another group, this time of Sotho origin, came and settled between them around the 18th century – probably towards the end of the century. This group had already adopted a Xitsonga dialect called Dzonga or Xidzonga and it conquered the va ka Masilane and va ka Nhlongo, and formed a new chiefdom called “Xivuri”. Accounts given in Jacques (1938:135) concur that the va ka Xivuri came from “Bvexa” in the west, at a place called “Nkuweni-wa-Mbingadzi” and that Bvexa was a Xitsonga name for Sotho. Nkuweni-wa-Mbingadzi referred to Lydenburg district (Shilubana & Ntsanwisi 1978).

The va ka Ntimane, va ka Khosa, va ka Rikhotso and va ka Masiya appear to have migrated closer to the va ka Valoyi later (probably as a single group). The oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi suggest the four groups came as a single group led by the va ka Khosa (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Pfukwe; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Xinyeketi). Accounts of the va ka Khosa suggest the va ka Masiya and va ka Rikhotso were founded by members of the Khosa royal family. The accounts of the va ka Khosa also claim they all settled outside the va ka Valoyi territory (while still a single group). Smith (1973:574), in accounts gathered from these groups, states that the group conquered the land to the south of the va ka Xivuri. The va ka Valoyi oral accounts suggest that

these groups remained outside the va ka Valoyi territory until two of them, the va ka Rikhotso and the va ka Masiya intruded into the va ka Valoyi area later on (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni).

The oral history of the Vadzonga, according to Smith (1973:574), is not very specific with respect to the populations that lived in the area prior to the arrival of the Sotho speaking groups and the va ka Khosa. The accounts of the va ka Khosa invasion, for instance, fail to mention the people they conquered, whereas the version of the va ka Ntimane is only slightly more informative in that it claims that the people who had previously lived in the area had become extinct (Smith 1973:574). The most specific and useful account comes from the va ka Rikhotso, who state that when they arrived in southern Mozambique, the land they occupied belonged to the va ka Valoyi, whom they claim they defeated (Smith 1973:574). The va ka Valoyi then retreated to the land between the Olifants and Limpopo rivers (Mbhombhi, R. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makhwaxani; Nghulele, M. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele). This land has been confirmed to have been occupied by the va ka Valoyi in many historical sources such as Junod (1927:17) and Erskine (1875:78).

6.4. MAIN LINEAGES OF THE VA KA VALOYI

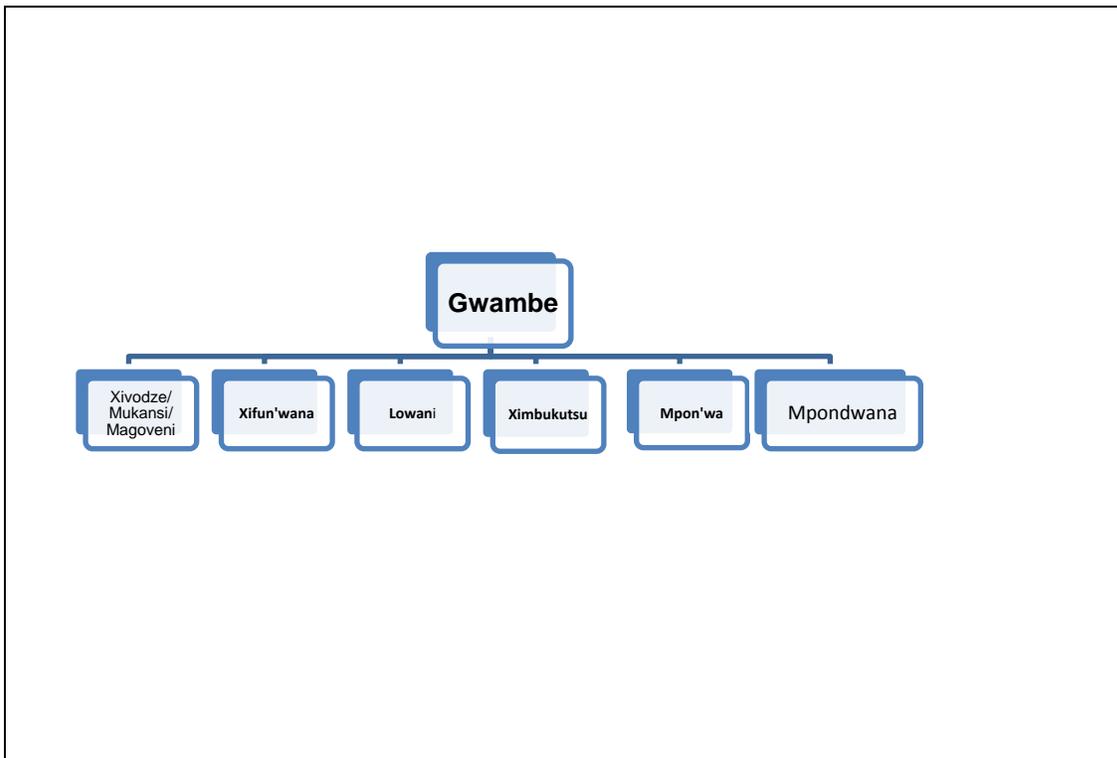
Evidence from the va ka Valoyi oral history, from the genealogy and the structure of the communities currently in place (in South Africa and Mozambique), suggests that the first lineages of the va ka Valoyi developed from the sons of Gwambe who established various chiefdoms under the kingdom led by Gwambe and adopted new lineages, different from that of their father (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Malwandla, J. 2010. Personal interview, 11 May, Nkuzana; Baloi, A. 2011. Personal interview, 9 August, Nkuzi; Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele; Baloi, D. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, Nkovele; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N'wamahunyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva;

Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Ntuli, N. 2013. Personal interview, 8 July, Ntshuxi). These chiefdoms occupied various areas of the va ka Valoyi's country and derived their names from the names of their founders (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August 2009; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Shilowa 2009; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani). There are also lineages that developed from the other houses of the va ka Valoyi that came with Gwambe to Mozambique (whose relationships with Gwambe are not clear other than being his subjects). These include the Ntamele, Mbhandze and the Vombe (Jacques 1938:73; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe). However, because the migration from Mozambique to the Limpopo Province involved the direct descendants of Gwambe and Xirimbi, it will be less relevant to pay too much attention to those outside Gwambe's house (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Mavanyisi, OC. 2010. Personal interview, 15 December, Saulsville; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka).

From the genealogies of the various lineages of the va ka Valoyi, it is evident that the lineages that developed out of Gwambe's house were founded by his remembered sons and a granddaughter from one of his sons. The entire oral history produces six sons of Gwambe. These are Xivodze and Xifun'wana from the great house, Lowani from the second house, Ximbukutsu and Mpon'wa from the third house and Mponndwana from the fourth and last house. The va ka Valoyi oral accounts, at least those gathered so far, are all silent on the wives of Gwambe that determine these houses, except the suggestion by the accounts of the N'wamitwa that Xivodze and Xifun'wana had the same mother (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa). The oral history also suggests other names for Xivodze, which include Magoveni and Mukansi (all of which were acquired later as nicknames) (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31

August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka). Literature, however, appears to confuse these sons with some of their children and grandchildren as shown in Jacques (1938:77; 126) where some of Gwambe's grandchildren and their children are listed as his children.

Therefore, Gwambe's sons (as confirmed by information gathered by this research) would be as indicated in **Fig. 6.1** below:



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 6.1

The oral history of the va ka Valoyi fully agrees that Xivodze was the most senior of these sons and he was supposed to be the heir to Gwambe's throne. Literature also agrees with this notion (Jacques 1938:126). Oral history also agrees that the next in line was Xifun'wana (as the second son from the great house) (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa), which is also supported by the literature (Jacques 1938:126). The va ka Valoyi oral history further unanimously concurs that in terms of the succession law of the va ka Valoyi, the next in line after Xifun'wana was Lowani, as the only son in the second house of Gwambe (the chronology would go on

and on like that in other houses) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani).

However, the oral history of the va ka Valoyi is unanimous that Xivodze did not succeed Gwambe as the leader of the va ka Valoyi (all the lineages agree on this fact) (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The accounts (and the events that followed) suggest that his next in line, too, Xifun'wana, did not ascent the throne. The va ka Valoyi oral history, though confirming that Xifun'wana did not rule either, gives no details about the reasons for him not taking over after Xivodze could not do so (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The reason for Xivodze not succeeding Gwambe is undisputed in the va ka Valoyi oral history (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). All the accounts suggest he was "disqualified", while others even say he was "banished" from the royal residence (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). It is only the reasons for this "disqualification" and/or "banishment" upon which the oral accounts do not agree. There are two clear streams of reasoning behind his disqualification or banishment. The first stream is a very simplistic one. It is mainly recorded in the available literature and its main proponent is Jacques (1938:126). Legend suggests that Xivodze lost the right to succeed Gwambe after Gwambe made him (Xivodze) and Lowani, his other son, choose from a *gombe* (an object symbolising peasantry) and a *xidzuvulo* (an object symbolising land). Xivodze chose the *gombe*, while Lowani chose the *xidzuvulo*. Thus, Gwambe then chose Lowani as his heir because the *xidzuvulo* represented land and land represented the power and the throne (Jacques 1938:126).

The second reasoning stream is widely found in the va ka Valoyi oral history (including the one gathered by this research). It suggests that Xivodze either “married” or “impregnated” his paternal aunt (Gwambe’s sister whose name is not mentioned in the oral accounts). As a measure of punishment by Gwambe and the family, Xivodze was “disqualified” as an heir and “banished” from the royal residence. Some oral accounts say his aunt was “banished”, too, hence the two ended up marrying each other. In fact, oral accounts of the Xivodze (Mukansi) suggest his mother (whose name is also unknown in the oral history) and his younger brother, Xifun’wana, were all “banished” and the entire great house was disqualified of its status (in a manner similar to the one used by Gulukhulu to banish Gwambe and his entire house); hence, the second house actually became the great house afterwards, thus paving the way for the only son in that house, Lowani, to become an heir (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). Although literature states that Xivodze was banished (Jacques 1938:126) and that Xifun’wana left the royal residence with him (Jacques 1938:127), it is silent on why Xifun’wana was omitted in the succession line. Jacques (1938:127) only states that Xivodze took Xifun’wana with him when he left the royal residence.

Whereas the va ka Valoyi oral history is unanimous on the “disqualification” part of the narrative, such unanimity is lacking on the “banishment” side. These accounts agree that it was Gwambe who “disqualified” Xivodze from heirship. But whereas some say he also “banished” him, others suggest he was, in fact, “banished” by Lowani after the latter took over the reigns (Jacques 1938:127). The accounts suggest there was a war in which Xivodze killed one of the trusted members of Lowani’s army (whose name is not mentioned), which forced Xivodze and the entire great house to leave the royal residence. The oral history suggests that with the great house gone (from the royal residence), Lowani managed to reign in peace (although some accounts suggest Xivodze still settled within Lowani’s jurisdiction) (Jacques 1938:127).

Both literature (Jacques 1938:127) and oral accounts gathered through this research (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni) agree that Xivodze (and his family) migrated to Xikweni,

near Mapulangweni (currently a small southwestern town in Mozambique). Because the land they occupied was full of dongas, it was known to the locals as Magoveni (Xitsonga for place of dongas). Xivodze thus also became known as Magoveni (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). Jacques (1938:127) suggests Xifun'wana later established his own independent community that he led as a chief in the vicinity, a suggestion supported by oral accounts gathered by this research as well (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni).

Oral accounts generally suggest that when Xivodze and Xifun'wana migrated to Xikweni, they found the va ka Rikhotso already settled in the vicinity (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The va ka Rikhotso oral history suggests the two subjected themselves to them (Jacques (1938:116). (There is, however, no evidence suggesting the two were once subjects of the va ka Rikhotso). But this view is significant to this study in as far as it suggests that when Xivodze and Xifun'wana arrived in their new land, the va ka Rikhotso had already occupied the area in the vicinity (Jacques 1938:116). This confirms that the war between the va ka Valoyi and the va ka Rikhotso had already taken place and the va ka Valoyi had already been defeated by the va ka Rikhotso. It also suggests the possibility that the va ka Valoyi's interest in expanding to the land between the Olifants and Limpopo rivers (belonging to the va ka Mbhombhi) had already begun (although evidence shows such expansion was still far from beginning). This is because the oral history of the va ka Valoyi states this interest was generated (or at least it gained momentum) after their war with the va ka Rikhotso. One such source, Moses Macaringue put it thus: *"nyimpi ya ka Rikhotso yi hi nyike torha ri kulu ra tiko ra ka Mbhombhi"* (the war with the va ka Rikhotso increased our quest for the va ka Mbhombhi's land) (Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe). Another source from the va ka Mbhombhi community currently under the va ka Valoyi, Muyangani Nghulele, uttered a similar statement when he said: *"van'wana va nga hi dlayisa iva ka Rikhotso, hi ku teka tiko ra ka Valoyi"* (some of those who caused trouble for us are the va ka Rikhotso, who took land belonging to the va ka Valoyi)

(Nghulele, M. 2012. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele). Accounts gathered by Smith (1973:574) point out that when the va ka Rikhotso migrated to the area south of the va ka Valoyi's country, they fought with the va ka Valoyi, defeated them and took part of their land. In the process, they also forced the va ka Valoyi to stop their expansion to the south and to occupy the land between the Limpopo and Olifants rivers.

Therefore, oral accounts suggest that when Xivodze and Xifun'wana settled near Mapulangweni, the va ka Rikhotso were still part of the va ka Khosa (or under their rule) with the ruler of the va ka Khosa being their overlord. Accounts from the va ka Masiya suggest the same arrangement with them around the same time (Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni; Xitiva, N. 2009. Personal interview, 4 April, Mahatlani)). This is supported by the accounts in the ancient documents studied by Liesegang (1977:172), which identify the va ka Rikhotso (but omit the va ka Masiya).

A similar banishment happened for the Mpondwana, apparently after the banishment of Xivodze and the entire great house. Gwambe's granddaughter, through his son called Mpondwana, who was called N'warimbale, later founded a new lineage and community that became known as va ka Mongwe, named after her son (Jacques 1938:77-8). There are three versions about the formation of the Mongwe lineage and community: The first, whose proponent is Jacques (1938:77-8), states that N'warimbale was banished from the royal capital of the va ka Valoyi after she fell pregnant by an unknown Nguni hunter, whose name and surname was never known hence Mongwe was known as "*Mongwe wa N'warimbale*", (Mongwe, the son of N'warimbale) (Jacques 1938:77-8; Mongwe Signage 2013). But some oral accounts of the Ntshuxi (a Mongwe lineage) suggest the man was known and although his name was not known, his surname was Ntuli, coming from the present-day KwaZulu-Natal (Ntuli, H. 2013. Personal interview, 8 July, Ntshuxi). The second version states that N'warimbale simply left her father's homestead among the va ka Valoyi and established her own dynasty. Because of her skills in making fire and manufacturing knives, she was embraced as a leader among the Vanyayi communities there, while some fled her rule (Jacques 1938:78). The third version states that N'warimbale was married to a man called Govele who was a resident among the Vanyayi or the va ka Valoyi (there were apparently some still classifying the

va ka Valoyi as the Kalanga or Vanyayi) by whom she had a son called Mongwe. She is said to have left her man and brought Mongwe with her to a new area then called Mateleni, where she became the community's chief (Jacques 1938:78). Sources agree that N'warimbale discarded the baboon totem of the va ka Valoyi and adopted a new one of the buffalo (*nyarhi* in Tsonga or *nyathi* in Nguni) to distinguish her lineage from that of the va ka Valoyi (Jacques 1938:77).

6.5. THE POST-SETTLEMENT CONSOLIDATION

There are three groups that determined the final territory of the va ka Valoyi, according to the oral accounts so far gathered: The two offshoots of the va ka Khosa (the va ka Rikhotso and the va ka Masiya) and the va ka Mbhombhi. The accounts suggest that the va ka Rikhotso's move into the southern part of the va ka Valoyi's country effectively reduced the va ka Valoyi's country in the south and stopped their possible further expansion to the south. Smith (1973:574) refers to the va ka Rikhotso and the va ka Khosa, together with their neighbours called va ka Ntimane, as alien groups that conquered the land to the south of the va ka Xivuri and the va ka Valoyi, but stresses that it was the va ka Rikhotso who finally occupied the land belonging to the va ka Valoyi.

The oral accounts of the va ka Rikhotso agree that they seized land from the va ka Valoyi. Smith (1973:574) states that the accounts of the Vadzonga, to whom the va ka Rikhotso belong, are not very specific with respect to the population that lived south of the va ka Valoyi prior to their arrival. The accounts of the va ka Khosa, suggests Smith (1973:574), fail to mention the people they conquered. The version of the va ka Ntimane is only slightly more informative in that it claims that the people who had previously lived in the area had become extinct. The most specific and useful accounts, concludes Smith (1973:574), come from the va ka Rikhotso, who state that when they arrived in southern Mozambique, the land they occupied belonged to the va ka Valoyi, whom they claim they defeated. Jacques (1938:116) also points out that the va ka Rikhotso were among the first to settle in the district south of the va ka Valoyi and the va ka Xivuri, and that they were an offshoot of the va ka Khosa, adding they came from the south, from a

place called Nhlampfani (Jacques 1938:116) (near the present-day industrial town of Manzini in Swaziland). Their leader at the time was Xipenengwa, the son of Rikhotso, who led them to the north and settled at Mahele (the name of the place before they occupied it, which is still used by others). This is consistent with the information that Liesegang (1977:172) extracted from the archived documents of the 18th century, which locate the two countries in a manner described by the oral accounts of both groups. The v aka Masiya occupied the eastern portion of the v aka Valoyi's country (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni)

After the va ka Valoyi were defeated by the va ka Rikhotso and their expansion to the south stopped, they later began to expand to the west, into the land between the Olifants and Limpopo rivers, thus turning their weapons on the va ka Mbhombhi, who occupied the area. They defeated them, seized their entire land and subjected the va ka Mbhombhi under their rule (Nghulele, M. 2012. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele). The accounts of the va ka Valoyi and those of the va ka Mbhombhi state that the va ka Valoyi chased some of the va ka Mbhombhi away and reduced some of their leaders into their subjects (to this day, some of the va ka Mbhombhi are headmen of the va ka Valoyi in the land they once ruled independently) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Nghulele, M. 2012. Personal interview, 30 September, Nghulele).

Accounts of the va ka Valoyi indicate that the war between the va ka Rikhotso and the va ka Valoyi took place during the reign of Nxolwana (the fourth ruler of the va ka Valoyi), which confirms some delays in that expansion. But although some accounts suggest the expansion to the va ka Mbhombhi territory happened during the same time (immediately after the war with the va ka Rikhotso), others claim it happened during the reign of Xikungulu (successor to Lowani), while some suggest it was during the reign of Nxolwana (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). Unfortunately, the accounts that suggest the expansion to the va ka Mbhombhi territory occurred during Lowani's reign seem to suggest so as a link to the halting of the va ka Valoyi's

expansion to the south (which occurred during Lowani's reign) (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). Those who think it happened during Xikungulu's (successor to Lowani) reign do not substantiate their claim (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa). Those who argue that it happened during the reign of Nxolwana (Xikungulu's successor) give two reasons that this research finds convincing. Firstly, they suggest that Nxolwana's sons were heavily involved in the war and, secondly, they observe that most of the va ka Valoyi communities that developed within that territory are named after Nxolwana's sons (as founders of those communities) (Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani) – (These communities are located along the belt between the Xingwedzi and Limpopo rivers). This research has also established that Nxolwana's successor reigned from a new royal residence within the territory (called Mvhamba), and that he was the first among the overlord rulers of the va ka Valoyi to reign from there (and outside the traditional Gulukhulu royal residence). Further, members of the va ka Mbhombhi are currently found under the va ka Valoyi in communities such as Maxamba (spelled Mashamba or Machamba), Ximange (spelled Chimangue) and Makhandezulu (spelled Macandezulo) (Baloi, F. 2010a Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Baloi, F. 2010b. Personal interview, 18 December, KaTihoveni; Mahlaule, A. 2011. Personal interview, 30 September, KaTihoveni).

6.6. SECOND IMMIGRANT GROUPS FROM THE SOUTH

The Vahlengwe and other groups from the south came and surrounded the va ka Valoyi's country in the beginning of the 18th century. Elkiss (1981:61) states that as early as 1700, Vatsonga had begun migrating northward from their homelands in the south and spread across both sides of the Limpopo River. During the next several years, the Vatsonga conquered and incorporated the "Tsonga-Shona" (the Tonga and Kalanga) communities located south of Inhambane and actually threatened to capture the (local) Portuguese settlement itself (that had been established in the vicinity). By the

middle of the century, the invaders had expanded throughout southern Mozambique and even subjugated portions of the Sofala hinterland (Elkiss 1981:61).

Newitt (1995:156) states that by the early 18th century, these Vatsonga chiefs, originating in the neighbourhood of the (Delagoa) Bay, were migrating northwards with their followers and establishing their control throughout the country inland from Inhambane. Some were even moving northwards towards the Sabi River. As they formed political units much larger than those of the native Tonga populations, the latter were put under increasing pressure, either moving to the protection of the coastal swamps and sand dunes or staying put and suffering absorption by the conquerors.

Liesegang (1977:172) suggests a number of countries that surrounded the country of the va ka Valoyi in the 18th century, that included “Inthowelle” (Thovhela or Bvexa) and “Niambani” (Nyembane or Inhambane). Bannerman (1981:23) adds the Vanyayi, whom he replaces with the Vahlengwe (once the latter had replaced the former in the districts they occupied). Bannerman (1981:23) also states that some of these groups were acculturated into the Xitsonga and spoke the Xihlengwe dialect, while others retained their Shona or Kalanga language.

CHAPTER 7

MIGRATION TO LIMPOPO

7.1 ORGANISATION OF THE VA KA VALOYI IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY

According to all accounts gathered by this research, the Lowani lineage still retained the overlordship (paramount chieftaincy) of the va ka Valoyi by the beginning of the 19th century (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani). Oral accounts also agree that Nkami (also called Nkhavi) succeeded Nxolwana at the beginning of the 19th century and reigned up to the middle of the century when he was succeeded by Phangweni (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). The accounts also concur that Nkami reigned from the royal residence of Mvhamba and although Phangweni also started his reign there, he later moved residence to the bank of the Letaba River, in the present day Kruger National Park (part of Limpopo Province), which became known as Maphangweni (the place was located exactly where the Letaba Rest Camp is) (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Shilowa 2009; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva).

Oral accounts also suggest that of the six lineages of the sons of Gwambe, four of them, and the descendents of Xirimbi, spearheaded the va ka Valoyi's expansion towards the west and later contributed groups that migrated to the Limpopo Province. These were the Lowani, Xifun'wana, Xivodze (Mukansi) and Mpondwana (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Mathebula, SB. 2009. Personal interview, 2 June, Nkuzana; Shilowa 2009; Malwandla, J. 2011. Personal interview, 11 May, Nkuzana; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31

August, Gumbeni; Mkansi JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka). Oral accounts from these lineages suggest all these lineages were located on the western part of the va ka Valoyi's country around the beginning of the 19th century and therefore bordering the Limpopo Province, which made it easy for them to "move over" to the province when the situation demanded so (there was no border then separating Mozambique and South Africa) (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Shilowa 2009; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). The argument is convincing, considering the fact that evidence gathered by this research suggests they moved to Limpopo in various groups as discussed below.

7.1.1 Lowani

The oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi indicate that Lowani reigned from the Gulukhulu royal residence and that his grave is located there (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva) (this research was shown an unmarked grave identified as belonging to him). He is thought to have taken over from Gwambe around 1680 because the accounts suggest Gwambe died "*hi nkarhi wa nyimpi ya Changameri na Valungu*" (during the Changamire Dombo's war with the Portuguese) (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva), which was in 1680 (The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.]). Other accounts say "*a fuma loko ku lova Changameri*" (he was still in charge when Changamire Dombo died) (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva), which was in 1695 (The Regnal Chronologies [s.a.]).

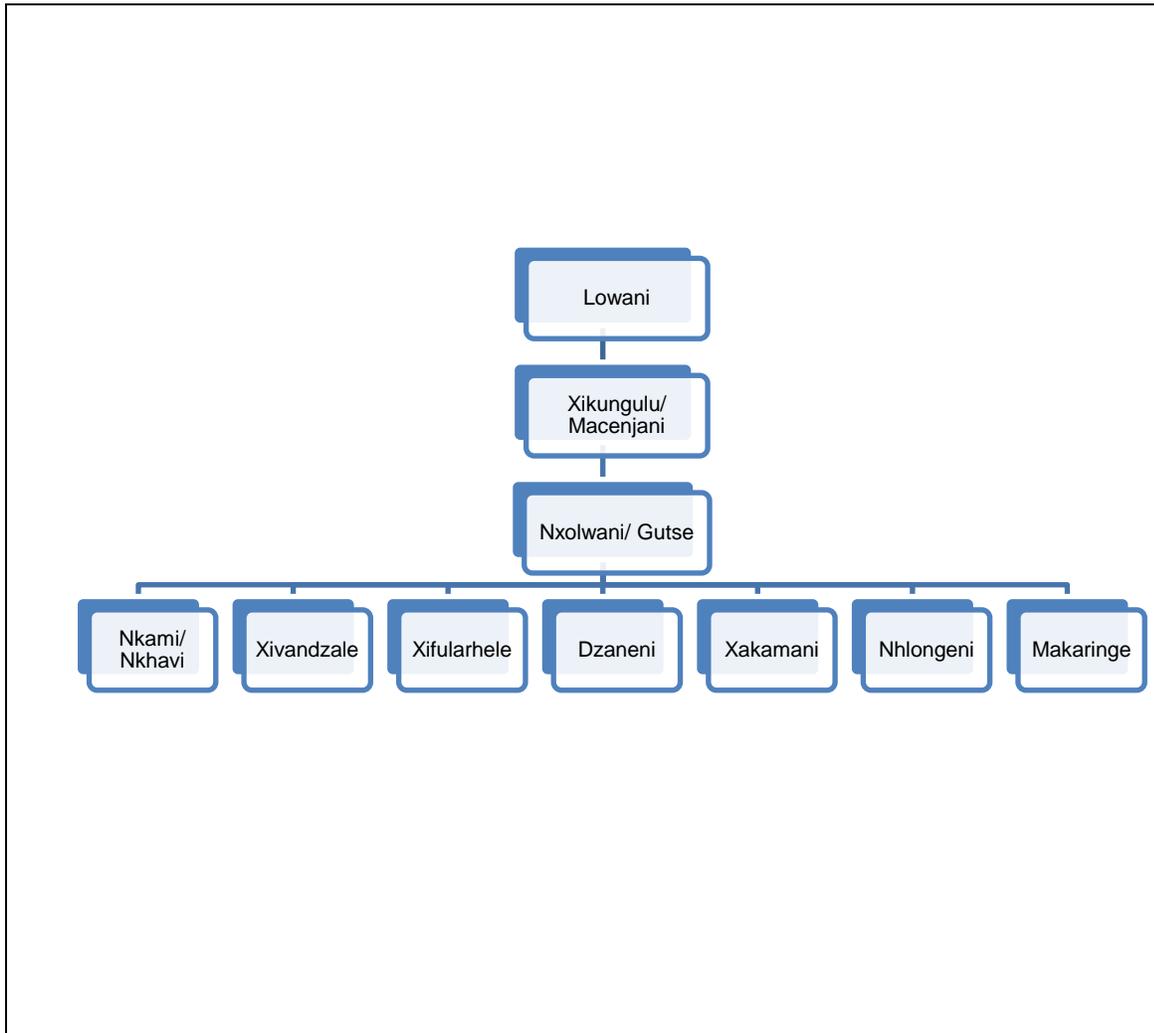
Lowani is thought to have died in the 1720s drawing from what the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi generally say about his successor, his son called Xikungulu (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele). Some accounts refer to Xikungulu as Macenjani (Mathebula, SB. 2009. Personal interview, 2 June, Nkuzana). The accounts suggest "*u (Xikungulu)*

sungule ku fuma loko ku ta fika Mabunu ka Maputsu” (He had just started his reign when the Dutch came to Maputo) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani).

Oral accounts only remember one son of Xikungulu, who was also his heir. His name was Nxolwana (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva) (some accounts suggest he was also called Gutse) (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N’wamitwa). The accounts are unanimous that Nxolwana succeeded Xikungulu and that he reigned from the Gulukhulu capital because his grave is also there (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani) (this research was shown the grave and the tree he allegedly used to make sacrifices to his ancestors – Hosi Matlharini Xigevenga Baloi and his mother were the caretakers of that sacred place during the visit). Nxolwana’s reign is estimated to have started around 1750, the year known in the va ka Valoyi oral history as *“ku fika ka Vahlengwe”* (arrival of the Hlengwe) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani), estimated to be the middle of the 18th century (Hedges 1978).

Nxolwana’s sons were Nkami, who was his heir, Xivandzale, Dzaneni, Xakamani, Xifularhele, Makaringe and Nhlongi (Makhuva 1997; Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Mathebula, SB. 2009. Personal interview, 2 June, Nkuzana; Shilowa 2009; Baloyi, R. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Ribungwani; Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Shilowa, MJ. 2012. Personal interview, 30 May, Giyani; Baloyi, BG. 2013. Personal interview, 3 July, Khakhala). Although Jacques (1938:126) also lists some of these sons (from the accounts he gathered), he omits Nkhavi (Nkami) and only lists him as one of the names in what he calls the “Mathevula genealogy” of the Makhuva section of the Lowani (Jacques 1938:63).

Thus, from Lowani, the genealogy of this house is as indicated in **Fig. 7.1**:



Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 7.1

Nkami probably succeeded Nxolwana around 1700 or a year or two before because the oral accounts suggest the Xilowa settled around Nghumbhini “loko ku heta ku hangalasiwa nkosi wa Nxolwana” (after Nxolwana’s mourning period) (Baloi, K. 2012. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani; Baloi, MX. 2013. Personal interview, 10 August, N’wamahunyani). His heir was Phangweni, who succeeded him later (around 1855) (Junod 1927:413; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). But two of Nkami’s other sons, Yingwani and Mahuntsi, also established their own communities (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva;

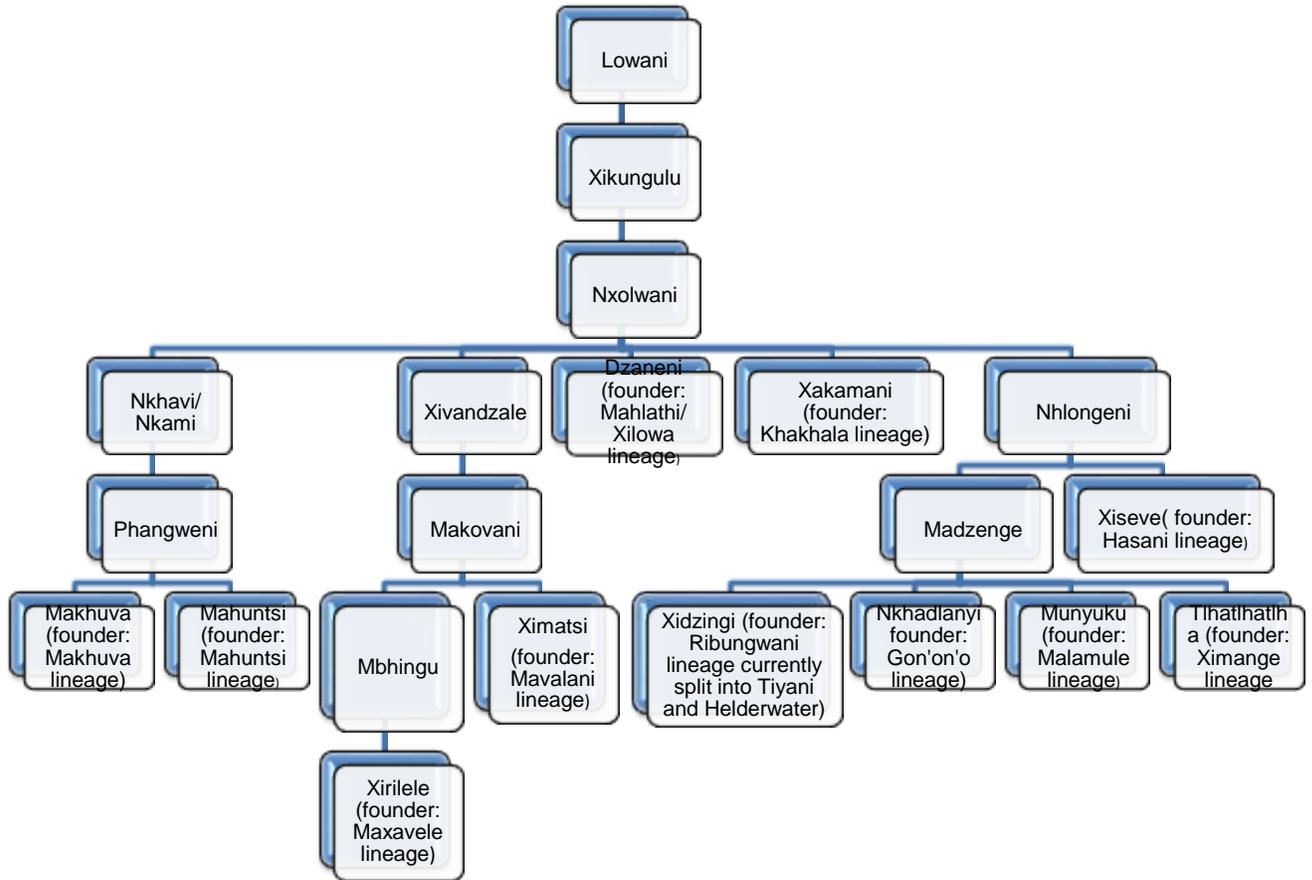
Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). Yingwani's community became known as Mvhamba, after one of his sons, who had acted as regent for his heir, Mikhuva (Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). Mahuntsi founded the community that became known by this name (Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). Phangweni's successor was Makhuva, by whose name the community is currently known (Jacques 1938:63; Mathebula, MP. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva; Mathevula, NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva).

Among other sons of Nxolwana, Xivandzale, Dzaneni, Xakamani, Nhlongeni and Makaringe also established their own communities. Xivandzale was succeeded by Makovani, who was succeeded by Mbhingu, by whose name the Xivandzale community of Mozambique became known at a later stage. But Makovani had another son called Ximatsi, who established a community that became known as Mavalani (named after Ximatsi's successor). One of Mbhingu's sons, Xirilele, realising that he was not going to succeed his father because he was from a junior house, established his own community currently known as Maxavele (named after one of the later rulers) (Baloyi, A. 2009. Personal interview, 30 November, Polokwane). Dzaneni's community is currently known as Xilowa (a corruption of Lowani) and Mahlathi (one of the later rulers who reigned after Ximambani and Magezi, two of the rulers after Dzaneni) (Rikhotso, F. 2013. Personal interview, 8 May, Polokwane). Oral accounts of the Xakamani suggest his (Xakamani's) successor was Xitsuvuri (but the community is currently known as Khakhala, named after one of the later rulers) (Baloyi, BG. 2013. Personal interview, 3 July, Khakhala). Makaringe's community is known by his name and located right at the confluence of the Limpopo and Olifants rivers in Mozambique (Macaringue, SB. 2010. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe).

Nhlongeni gave rise to seven communities through two of his sons, Madzenge and Xiseve (Jacques 1938:126-127). Madzenge had four sons, Xidzingi, Nkhadlanyi, Munyuku and Tlhatlhatlha (Mathebula, SB. 2009. Personal interview, 2 June, Nkuzana;

Baloyi, R. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Ribungwani; Baloyi, M. 2013. Personal interview, 28 June, Gon'on'o; Baloyi, X. 2013. Personal interview, 10 June, N'wamitwa). Xidzingi gave rise to two communities currently known as Ribungwani (Tiyani) and Ribungwani (Helderwater) (Baloyi, R. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Ribungwani); Nkhadlanyi gave rise to the Gon'on'o community (Baloyi, M. 2013. Personal interview, 28 June, Gon'on'o), while Munyuku created the Malamule community (Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva). Tlhatlhatlha's successor was Nkukwana (hence the community became known as Nkukwana) (Baloyi, X. 2013. Personal interview, 10 June, N'wamitwa; Baloi, M. 2012. Personal interview, 9 August, Mahanuke), but one of Nkukwana's sons, Ximange, later founded a community that became known by his name (Baloyi, X. 2013. Personal interview, 10 June, N'wamitwa). Nhlongeni's other son, Xiseve, gave rise to the Hasani community, through his son called Guswi (Jacques 1938:127; Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele).

Fig. 7.2 below illustrates these communities (**Source:** Researcher’s compilation):



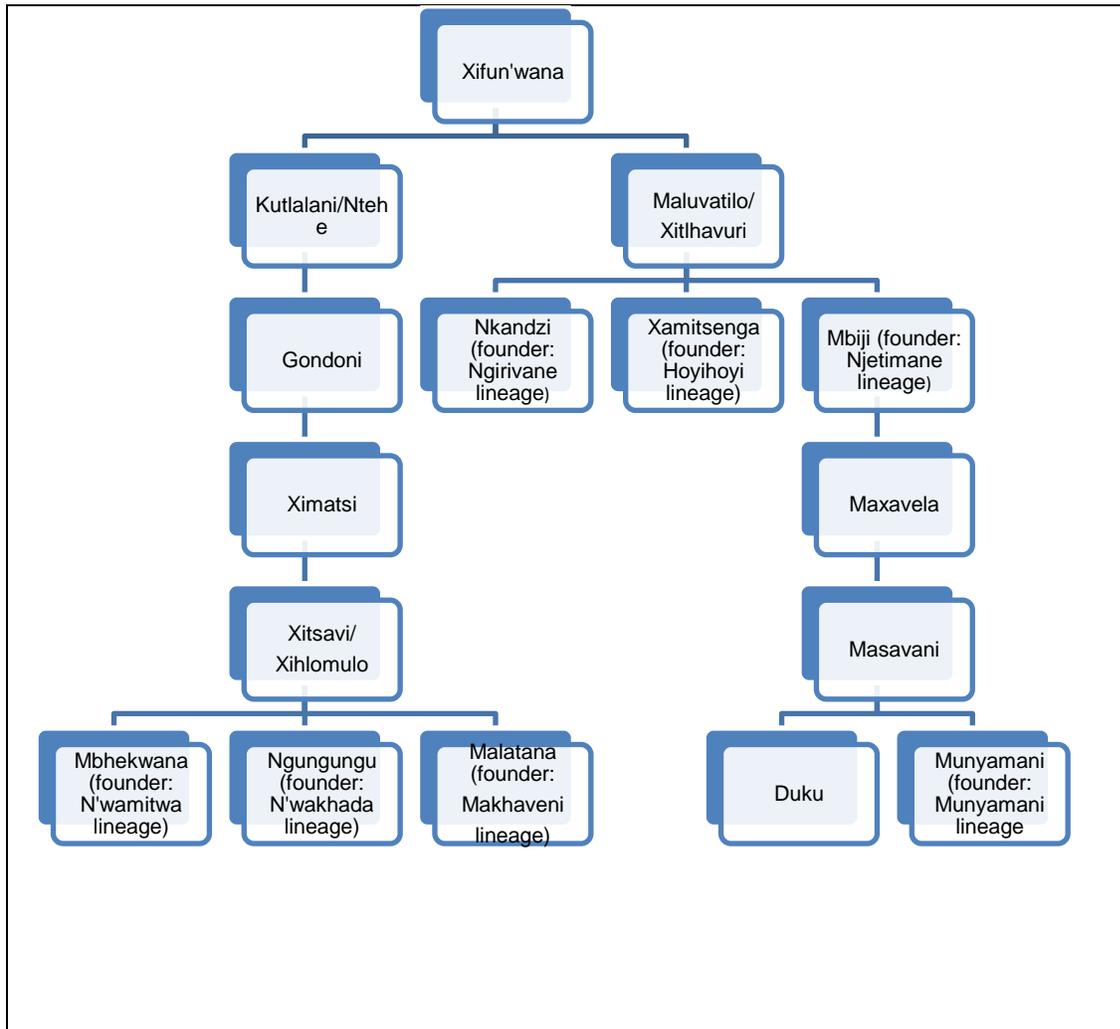
7.1.2 Xifun'wana

Evidence from oral accounts indicates that Xifun'wana had two sons who established their own communities that they led as chiefs: They were Kutlalani (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen; Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October 2011 Munyamani; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa) and Maluvatilo (some accounts suggest he was also known as Xitlhavuri) (Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva). In his community, Kutlalani was succeeded by his son called Gondoni (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen; Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October 2011 Munyamani; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa) (some accounts call him Ximatsi) (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa). Some of the accounts, especially those of the Xifun'wani members who remained in Mozambique, suggest Ximatsi was, in fact, Gondoni's son, hence they suggest he succeeded Gondoni. They suggest, instead, that Gondoni's other name was Ntehe. Oral accounts state that Ximatsi was succeeded by his son called Xitsavi who is called Xihlomulo in some accounts, especially those of members based in Mozambique (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October 2011 Munyamani). Oral accounts of some members of the Xifun'wana, especially those of the N'wamitwa and N'wakhada lineages and a few others of the va ka Valoyi based in South Africa suggest Xitsavi and Xihlomulo were two different people (that Xihlomulo was the son of Xitsavi) (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen; Shipalana 2009). However, accounts of the va ka Valoyi lineages in Mozambique (within and outside the Xifun'wana lineage) are adamant that Xitsavi and Xihlomulo are names of the same person. Xitsavi's heir was Munyamani (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October 2011 Munyamani), but he also had other sons who established their own communities that they led as chiefs. They included Nkaxa, Mbhekwani, Ngungungu, Muxurhu, Mangoro and Malatana (Jacques 1938:126-127; Baloi, A. 2011. Personal interview, 9 August, Nkuzi; Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October 2011 Munyamani; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). Nkaxa's chiefdom became known as Makhongele and named after his grandson by his son called Mahungu. Mangoro's chiefdom became known as Nkuzi,

after his son and heir (Baloi, A. 2011. Personal interview, 9 August, Nkuzi; Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Munyamani) Mbhekwana's community (which later incorporated that of Muxurhu) became known as N'wamitwa, one of his sons, while that of Ngungungu became known as N'wakhada (and later as Kheyi), names of his son and heir (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). Malatana's community is currently known as Makhaveni, one of its later rulers (Baloyi, E. 2014. Personal interview, 22 January, Sekgopo).

Meanwhile, Maluvatilo (even though the accounts of this lineage are full of contradictions and incomplete as to many of the facts) seems to have given rise to four communities and associated lineages through his three sons, Nkandzi, Xamitsenga and Mbiji, all of which later disintegrated under different circumstances (after influencing the westward expansion of the va ka Valoyi in earlier stages). Nkandzi gave rise to the community that became known as the Ngirivani, named after his grandson by his son called Makhayingi (Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva) Xamitsenga gave rise to the Hoyihoyi (also known as N'wasorini), which was named after its fifth and sixth rulers, respectively (Mathebula, A. 2016. Personal interview, 14 March, Phalaborwa). Xamitsenga was succeeded by Cingi, who was succeeded by Mahlakule, who was succeeded by Xisiku, Hoyihoyi's father. Later, Hoyihoyi was succeeded by N'wasorini (Mathebula, A. 2016. Personal interview, 14 March, Phalaborwa). In Mbiji's community, he was succeeded by Maxavela, who was succeeded by the man known in some oral accounts as Masavani and as Museveni in others (Mathebula, H. 2016. Personal interview, 14 March, Mkhuhlu) (the Munyamani oral accounts call him by the latter and the Njetimane by the former). Masavani's successor was Duku, but his other son, Munyamani, gave rise to the community that became known by his name (Mathebula, H. 2016. Personal interview, 14 March, Mkhuhlu).

Fig. 7.3 below illustrates these communities:



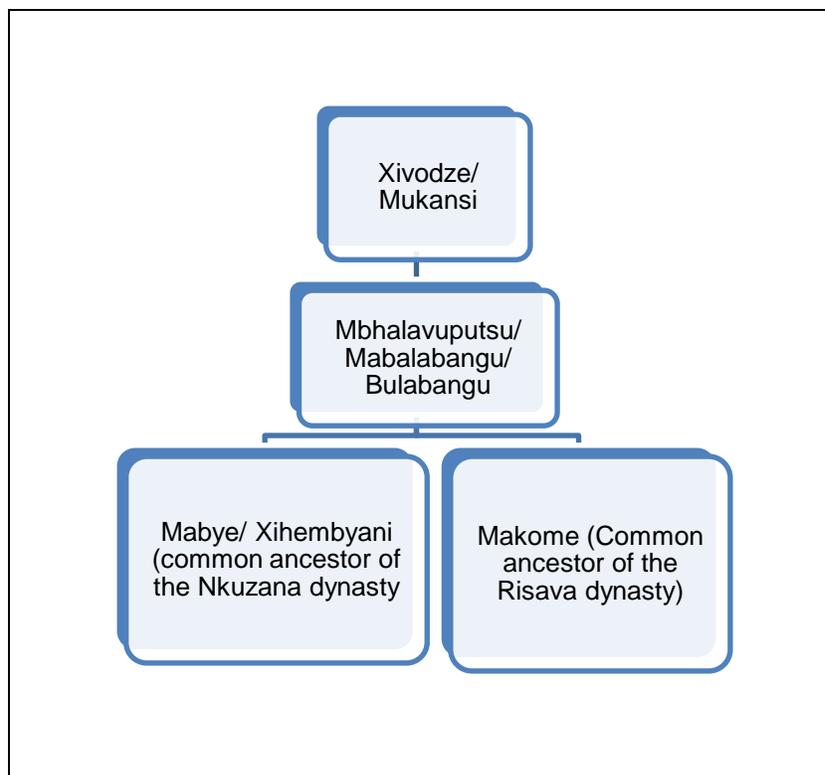
Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 7.3

7.1.3 Xivodze (Mukansi)

Oral accounts of the Xivodze (Mukansi) suggest that Xivodze was succeeded by his son whom the accounts know by two names (Malwandla & Nkuzana 1996; Malwandla, J. 2011. Personal interview, 11 May, Nkuzana; Mkansi, J. 2012. Personal interview, 3 July, Ribungwani; Mkansi JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). The Makome section (which is the senior branch) of the Xivodze (Mukansi) call him Mbhalavuputsu (Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August,

Gumbeni; Mkansi, JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni), while the Mabye section (a junior branch) call him Bulabangu or Mabulabangu (Malwandla & Nkuzana 1996; Malwandla, J. 2011. Personal interview, 11 May, Nkuzana; Mkansi, J. 2012. Personal interview, 3 July, Ribungwani). Others call him Xihembyani (Mkansi, DD. 2012. Personal interview, 3 July, Ribungwani; Mkansi, J. 2012. Personal interview, 3 July, Ribungwani). His successor was Makome, but his other son, Mabye, managed to establish his community that is currently known as Nkuzana (Malwandla & Nkuzana 1996; Malwandla, J. 2011. Personal interview, 11 May, Nkuzana; Mkansi, J. 2012. Personal interview, 3 July, Ribungwani; Mkansi JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka; Mkansi, B. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni; Mkansi, L. 2013. Personal interview, 31 August, Gumbeni). Below is **Fig. 7.4** showing the two branches of the Xivodze:



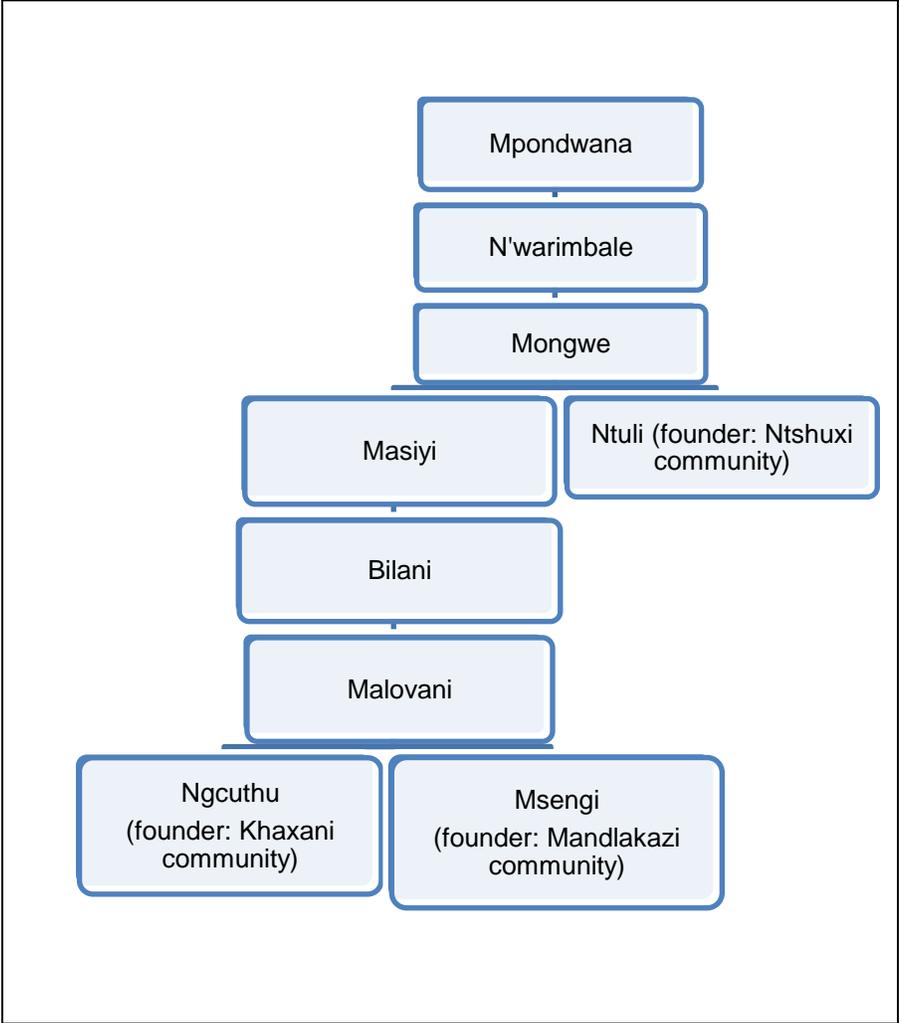
Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 7.4

7.1.4 Mpondwana

Oral accounts, as pointed out earlier, suggest Mpondwana was not the direct founder of any community that developed from his lineage, but rather his daughter, N'warimbale. She founded the community that she led as a chief and when she died, her only son, Mongwe, succeeded her, hence that community became known by her son's name (Jacques 1938:77-78). Oral accounts suggest Mongwe's heir was Masiyi (Jacques 1938:78), but that he had another son called Ntuli, who founded his own community that later became known as Ntshuxi, after his son and successor's name. Masiyi was later succeeded by his son known as Bilani, while Bilani's successor, Malovani, was succeeded by Ngcuthu whose community later became known as Khaxani. Malovani's other son, Msengi, gave rise to the Mandlhakazi community (Ntuli, H. 2013. Personal interview, 8 July, Ntshuxi).

Fig. 7.5 below shows the genealogy of the Mpondwana lineage:

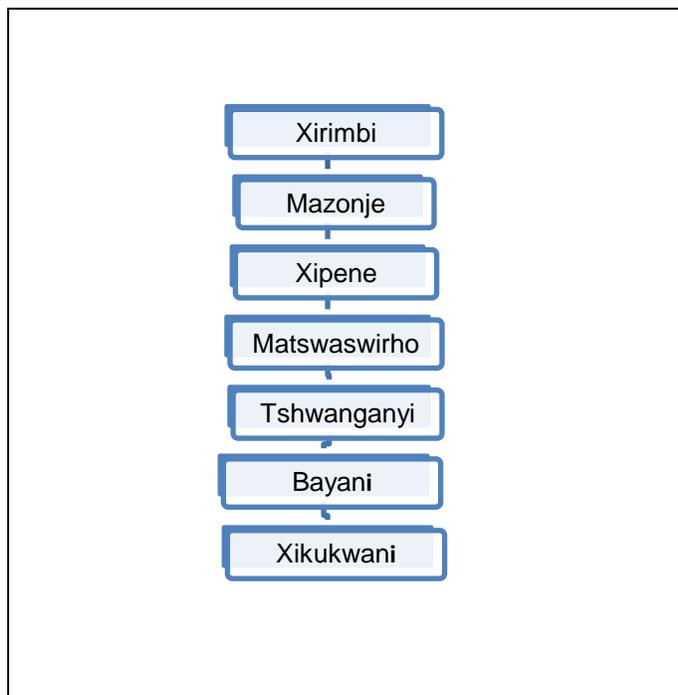


Source: Researcher's compilation

Fig. 7.5

7.1.5 Xirimbi

Oral accounts of the Xirimbi suggest that Mazonje, Xipene, Matswaswirho, Tshwanganyi and Bayani reigned after Xirimbi and that Bayani's successor was his son called Xikukwani, the man the oral accounts suggest spearheaded the Xirimbi movement to the west (Baloyi, B. 2012. Personal interview, 16 June, Xikukwani). Establishing dates for the activities of the Xirimbi has proved to be difficult, but Xikukwani is thought to have moved to Nghumbheni in the present day Kruger National Park around the middle of the 19th century (Baloyi, B. 2012. Personal interview, 16 June, Xikukwani). Below is **Fig. 7.6** showing the genealogy of the Xirimbi:



Source: researcher's compilation

Fig. 7.6

7.2 PRELUDE TO THE MIGRATION

7.2.1 The Nguni Invasion of Southern Mozambique

By all accounts, the va ka Valoyi's migration to the Limpopo Province was largely influenced by the invasion of southern Mozambique by the Nguni groups from the present-day KwaZulu-Natal, specifically the Gaza group that was led by Soshangane. With the exception of the Dzaneni (Mahlathi/ Xilowa), who occupied Nghumbheni much earlier, the rest of the va ka Valoyi communities were pushed to Limpopo by the Nguni (Shilowa 2009; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa). The va ka Valoyi oral accounts and the written sources suggest that it was during Nkami's reign as the overlord when Soshangane invaded the va ka Valoyi's country (Makhuva 1997; Jacques 1938:63).

However, both the oral accounts and written sources are not consistent on the exact period of this invasion and the precise activities of the invasion. Etherington (2004:178) states that precise dates of Soshangane's movements are not available, but suggests that Shaka appears to have taken control of the nascent Zulu state in 1817 or 1818. Mathebula (2002:37) also suggests the last battle between Shaka and the Ndwandwe (to whom the Gaza and Soshangane belonged) was fought in 1818 and this could be the date in which Soshangane fled Natal and moved northwards (and settled in Maputo). But once he was in Maputo, he spent almost the whole decade raiding lands belonging to the local Vatsonga groups and Portuguese for resources without conquering any of them (Jacques 1938:7; Mhlongo 1997; C. Montez in Omer-Cooper 1966:57). Bhila (1983:171-2) concedes that the details of the activities of the Nguni groups from the 1820s to 1836 are confused largely by the frequent movement of the Nguni from one place to another (Soshangane left Maputo and settled in the lower Limpopo valley, which was also known as Bileni later in the 1820s). Omer-Cooper (1966:57) suggests that Soshangane left the Maputo area in 1828. However, Elkiss (1981:62) suggests 1827. Bhila (1983:173) argues that a year after his arrival in the lower Limpopo valley, Soshangane repulsed Shaka's armies, which had followed him

there. Because it is now common knowledge that Shaka died in 1828, it means Soshangane therefore arrived in the Limpopo valley a year before, that is 1827.

However, it seems the va ka Valoyi did not immediately become a priority of Soshangane and his group. Records left by the Portuguese in Maputo, contained in the study by Liesegang (1969) suggest Soshangane's attention remained around Maputo for a while after he settled in the lower Limpopo valley. Liesegang (1969:573) reports that the agent of the trading company reported that Ribeiro (Portuguese governor in Maputo) had hosted flags of Portugal in various kingdoms around Maputo between 1831 and 1833 with the assistance of Soshangane. Liesegang (1969:573) also suggests that there were skirmishes between Soshangane and the Portuguese around 1834. Warhurst (1966:48) adds that in one such skirmish, Soshangane took Lourenco Marques, killing Governor Ribeiro on 5 October 1834.

The va ka Valoyi oral accounts suggest that it was while Soshangane was at Bileni (lower Limpopo valley) that Xitsavi, the ruler of the Xifun'wana at the time died (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa). Ntsanwisi & Shilubana (1979:4) suggest it was around 1833. Instead of getting somebody as regent for his chiefdom, Nkami decided to govern that chiefdom directly himself, while also remaining the overlord of the va ka Valoyi (sources suggest the chiefdom was returned to the rightful house when Nkami died in the middle of the 19th century) (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Munyamani).

Literature suggests that it could have been Dingani's frequent attacks on Lourenco Marques that made Soshangane decide to defocus his attention from the Maputo region (Dingani was Shaka's successor). Bhila (1983:173) states that attacks by Dingani on Lourenco Marques in 1833, meant the Zulus would still attack Soshangane. Therefore, in 1835, Soshangane decided to start focusing his attention on the communities that were in his vicinity (in the north, where the va ka Valoyi were). Oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi suggest even around that time, Soshangane actually wanted to migrate further to the north, to Musapa, the land of the Vandawu (Shona) and only attacked the

local peoples (around the Limpopo valley) in an attempt to bolster his army with new forced recruits. Elkiss (1981:62) suggests Soshangane left the lower Limpopo valley later in 1835 (after fighting with several local communities, including the va ka Valoyi). He settled in Musapa, north of the Save River, on the headwaters of the Buzi River.

7.2.2 The First War with the Nguni

Although oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi do not have the precise date for their first war with the Nguni, they suggest it was during the same year Soshangane left Bileni (the lower Limpopo valley) to Musapa (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). Soshangane, state the accounts, fought with them at a place called Xihaheni-xa-N'wankome in what is recorded in the memory as the Battle of Xihaheni (Makhuva 1997; Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani; Mathevula. NC. 2012. Personal interview, 11 August, Makhuva). Mathebula (2002:97) states that the battle was fought there before Soshangane left for Musapa, which is corroborated by various accounts stating the Nguni were defeated in that battle. Shilowa (2009) goes to quite some length to show that the va ka Valoyi killed the entire Nguni regiment during the battle and left only one member, who had both his ears cut off and told to go and report to his masters what had happened to his colleagues. Whereas some accounts suggest the head of the va ka Valoyi's army was N'wankome (Shilowa 2009), others suggest it was the place in which the battle was fought that was named after him, but he was no longer there (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani). Accounts of the va ka Valoyi on these events are partially corroborated by the accounts of the Vankuna, which suggest Soshangane fought with them, too, as well as the Nkhavelana and Mavunda before he left that same year (Shilubana & Ntsanwisi 1979:24).

The oral accounts of the N'wamitwa suggest that after the war with Soshangane at the Battle of Xihaheni, they moved to the new area near the Xingwedzi and Pafuri rivers (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa) under the leadership of Mbhekwana (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Baloyi, R.

2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). The group included Mbhekwana's brothers Muxurhu, Malatana and Ngungungu, together with Mbhekwana's sons N'wamitwa, N'waxihuku, Mavokweni, Magaweni and Maphungumana (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen)

7.2.3 The Second War with the Nguni

Oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi say two years after the Battle of Xihaheni, after which Soshangane "fled" to Musapa, another war broke out between them and Soshangane when he returned from Musapa (Makhuva 1997). Various other sources suggest he returned in 1838 (Junod 1905:229). The accounts of the va ka Valoyi are generally divided on what actually took place during this war (Makhuva 1997), and so are written sources (Shilowa 2009). Some accounts even dispute the very suggestion that the war took place (Makhuva 1997). Yet, those who say the war took place are also divided in terms of the victors in that war. Some, like the N'wamitwa, say there was no winner (Shilowa 2009), while others say Soshangane won because he had bolstered his army with many forced recruits from the Vandawu of Musapa (Jacques 1938:8).

Written sources seem to suggest that the actual war may not have taken place in a physical sense, but that whatever conflict that took place should be viewed as a war nonetheless. Junod (1905:229-230) suggests that when Soshangane returned to Bileni (feeling the strength that he had gained in Musapa), issued an instruction for all the "chiefs" to join him in pursuit of the enemy (Nxaba – his Nguni rival he dislodged from Musapa) to the north. Only a few obeyed, others sent some of their subjects. Nkami was among those who did not comply. This greatly roused the anger of Soshangane, all the more because some of them had confiscated and promptly eaten a number of oxen left behind by the Nguni in their retreat (including the va ka Valoyi after the Battle of Xihaheni). These "chiefs" were not slow to understand that Soshangane on his return would promptly wreak his vengeance on them. Out of this fear (and not physical war), some leaders, including Nkami, sent out a small party of scouts to reconnoiter the

movements of the Nguni and succeeded in catching a spy. That man informed them that the army was camping at the Save River and would reach Bileni in less than a week. Soshangane's plan was, said the spy, to kill all the adults who were tattooed on the nose (almost all of the people in the district) and to spare only the young, who would learn to be more faithful to him. This information caused these groups to prepare for a fight. But others, including Nkami, sent out an advance guard to open the way through the Vanhlanganu's country, then followed by the women and children (in case they were defeated, they would have alternative places to flee to) (Junod 1905:229-230).

7.3 SETTLEMENT IN LIMPOPO

7.3.1 Period of Settlement

From the information discussed earlier, it is evident that apart from the Mahlathi (Xilowa) community that came to Limpopo around 1800, all the other va ka Valoyi communities began arriving in Limpopo from 1838 onwards (after the va ka Valoyi's second war with the Nguni). Further scrutiny of each community suggests that the current va ka Valoyi communities continued their arrival in Limpopo until around 1855, when the last of these groups arrived. It should be noted, though, that these specific dates cannot be found in the oral accounts of the va ka Valoyi, but specific events that are associated with the movements of these groups make it possible for this research to determine or at least to estimate this period.

7.3.2 The Arrival of the va ka Valoyi Communities in Limpopo

7.3.2.1 The Xilowa (Mahlathi)

The accounts of the Xilowa (Mahlathi) are consistent on the fact that they were the first of the va ka Valoyi communities to occupy the Limpopo Province, led by Dzaneni (Shilowa 2009). These accounts are corroborated by those of other va ka Valoyi communities (Makhuva 1997). But the Mahlathi accounts, like those of the other va ka

Valoyi communities, are not specific on the dates; they only state that it was during the reign of Ximambani (also called Nkuri) of the va ka Maluleke, whom they say also settled nearby, almost at the same time with them (Shilowa 2009). Accounts from other lineages of the va ka Valoyi generally state that the Mahlathi came first. Fifteen Makhuva states that “*va ka Mahlathi va rhangele va ka Valoyi hinkwavo*” (The Mahlathi came before all the va ka Valoyi) (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani), while Edward Mathebula states that “*va ka Mahlathi va fike ku nge se ta Vangoni*” (The Mahlathi came before the Nguni invasions) (Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva). The Mahlathi accounts further suggest that Dzaneni named one of his sons and heir Ximambani after the va ka Maluleke leader, (because he was the ruler on their arrival in the Limpopo Lowveld) (Shilowa 2009). Dick (1926) suggests Ximambani (Nkuri) settled with the va ka Maluleke in the Limpopo Lowveld around 1800. Oral accounts of the Mahlathi say their place became known as Nghumbheni (Shilowa 2009) (which others suggest means lowveld) (Mhlongo 1998).

7.3.2.2 The Xitsavi (N’wamitwa, N’wakhada, Muxurhu and Makhaveni)

Oral accounts of the N’wamitwa, the N’wakhada and the Makhaveni communities (all from the Xitsavi lineage) suggest that Mbhekwana, the son of Xitsavi, left Mozambique in 1838 with his brothers Muxurhu, Malatana and Ngungungu, together with his sons N’waxihuku, Magaweni, Mavokweni, Maphungumana and N’wamitwa as well as a relative called Zebediyela (Jacques 1938:126; Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N’wamitwa; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). They settled at Jajalala near Modjadji’s country between the Great and Klein Letaba rivers (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N’wamitwa; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). Accounts from the Modjadji and literature from the South African National Archives say the area fell under Modjadji (SA Native Location Commission 1907), while accounts from the N’wamitwa are divided on the matter (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N’wamitwa; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). Accounts of the N’wakhada and the N’wamitwa concur that the N’wamitwa, N’wakhada and Muxurhu groups settled as a single group at

Jajalala (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen), but the Makhaveni accounts say Malatana was also part of the group, albeit *“in a lower profile than his other three brothers”* (Baloyi, E. 2014. Personal interview, 22 January, Sekgopo). The N'wamitwa and the N'wakhada accounts are completely silent on the Malatana group. Both the oral accounts and the written sources agree that this happened immediately after what has since become known as “the second Nguni war” with the va ka Valoyi (Junod 1905:231-2; Shilubana & Ntsan'wisi 1979). This places their arrival in Limpopo at 1838, the year in which the war took place.

Accounts of the N'wamitwa and the N'wakhada do talk about the separation of the N'wamitwa and the N'wakhada into two independent groups (which happened much later) and the assimilation of the Muxurhu group into the N'wamitwa. This, say the accounts, happened during the reign of N'wamitwa, who succeeded Mbhekwana and N'wakhada, who succeeded Ngungungu (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). Accounts from both lineages state that Muxurhu was still alive and very old, and that he and his group became part of the N'wamitwa group (Shipalana, M. 2010. Personal interview, 28 August, N'wamitwa; Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). The N'wakhada accounts suggest N'wamitwa was meant to take care (*ku hlayisa*) of Muxurhu because he was too old to be left by himself (nothing is known about his descendants) (Baloyi, R. 2009. Personal interview, 28 June, Tzaneen). As already pointed out, neither the accounts of the N'wamitwa nor those of the N'wakhada mention Malatana and his group that became known as Makhaveni. But the Makhaveni accounts insist he (Malatana) was part of the group that came with Mbhekwana, but are silent on the circumstances that led to his breakaway and to his association with the Sekgopo community, where his community has since become a headmanship.

7.3.2.3 The Maluvatilo (Hoyihoyi, Ngirivani, Masavana and Munyamani)

The accounts of the Maluvatilo are full of contradictions, except on one issue: The group came to Limpopo with members from all the three houses constituted by the sons of

Maluvatilo: Nkandzi, Xamitsenga and Mbiji. They also seem to agree that their leader was a direct descendant of Xamitsenga, even though some members of the Nkandzi argue that it was a member from their lineage who led the group. Mahlakule, Xamitsenga's grandson and son of Cingi, appears to be the man who led this group. Ngirivani led the Nkandzi section, while Masavani led the Mbiji section. But all were part of a bigger group that was led by Mahlakule. The group's time of arrival is generally not mentioned in their accounts, but some accounts do mention that it could have been two or three years after the arrival of the Xitsavi group (Mathebula, EC. 2012. Personal interview, 14 August, Makhuva) (about 1841).

7.3.2.4 The Nhlongi (Ribungwani, Gon'on'o, Malamule, Ximange, and Hasani)

Accounts of the Nhlongi lineages do not have specific dates for their arrival in Limpopo. But some sources suggest it was before the arrival of Joao Albasini (Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele) (Albasini arrived in 1855) (Maluleke, M. 2013. Personal interview, 11 January, Hlaneki). Some of the written sources suggest they arrived around the same time with Munene Maswanganyi, one of the early leaders to settle in Zoutpansberg (around the 1840s) (Maluleke, M. 2013. Personal interview, 11 January, Hlaneki). Accounts of the Madzenge, Nhlongi's son, suggest he led the group and that he brought with him his brother, Xiseve (Hasani, C. 2011. Personal interview, 22 May, Malamulele; Baloyi, R. 2010. Personal interview, 16 June, Ribungwani). But accounts from the Xiseve lineage suggest he never came to Limpopo and that he lies buried in Mozambique (Baloi, H. 2012. Personal interview. 10 August, Xikungulu) (which is corroborated by the accounts of the Makaringe and Xifun'wana who claim to know where he is buried in Mozambique at a place with his name) (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Munyamani; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe). Therefore, these accounts suggest Guswi, Xeseve's son, is the one who came to Limpopo and not as part of the group that came with Madzenge (they argue Guswi came much later). His community is currently known as the Hasani (Baloi, X. 2011. Personal interview, 1 October, Munyamani; Macaringue, M. 2011. Personal interview, 2 October, Makaringe).

As pointed out earlier, Madzenge had four sons, Xidzingi, Nkhadlanyi, Munyuku and Tlhatlhatlha. Xidzingi gave rise to two communities currently known as Ribungwani (Tiyani) and Ribungwani (Helderwater); Nkhadlanyi gave rise to the Gon'on'o community, while Munyuku gave rise to the Malamule community. Tlhatlhatlha gave rise to the Ximange community (which has since disintegrated).

7.3.2.5 The Phangweni (Makhuva and Mahuntsi)

Oral accounts of the entire Nxolwana lineage suggest that before Phangweni succeeded Nkami, he established a new residence on the bank of the Letaba River (exactly where the Letaba Rest Camp is in the Kruger National Park, which became known as Maphangweni) (Makhuva 1997). Written sources suggest Nkami died in 1855 (Junod 1927:413), which means this residence was established before this date. Although oral accounts of the Makhuva suggest Phangweni started his reign in Mvhamba (they say he went there after the death of Nkami), they add that he later returned to the Maphangweni (Makhuva, F. 2009. Personal interview, 28 August, Lulekani), although accounts from his descendants in Mvhamba dispute this (they say it was his successor Makhuva who returned there) (Baloi, H. 2012. Personal interview. 10 August, Xikungulu; Makhuva 1997). Accounts of the Mahuntsi, another Phangweni's son, suggest Mahuntsi was resident at Maphangweni when he decided to migrate with some of the people to the Zoutpansberg, where he ruled them as their chief, thus founding the Mahuntsi community (Makhubele, M. 2013. Personal interview, 20 December).

7.3.2.6 The Xakamani (Khakhala) and Xivandzale (Mavalani and Maxavele)

Accounts of the Khakhala (Xakamani) suggest that Mihawu fled with the entire Xakamani community to a place north of the present day Giyani town, with members of the Xivandzale under the leadership of Makovani. Effectively, these accounts claim Makovani became a headman under Mihawu (Baloyi, BG. 2013. Personal interview, 3

July, Khakhala), which is largely confirmed by the accounts of the Xivandzale (Shilowa 2009). The Xakamani are currently known as the Khakhala, named after the son and successor to Mihawu. The Xivandzale are currently divided into two: the Mavalani, representing the junior branch and the Maxavele, representing the senior branch (Baloyi, BG. 2013. Personal interview, 3 July, Khakhala).

7.3.2.7 The Xivodze-Mukansi (Nkuzana and Risava)

Oral accounts of the Xivodze (Mukansi) suggest that Xivodze was succeeded by his son known in the accounts under two names that have been discussed earlier. The Makome section (which is the senior branch) of the Xivodze calls him Mbhalavuputsu, while the Mabye section (a junior branch) calls him Bulabangu or Mabulabangu (few other accounts call him Xihembyani). But all these accounts agree that these names refer to the same man. His successor was Makome, but his other son, Mabye, managed to establish his community. He was succeeded by Hanti who was succeeded by Mamintele, the father to Matshavatshi, who led the community to Zoutpansberg in 1850 (the community is currently known as Nkuzana, named after Matshavatshi's son and successor) (Rikhotso, FJ. 2012. Personal interview, 31 May, Marholeni; Xitiva, M. 2012. Personal interview, 31 May, Mahatlani). Other accounts suggest members of the Makome section came together with Matshavatshi, but elected to join the Xitsavi group instead of going with the other group to Zoutpansberg (The Xitsavi were already settled at Jajalala in Tzaneen). The Makome members who came with Matshavatshi were led by Gogovila, a direct descendent of Makome. He is the grandfather to Risava, in whose name the community became known (Mkansi, JX. 2013. Personal interview, 16 June, Loloka).

7.3.2.8 The Mpondwana-Mongwe (Ntshuxi, Khaxani, Mandlhakazi)

Oral accounts suggest Mongwe's heir was Masiyi, but that he had another son called Ntuli, who founded his own community that later became known as Ntshuxi, after his son and successor's name. Masiyi was later succeeded by his son known as Bilani, while Bilani's successor, Malovani, was succeeded by Ngcuthu whose community later

became known as Khaxani. Malovani's other son, Msengi, gave rise to the Mandlhakazi community. It is not known when the group arrived in Limpopo but it was already part of the Phangweni group in the late 1840s before it joined the N'wamitwa later in the century (Baloyi, B. 2012. Personal interview, 16 June, Xikukwani).

7.3.2.9 The Xirimbi (Xikukwani)

The successor to Bayani was Xikukwani, the man the oral accounts suggest spearheaded the Xirimbi's movement to the west, hence the community is currently known as Xikukwani. The group is said to have arrived in Limpopo almost at the same time with the Xakamani (Baloyi, B. 2012. Personal interview, 16 June, Xikukwani), but as pointed out earlier, dates of this lineage's activities are not clear.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

8.1. FINDINGS

8.1.1. Findings on Migration

8.1.1.1. Great Zimbabwe is the Earliest Known Residence of the Ancestors of the va ka Valoyi

The roots of the va ka Valoyi are, without doubt, the ancient state of Great Zimbabwe, where they were members of the Nembire family. This family, at least at some stage in the beginning of the 15th century, around 1420 AD, was the ruling lineage of that state under the title of Munhumutapa. This state grew massively under this ruling lineage to include all of the present-day Zimbabwe, and parts of Mozambique. But the branch of the Nembire ruling lineage that would later produce the va ka Valoyi was known as the Changamire, named after one of the sons of Munhumutapa Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, the second ruler of this state to use this title. This branch began by having a close relationship with the ruling branch of the family under the other son of Munhumutapa Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza known as Mukombero Nyahuma. Later, around 1490 AD, the two branches of the family developed a bitter rivalry. In the process, the leaders of the two branches, Changamire and Mukombero Nyahuma, fought and Changamire was victorious and took over as a Munhumutapa, forcing his dethroned brother to relocate to Dande, which became his new capital. Changamire and his family remained in Great Zimbabwe. But the war between the two branches continued until Changamire followed Mukombero Nyahuma to his new capital and killed him and some of his sons. Among the sons that survived was Kakuyo Komunyaka, also known as Chikuyo or Chisamarengu, who succeeded his father and continued to fight with Changamire, eventually killing him in 1494 AD and taking over as Munhumutapa. However, he failed to take control of the two southern provinces of Mbire and

Guruuswa, where the Changamire branch was still resident and dominant. The two provinces subsequently became a new state of Butwa, also known as Changamire and Torwa, under the rulers, using the title of Changamire. This happened after Changamire's son called Nelombe managed to retain control over this area and continued to rule, using the title of Changamire. The family probably remained in the Great Zimbabwe settlement until its decline towards the middle of the 16th century, almost at the same time Changamire Nelombe was killed by the then ruling Munhumutapa Neshangwe Munembire, who had succeeded Kakuyo Komunyaka in 1530.

8.1.1.2. Movement to Mazoe

By the middle of the 16th century, Great Zimbabwe had been abandoned and it had become ruins. The Changamire ruling lineage, it seems, had relocated to a place called Mazoe, within the Butua state. The lineage reigned from this new capital until the 17th century, around 1660. Therefore, the va ka Valoyi, as part of the ruling lineage, probably stayed there until they broke away from the Changamire family, in the early 17th century, around 1640.

8.1.1.3. Movement to Mozambique

In the beginning of the 17th century, the ruling Changamire was known as Gulukhulu. He had a son called Gwambe who, after he transgressed by practicing witchcraft, he was banished together with his entire family and many of his supporters, who became known as the va ka Valoyi, meaning those who practice witchcraft. They marched southeast towards the Limpopo River, but did not cross it. Instead, they followed it through its northern bank until its confluence with the Olifants River. There, they established their new capital, which became known as Gulukhulu and Gutse, and it later adopted a third name of N'wamahunyani. Another section of the group crossed the Limpopo River and settled on its southern bank, at a place that later became known as Mhangeni. Other members migrated as far as Ximbutu, towards the Indian Ocean, further east.

They claimed the entire land between Ximbutu in the east, the N'waswintso River in the south, the Limpopo and Olifants rivers in the west and what they called Vanyayiland in the north. Later, they managed to extend their territory to the Longwe (Lebombo) Mountains in the west after defeating the va ka Mbhombhi who were resident there. However, they suffered losses of much of their territory in the hands of immigrant groups. First, they lost their northern portion to the va ka Maluleke, who moved from the east. The va ka Nhlongo and va ka Masilane followed in the west, va ka Nkhavelana or Bembane, Vanhlave and va ka Masiya followed in the east and the va ka Rikhotso in the south.

From the ruling nucleus of Gwambe, six lineages developed through his sons: The Xivodze (also known as Mukansi and Magoveni) was founded by his son called Xivodze; the Xifun'wana, Lowani, Ximbukutsu and Mpon'wa lineages were also founded by his sons with the same names. The Mongwe lineage developed out of a grandson of Gwambe's sixth son called Mpondwana, through his daughter called N'warimbale. These lineages founded their own communities.

Communities under the lineages of the Xivodze, Xifun'wana, Lowani and Mongwe occupied the western portion of the va ka Valoyi's country, bordering what later became known as the Limpopo Province of South Africa. These lineages also produced several sub-lineages and sub-communities that constituted groups of the va ka Valoyi that migrated to the the present-day Limpopo Province at a later stage, in a period beginning around 1800 to 1855.

8.1.1.4. Migration to Limpopo

The first of the groups of the va ka Valoyi to move to the present-day Limpopo Province was the Xilowa, now predominantly known as Mahlathi. This is one of the communities that developed from the Lowani lineage. Its leader at the time was Dzaneni, a great-grandson of Lowani. This group crossed the Longwe (Lebombo) Mountains and settled along their western slopes, with Dzaneni establishing his royal residence at a hill called

Xilowa (or Nghumbhini). Their community became known as Xilowa (a corruption of Lowani) and Nghumbhini (Xitsonga for Lowveld, also spelled Nghumbheni)). The period of the Xilowa's arrival in the present-day Limpopo Province is estimated to be 1800, drawing from their oral accounts stating they came almost at the same time with the Ximambana (also Ximambani) branch of the va ka Maluleke (which literature suggests was around 1800). Therefore, the Xilowa is the only community of the va ka Valoyi that migrated to the Limpopo Province before the Nguni invasions of southern Mozambique. The rest of the other communities followed later. The community is currently under the Shiviti Traditional Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality.

The second group of the va ka Valoyi to come to the Limpopo Province was known as the Xitsavi, a branch of the Xifun'wana lineage. The group was led by Mbhekwana, the son of Xitsavi. Its members included other sons of Xitsavi such as Muxurhu, Malatana and Ngungungu. The group arrived in Limpopo in 1838 and settled at Jajalala, in Modjadji's country, near the present-day Modjadjiskloof. Later, the group split into three communities still found today: the N'wamitwa (named after the son of Mbhekwana), with its own Valoyi Traditional Authority in the Greater Tzaneen Municipality, the N'wakhada (named after the son of Ngungungu) under the Dzumeri Traditional Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality and the Makhaveni (named after the son of Malatana) under the Sekgopo Traditional Authority in the Greater Letaba Municipality.

The third group to follow was that of the Maluvatilo (named after the son of Xifun'wana), who are also part of the Xifun'wana lineage. Estimates are that they came about two or three years after the other Xifun'wana group of Mbhekwana, which would be about 1840-1. The group had members from the lineages of the three sons of Maluvatilo: Nkandzi, Xamitsenga and Mbiji. Their leader was a grandson of Xamitsenga called Mhlakule. His assistants were Ngirivani of the Nkandzi lineage and Masavana of the Mbiji lineage. Like the Xilowa, the Maluvatilo simply crossed the Longwe Mountains and occupied land on its western slopes and expanded from there. Today, the Maluvatilo (under the Xamitsenga lineage) have been reduced into a headmanship under the Mathevula Traditional Authority in Giyani. The Nkandzi have been absorbed into the

Mnisi Traditional Authority in Bushbuckridge (now in Mpumalanga Province) without any leadership status. The Mbiji, who were later split into two communities of Munyamani and Njetimane, have also been absorbed into the Mnisi and the Jongilanga Traditional Authorities in Bushbuckridge in Mpumalanga Province, respectively.

The Nhlongi group, which is also part of the Lowani lineage, took a long trip to the foothills of the Zoutpansberg Mountains in the early 1840s (around 1844). Whereas there are many theories about the migration of this group, this research believes the movement was led by the sons of Madzenge (Nhlongi's son): Xidzingi, Nkhadlanyi, Munyuku and Tlhatlhatlha as well as their cousin and Xiseve's son, Guswi. Later, they split into various communities. Xidzingi gave rise to two communities currently known as Ribungwani (Tiyani) and Ribungwani (Helderwater); Nkhadlanyi gave rise to the Gon'on'o community, while Munyuku gave rise to the Malamule community, which has since been absorbed by the Jongilanga Traditional Authority in Mpumalanga Province. Tlhatlhatlha gave rise to the Ximange community (which has since disintegrated). The Ribungwani (Tiyani) group is recognised as an independent headmanship in the Tiyani Community Authority, while the Ribungwani (Helderwater) group has its own Ribungwani Traditional Authority. Both the communities are in the Collins Chabane Municipality. The Gon'on'o community is under the Hlaneki Traditional Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality. The Hasani community is under the Mudavula Traditional Authority in the Collins Chabane Municipality.

The migration of the Phangweni group to Limpopo was spearheaded by the man by the same name who, as pointed out earlier, was a member of the Lowani lineage and an heir of Nkami, the overlord of the va ka Valoyi. He started the migration by establishing a residence at exactly the place where the Letaba Rest Camp is in the Kruger National Park, which he named Maphangweni. The residence appears to have been established somewhere between 1845 and 1850. When Nkami died in 1855, Phangweni left the residence and returned to his late father's Mvhamba royal residence to take over the throne. But two of his sons, Makhuva and Mahuntsi, remained there. Makhuva kept the residence as his own, while Mahuntsi took some of the people who constituted the

community to the foothills of Zoutpansberg, where he became their leader. Today, the Makhuva community has its own Mathevula Traditional Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality, while the Mahuntsi are recognised by the government as “an independent headmanship”, sharing the Vuyani Community Authority with the Duvula lineage of the Makhuvele in the Greater Letaba Municipality.

The Xivodze (Mukansi) came to the Zoutpansberg foothills with Matshavatshi in 1850, but eventually settled between Xikari and Klein Letaba rivers, where the community still resides. It is currently known as Nkuzana, named after the son and successor of Matshavatshi. The community is under the Khomanani Traditional Authority in the Collins Chabane Municipality. The Makome branch, called the Risava, is under the Valoyi Traditional Authority.

Although it is not clear exactly when the Mongwe came to Limpopo, it seems they were already there in 1850 because one of them was already a headman in the N’wamitwa community (some accounts state he was under Makhuva earlier on). Although it seems the Mongwe came as a single group, they later split into three: Ntshuxi went to the Zoutpansberg foothills, Ngcutlu to Gravelotte (Leydsdorp) and Msengi to N’wamitwa. The Ntshuxi community is currently under the Khomanani Traditional Authority in the Collins Chabane Municipality. The Ngcutlu community is known as Khaxani under the Dzumeri Traditional Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality, while the Msengi community is now known as Mandlhakazi and is under the Valoyi Traditional Authority of N’wamitwa in the Greater Tzaneen Municipality as a headmanship.

The Xirimbi also arrived in 1850 and settled with the Xilowa in Nghumbhini before they established themselves in the vicinity. The community is currently known as Xikukwani and is under the Mavunda Traditional Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality. The Xakamani and the Xivandzale were the last to arrive around 1855 as a joint group, led by Mihawu of the Xakamani branch. They settled north of the present-day town of Giyani. Both these groups belong to the Lowani lineage. The group has since split into three communities: the Khakhala (named after the son and successor to Mihawu) and the Mavalani (named after the grandson of Makovani) are under the Shiviti Traditional

Authority in the Greater Giyani Municipality, while the Maxavele (descendents of the main branch of the Xivandzale) are under the Hlaneki Traditional Authority, also in the Greater Giyani Municipality.

8.1.2. Findings on Genealogy

The genealogy of the va ka Valoyi, in all fairness, should start from Nembire, according to the evidence available about the history of these people. But the suggestion in some sources that three people with the same name of Nembire should be considered in the genealogy is something that cannot be embraced at this stage. Only the Nembire that precedes the first Munhumutapa should be regarded as the earliest known ancestor of the va ka Valoyi. The next name in the genealogy should be that of the first Munhumutapa, Nyatsimba Mutota, followed by that of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza. Having established beyond reasonable doubt that Changamire was the son of Matope Nyanhehwe Nebeza, the next in line must be the name of Changamire. This research has also established that Changamire had four brothers: Chiware, Katembo Nyautando, Mavura Muobwe and Mukombero Nyahuma; these must be included in the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi. Although it is common knowledge that Changamire is the one who produced the lineage that produced the va ka Valoyi, his name should be placed along those of his brothers in order to make it easy for other researches to refer to this genealogy when furthering this investigation.

Studies already conducted about the Changamire dynasty have so far failed to establish either the genealogy or succession history within this ancient polity. But this study believes it has managed to fill this research gap, especially between the first Changamire and Gulukhulu, and probably moved a step closer to filling the entire gap between the first Changamire and Changamire Dombo.

Changamire Nelombe succeeded the first Changamire in 1494 and reigned until he was killed by his Munhumutapa rival in 1547. He was succeeded by Changamire Chirimbi (Xirimbi), who was also known by the name Thohoyapase or Thopasi, but this research

prefers that of Chirimbi or Xirimbi. Changamire Chirimbi (Xirimbi) was succeeded by Changamire Gole (called Gulukhulu by the va ka Valoyi). This research elects to use the name Gulukhulu in this regard.

Among Changamire Gulukhulu's children, we count Gwambe, who founded the va ka Valoyi. But we should also count Xirimbi (not the one who was a Changamire and father to Changamire Gulukhulu) and their unnamed sister. We should also possibly count their unnamed half brother who is possibly the father to Changamire Dombo.

Under Gwambe, who falls within the scope of this research, the genealogy identifies six names of his sons: Xivodze, Xifun'wana, Lowani, Ximbukutsu, Mpon'wa and Mpondwana. For the lineages that founded the va ka Valoyi communities of Limpopo, only the Xivodze, Xifun'wana, Lowani and Mpondwana must be considered in the genealogy. Ximbukutsu and Mpon'wa have no lineage that has a community in Limpopo.

Xivodze's son was Mbhalavuputsu (or Bulabangu/Mabulabangu). His sons were Makome and Mabye. Because both his sons have communities in Limpopo, focus should be on both lineages. Mabye's son was Hanti, whose son was Mamintele, who begot Matshavatshi, the man who brought the Xivodze to Limpopo. Makome begot Xihakani, who begot, Ntsandzulo, who begot Maphari, who begot Swihoko, who begot Mhunti, who begot Mngovela, the father to Gogovila, who came with this section of the Xivodze to Limpopo Province and founded the Risava community.

Xifun'wana's sons were Kutlalani (also known as Ntehe) and Maluvatilo. Kutlalani begot Gondoni, who begot Ximatsi, who begot Xitsavi (also known as Xihlomulo). Xitsavi had several sons, but those that are relevant to the va ka Valoyi communities in Limpopo are Mbhekwana (who founded the N'wamitwa community), Ngungungu (who founded the N'wakhada community) and Malatana (who founded the Makhaveni community). Maluvatilo's sons were Nkandzi, Xamitsenga and Mbiji. Communities founded by the Nkandzi and Mbiji lineages are no longer part of the lineages with communities in

Limpopo. Therefore, the two lineages should be ignored in the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo. Because Xamitsenga has a community in Limpopo, it should be noted that he begot Cingi, who begot Mahlakule, who brought this lineage to Limpopo.

The Lowani lineage is the one with the most communities of the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo. Lowani's only remembered son is Xikungulu, who also had only one remembered son, Nxolwana. There are six sons of Nxolwana that are remembered: Nkami, Xivandzale, Dzaneni, Xakamani, Nhlongi and Makaringe, but because Makaringe did not contribute any community in Limpopo, this research will not pay attention to him. Therefore, Nkami's son, Phangweni, should be included in the genealogy in that he fathered two sons, Makhuva and Mahuntsi, with communities in Limpopo. Xivandzale's son who contributed communities in Limpopo is Makovani. His sons Mbhingu and Ximatsi gave rise to the communities currently known as the Mavalani and Maxavele in Limpopo. The Maxavele community was founded by Xirilele, one of Mbhingu's sons, while the Mavalani was founded by Mavalani, Ximatsi's son. Dzaneni is the founder of the Xilowa (Mahlathi) community, and because he brought this community to Limpopo, genealogy should not go beyond his name as others came later after the arrival of this community. Other members of the lineage therefore fall outside the scope of this research. Xakamani's son was Xitsuvuri, who begot Hokohlwani, the father to Mihawu, who brought the community to Limpopo. Therefore, the genealogy ends with his name because he was in charge when the community came to Limpopo. Nhlongi had two sons who contributed communities of the va ka Valoyi in Limpopo: Madzenge and Xiseve. Madzenge's four sons founded communities in Limpopo: Xidzingi founded the two communities of Ribungwani (Tiyani) and Ribungwani (Helderwater), Nkhadlanyi founded the Gon'on'o community and Tlhatlhatlha founded the Ximange. Descendants of Munyuku will therefore be excluded from the genealogy since the community he founded is no longer part of Limpopo.

Because the Ximbukutsu and Mpon'wa lineages have no communities in Limpopo, their descendents should not be included in the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo. Instead, the last of the names of Gwambe's sons would be that of Mpondwana. His only

known child is a female called N'warimbale, the mother to Mongwe in the Mongwe lineage. Among Mongwe's sons, Masiyi and Ntuli are important in the genealogy of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo. Masiyi begot Bilani, who begot Malovani, the father to two sons who founded the two Mongwe communities in Limpopo: Ngcuthu and Msengi. Ntuli is the father to Ntshuxi, the founder of the Ntshuxi community in Limpopo. Xirimbi's son was Mazonje, who begot Xipene, who begot Matswaswirho, who begot Bayani, who begot Xikukwani, who brought the Xirimbi to Limpopo.

8.2. CONCLUSION

The study has managed to establish a relationship between the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo Province with the legendary ancient lineages of the Munhumutapa and the Changamire of the 15th century. In so doing, the study did not only reconstruct the history of the va ka Valoyi from as far back as the 15th century, but it also clarified the relationship between the Changamire dynasty and two other important dynasties of the time – the Munhumutapa and the Torwa. Both these dynasties were related to the Changamire and are therefore related to the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo Province.

In tracing the migration and genealogy of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo Province, the study also established the relationship between the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo Province with other lineages of the va ka Valoyi in Mozambique. Therefore, this study presents an opportunity to reconstruct the history of some of the African societies of the present-day South Africa by determining the past of the va ka Valoyi and their relationship with other groups.

In managing to reconstruct the genealogy and succession in the va ka Valoyi group, this study has managed to fill in missing gaps in the history of Southern Africa. The much-written about history of Changamire, Munhumutapa and Torwa still had a lot of missing information, most of which this study has managed to fill in through the study of the oral history of the va ka Valoyi.

The history of the Changamire, as already explored by historians in Zimbabwe and other countries, does not contain the rulers of this ancient dynasty for a century and half after the death of the first Changamire. However, the information contained in the oral history of the va ka Valoyi, which forms part of this study, will be of utmost importance to assist in this regard as there are names that are mentioned in the oral history of the va ka Valoyi as belonging to the dynasty around that period, which this research found to be those of the rulers of the Changamire. Therefore, this study may have not only reconstructed the history of the va ka Valoyi, but also that of the ancient dynasty of the Changamire – a real breakthrough in the history of Southern Africa.

In a broader sense, the study also opens an opportunity of bringing in new information regarding the African societies currently resident in the Limpopo Province, their links with other groups in the Southern African region and in the province itself. Therefore, the study opens up avenues for the exploration of histories of other groups and the filling of gaps in what is already known.

CHAPTER 9

MODELLING: ORAL HISTORY AS AN APPROACH IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

9.1. BACKGROUND

This research has confirmed, as other scholars had been proclaiming that oral history generally has limitations in applying proper and credit-worthy chronology to clarify the data. As in other forms of narrative methodology, the application of oral history is one of the ways in which answers to questions addressed by the research theme are elicited. Thus, oral history, for it to be a clear and transparent tool, needs to be applied with clear practical guidelines for qualitative researchers regarding limitations from oral evidence and face-to-face contact. Therefore, the development of a systematic method for oral history is needed to obtain accurate answers, based on which credit-worthy narration can be produced.

Oral history should be able to guide researchers in making decisions based on past experiences. In the African context, history can be a source of cultural identity; it reveals and defines both the scientific and artistic dimensions of one's identity. In spite of the validity of oral history, there is some paucity in analysing data to produce credible results. In addition, there are no classic references for the novice about how to go about conducting a research study on the history of the people whose history has never been recorded in writing before (or what is written has been sourced from oral accounts) and to handle huge amounts of data that was preserved through word of mouth from generation to generation, spanning hundreds of years. It is even more difficult, as this research has established, to create a chronology of the people as diverse as the va ka Valoyi, who have a history straddling multiple countries and cultures. This research has proved that to all people, history means the complete documentation of people's past, not merely through listing their past events, but through an impartial evaluation of the entirety of human interrelationships in time and space.

9.2. RESEARCH STAGES IN ORAL HISTORY

As a historical research methodology, this research proposes a simple approach to the use of oral history in cases where the history of the people being studied has never been written up, but was only passed through word of mouth from generation to generation. As has been observed in this research, it is not only difficult, but nearly impossible for oral history to retain a consistent chronology of events and meaning of such events among all the people concerned over a long period of time. The character of the people selected as sources also has a certain influence on the manner in which they relate the information and the way they interpret it. Therefore, the approach that is proposed here is designed within the understanding that the researcher in oral history cannot and should not rely on the style of a source in relating the evidence, neither should the researcher depend on the interpretation of his sources of events being studied (the researcher must make his own interpretations).

In essence, this approach is proposed with the aim of making oral evidence an important tool in scientific historical research. This can only be achieved if oral evidence is rigorously interrogated, using techniques that will produce a result that is defensible in the scientific sense and that can reconstruct the history of the people being studied. Oral evidence gathered from one group of people should be compatible to the evidence gathered from another group of people with relations with the people being studied.

Therefore, the proposed approach should consist of the following stages:

- Identifying the area of interest;
- Raising questions;
- Formulating a title;
- Reviewing the literature;
- Data gathering and analysis;
- Interpreting data;
- Writing the narrative.

9.2.1. Identifying the Area of Interest

In this research, in particular, identifying the area of interest was not difficult and there were reasons for that. Firstly, the researcher was already conversant with the history of the people to be studied and wanted to do an in-depth investigation into the unknown. Secondly, the researcher had already segregated what was generally known against what was not known. Thus, it was clear to the researcher what was generally known about the history being studied and what was not known. Therefore, the area of interest became what was not known, but as a point of departure, this included an investigation into what was already known in order to confirm this through scientific means, and then delving into what was generally or completely unknown.

Therefore, out of such experience and observation, the following should be considered by researchers when identifying an area of interest in a research of this nature:

- Be conversant with the history of the people you want to study;
- Be clear in terms of what is already generally known about the subject;
- Identify what is not known;
- What is not known must become your area of interest (but what is known must be a point of departure as this too must be confirmed scientifically).

9.2.2. Raising Questions

The researcher must be able to raise important questions about the study that is to be conducted. The main questions one had to ask in this research were:

- What is the relationship among the different lineages and communities of the va ka Valoyi currently resident in Limpopo? The lineages already shared a lot of information (albeit inconsistently in chronology) such as in genealogy, salutation and praise names;

- Where do the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo come from and how did they arrive there? (All of them already knew they came from Mozambique);
- How are they related to those found in Mozambique? (None of them could provide something tangible in terms of the relationships they have with their Mozambican relatives – this is a common problem among the Vatsonga lineages of South Africa);
- Why do they claim to be of Kalanga (Zimbabwe) origin? (This relationship with Zimbabwe has been abstract for time immemorial and needed to be established, hence this research needed to answer this question).

The questions, therefore, helped the researcher look beyond the people to be studied and include those they were most probably associated with. There can never be a single set of questions to be asked in a research of this nature, but the following should be a guide in raising questions in this kind of research:

- Define the people whose history you want to investigate;
- Identify other people with whom they share a history;
- Track their genealogical links and identify similarities;
- Check the geographical areas they identify themselves with and compare their stories with the stories of those with a similar claim in their history.

9.2.3. Formulating a Title

This research is fully aware that formulating a title of the research in any kind of research may be regarded by many researchers as one of the easiest steps of the research. However, in this kind of research, this cannot be taken for granted. This research has proven that it is easy for the title to be clumsy or even far off the mark. Yet, a title is required to be simple and straightforward and to avoid vagueness; it must tell exactly what the research is all about. Therefore, it must be specific in terms of what the research wants to achieve.

This approach proposes one principle that must guide researchers in this kind of research in formulation of a title: The title must tell exactly what the researcher wants to have achieved at the completion of the research, as was the case in this research, whether it is a complete migration or genealogy or both that was being investigated.

9.2.4. Reviewing the Literature

This part of the approach can be the most difficult if taken from the conventional sense of literature review. There are scholars who may argue that if the history being studied is not written, therefore, there is no literature to review. But this research believes even if the history is not written, there are things about the history that is not written in the literature, whether about the unwritten history in general or about that history, specifically, for it not to have been written. Therefore, this approach believes:

- Even though the history that is being studied may not be in written format anywhere, there could be literature that generally talks about the history that is not written down, such as the one being studied. This literature must be reviewed to determine what it says about a history of this nature. This will help the researcher understand what other scholars have written about such kind of history and how it must be approached, whether the researcher agrees with those views or not (and the researcher does not necessarily have to agree, for that matter). This is the reason this research began with the review of the literature about the history that is not written to get expert views on the matter.
- In some instances, the literature that directly talks about the history under investigation might be there (such as found in this research about the va ka Valoyi). However, such research may have been derived from oral accounts (and by sources other than eyewitnesses, for that matter), which would differ with the current research only on the time in which it was conducted, and similar in other respects. This proposed approach believes that this kind of literature should be regarded as literature about the history being studied and that it should be reviewed with the understanding that it represents what has been written about

that history (especially because it is the only written source about the subject). A lot of the literature reviewed in this research about the va ka Valoyi and their related groups such as the Shona falls within this category, but it has helped a great deal in this research, especially because it was generated in various stages and in different areas by different people with varying paradigms.

As this research did, the proposed approach suggests that the literature that talks about the specific history under study (not the general unwritten history that was discussed first) be categorised accordingly in order to optimise its effectiveness in the research being conducted. Although in this research such categories may be seen as being three, they are, in essence two. They include:

- The literature that deals with the pre-period of the history under study: This literature, if properly reviewed, should be able to tell what is being said about the history under investigation prior to the period that is the main focus of the research. This will enhance the contribution of the research in broader history of the people whose history is being studied.
- The literature that deals specifically with the history under study containing what has been written specifically about the history of those people: This part may include what has been written about the history of other people in events they share with the people whose history is being studied, such as the study Smith (1973) conducted about the va ka Rikhotso, va ka Ntimane and va ka Khosa, which mentions events they share with the va ka Valoyi, which was reviewed in this research.

9.2.5. Data Gathering and Analysis

Data in oral history has not been fully defined and this has proved to be a disadvantage in this kind of historical research. As has been the case in this and other researches before it, it seems scholars accept the use of both primary and secondary data in oral history. But, as observed by this research, clarity in the definitions of the two types of

data is still needed. Generally, primary data refers to oral evidence gathered in the current research, whereas secondary data is in the form of written sources containing oral evidence previously gathered by other researchers.

Firstly, this proposed approach seeks to clarify the difference between primary and secondary data. Primary data in oral history should be the data that is collected by the current research through oral interviews, whether from the eyewitnesses or sources that are not necessarily eyewitnesses, but have information on the matter being studied that they obtained from others, who are also not necessarily eyewitnesses. The data is therefore primary in the sense that it is gathered directly by the research being conducted and not necessarily in the sense that whoever is the source for that data witnessed it first hand. Secondary data should be the data that is sourced from written sources that contain the data gathered by other researchers in the past, from oral and other sources. It is secondary in the sense that it was conducted by others and is used in the current research as something that was not directly sourced first-hand by the researcher, although it may have been sourced first-hand by a previous researcher.

Secondly, this proposed approach, as already indicated above, divides primary data into two: The eyewitness accounts of people who witnessed the events and the accounts of people who know about the events without necessarily having witnessed them, but who can relate them to the researcher as sources.

Thirdly, the secondary data is also divided into two: The data that the previous researcher obtained directly from eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses and the data that the previous researcher obtained from written sources that such written sources obtained directly or indirectly from oral or other evidence.

As observed in the literature review in this research, there needs to be clarity on aspects that must be included as part of oral history. There are still scholars who want to confine oral history into oral accounts, while there are those who believe other data associated with oral accounts should be included to form part of oral history. This

approach proposes that oral history needs to be broadened to include other aspects of the spoken word. These include oral traditions, which encompass praises that people use, common expressions, songs and poetry as well as (such as in many Vatsonga communities) certain distinguished salutations. There were many of these aspects that could have been used in this research, but were excluded due to uncertainty in their status in oral history. For example, every page quoted by this research in Jacques (1938) has the oral traditions and most of them also have salutations and common expressions of the people being discussed. These were excluded here and only aspects of oral history selected. Another example is in Junod (1927), where there are songs about various groups of people. Although these songs express certain views about certain events in history, they could not be used in this research due to the uncertainty in their relevance in oral history as a whole. These were also found in the oral history that was gathered by this research. It is the view of this approach that poems and songs, for example, are some of the items that have been found to have played a role in the reconstruction of historical events such as wars.

In order to clarify the data obtained by the researcher through oral history interviews, a historical research methodology is required to produce a good narrative, along with the application of a proper analysis. For this purpose, a four-stage method could be adopted by this approach. Each stage is connected and related to the previous one, while the final stage connects to the first and closes the circuit, which means that all data analysis stages, in a sense, are complementary to one another.

These analysis stages are:

- Data gathering through interviews with the oral witness and first-level coding;
- Second-level coding and determining the sub-categories;
- Third-level coding and determining the main categories;
- Connecting the main categories to each other and writing the narrative.

9.2.6. Interpreting Data

Oral history in the African context should not be restricted to interviews and secondary data compiled through techniques such as interviews. It should include, for example, the interpretation of oral traditions, songs and certain practices that have meaning to the people being studied.

9.2.7. Writing the Narrative

The narrative in oral history should be the outcome of the words spoken by the participants, and packed in correlation with the main categories. In the narrative, the historical picture of the source's perspective on the historical events should be depicted in the research. To write the narrative, the secondary sources must be included as part of the final narrative. Such historical narratives are of special importance: Revealing the events, projecting the findings, answering questions addressed in the study, exposing categories, clarifying ambiguities, and preventing bias in the researcher's accounts.

A historic narration must be designed in such a way that it attracts the readers' attention to the event by revealing a complete perception of the experience. Here, the authors respond to the questions raised in the process of the study, determine the primary and secondary sources, combine the ideas, and share the views of the sources. All these will enable the reader to have a meaningful and inspiring assessment of the presented issue through this model. Judging the study and its success is related to joining the categories to one another and the acceptance of the work for publication as a final product.

REFERENCES

1. Albasini, J. 1859. Correspondence. 24 July, Goedenwensch.
2. Axelson, E. 1960. *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600-1700*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
3. Blaeser, KM. 1996. *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the oral tradition*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
4. Bailey, J. 2008. First steps in qualitative data analysis: Transcribing. *Oxford Journal* 25 (20): 127-131.
5. Bannerman, JH. 1981. Hlengweni: A history of the Hlengwe of the Lower Save and Lundi Rivers, from the late eighteenth to mid-twentieth century. *Zimbabwean History (XII)*: 1-45.
6. Barberton [s.a.] List of kings. <http://www.barbertonmanor.co.sz/history>, (accessed 11 December 2013).
7. Beach, 1980. *The Shona & Zimbabwe 900-1850: An outline of Shona History*. New York: Africana Publishing Company.
8. Beach, DN. 1983a. Oral history and archaeology in Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 19: 8-11.
9. Beach, DN. 1983b. The Rozvi in search of their past. *History in Africa* 10: 13-34.
10. Beach, DN. 1984. *A Zimbabwean past: Shona dynastic histories and oral traditions*. Harare: Mambo Press.
11. Berelson, B. 1952. *Content analysis in communication research*. Glencoe: Free Press.
12. Bernard, HR. 2002. *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods*, 3rd edition. California: Alta Mira Press.
13. Bhila, HHK. 1983. *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom: The Manyika and their African and Portuguese neighbours (1575-1902)*. Essex: Longman.
14. Biagne, P. 1978. *Introduction to a discussion on tiitinonims and toponb-e: working paper drawn up at UNESCO's request*. Report. New York: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Meeting of Experts on Ethnonyms and Toponyms, 3-7 July 1978.

15. Bogdan, RC. & Biklen, SK. 1998. *Qualitative research in education: an introduction to theory and methods*, 3rd edition. Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon.
16. Britannica Online Encyclopedia [s.a]. *The Changamire dynasty*. From: <http://www.encyclopaediabritanicaeb.com> (accessed 18 May 2012).
17. Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and quality in social research*. London: Routledge.
18. Canonici, NN. 1996. *Zulu oral tradition*. Durban: University of Natal.
19. Charles, CM. 1995. *Introduction to educational research*, 2nd edition. San Diego: Longman.
20. Chi, MTH. 1997. Quantifying qualitative analysis of verbal data: a practical guide. *The Journal of Learning Societies* 6 (3): 271-315.
21. Collins, M. & Bloom, R. 1991. The role of oral history in accounting. *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* 4 (4): 23 - 31.
22. Curtin, P, Feierman, S, Thompson, L & Vansina, J. 1995. *African History from Earliest Times to Independence*. London: Longman.
23. Dalby, D. 1975. The prehistorical implications of Guthrie's comparative Bantu. *Journal of African History*, XVI (4): 481-501.
24. Davidson, B. 1967. *The growth of African civilisation: East and Central Africa to the late nineteenth century*. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd: London.
25. Denoon, D. 1972. *Southern Africa since 1800*, 2nd edition. London & New York: Longman.
26. Dicke, BH. 1926. The first Voortrekkers to the Northern Transvaal and the massacre of the Van Rensberg trek. *South African Journal of Science*, 23; 1006-10021.
27. Di Leornado, M. 1987. Oral history as ethnographic encounter. *The Oral History Review*, 15, (1): 1-20.
28. Dresser, R. 1998. *Time for new rules on human subjects research?* Hastings: Hastings Centre.
29. Edwards, R & Holland, J. 2013. *What is qualitative interviewing?* London: Bloomsbury.

30. Ehret, C. 2010. *History and the testimony of language*. London: University of California Press
31. Elkiss, TH. 1981. *The Quest for an African eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia, and the Portuguese, 1500-1865*. Massachusetts: Crossroads Press.
32. Engel, RJ & Schutt, RK. 2010. *Fundamentals of social work research*. London: Sage.
33. Erskine. V. 1875. Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872. *Journal of Royal Geographical Society, January 11th, 1875*: 45-89.
34. Etherington, N. 2004. Were there large states in the coastal regions of southeast Africa before the rise of the Zulu kingdom? *History in Africa* 31: 157-183.
35. Gann, LH. 1966. *A history of Southern Rhodesia: early days to 1934*. New York: Humanities Press.
36. Gill, P, Stewart, K, Treasure, E & Chadwick, B. 2008. Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups. *British Dental Journal* 204: 29-295
37. Gottfried, H. 1998. Beyond patriarchy: theorising gender and class. *Sociology* 32 (3): 451 - 468.
38. Guthrie, M. 1969. *Comparative Bantu*. Farnborough: Gregg.
39. Guthrie, M. 1970. Contributions from Comparative Bantu studies to the prehistory of Africa, in *Language and history in Africa*, XVII, edited by Dalby 1:1-27.
40. Hammersley, M & Atkinson, P. 1993. *Ethnography: principles and practice*. London: Routledge.
41. Harries, P. 1995. Discovering Languages: The historical origins of standard Tsonga in Southern Africa, in *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics*, edited by R. Mesthrie. Claremont: David Phillip Publishers: 154-169.
42. Hatch, JA. 2002. *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany: Suny Press.

43. Hedges, DW. 1978. Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries. PhD (Oriental and African Studies) thesis. University of London, London.
44. Henriksen, TH. 1978. *Mozambique: a history*. Cape Town: David Phillip.
45. Hinds, PS, Vogel, RJ. & Clarke-Steffen, L. 1997. The possibilities and pitfalls of doing a secondary analysis of a qualitative dataset. *Qualitative Health Research* 7(3): 408–424.
46. Hjort, T. 1986. A perspective of camel poetry in Somalia, *The camel in Somalia oral traditions*, edited by AC. Abokor. Motala: Institute.
47. Jacques, AA. 1938. *Swivongo swa Machangana (Vatsonga)*. Braamfontein: Sasavona Publishers and Booksellers.
48. Johanson, D. 2001. Origins of modern humans: Multiregional or out of Africa. <http://www.actionbioscience.com> (accessed 29 March 2011).
49. Joppe, M. 2000. The research process. From: <http://www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/rp.htm> (accessed 6 August 2016).
50. Junod, HA. 1896. *Grammaire Ronga*. Lausanne: Imprimerie Georges Bridel & Co.
51. Junod, HA. 1896. *Carta Linguistica da Tribu Thonga* (Map).
52. Junod, HA. 1905. The Ba-Thonga of the Transvaal. *Addresses & Papers of the British South African Association for the Advancement of Science* 3: 222-262.
53. Junod, HA. 1927. *The life of a South African tribe, vol.1*. London: Macmillan & Co.
54. Junod, HP. 1977. *Matimu ya Vatsonga 1498-1650*. Braamfontein: Sasavona Publishers.
55. Kekana, NS. 1992. A History of the Black people in South Africa to 1795: a critical analysis of nineteenth century South African historiography. MA (History) dissertation. University of Vista, Johannesburg.
56. Kirk, J. & Miller, M. 1986. *Reliability and validity in qualitative research*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
57. Ki-Zerbo, J (ed). 1990. *General history of Africa I: Methodology and African pre-history*. Carlifonia: James Currey.

58. Krige, EJ. 1937. Traditional origins and tribal relations of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal. *Bantu Studies II*: 321-56.
59. Leedy, PD and Ormrod, JE. 2005. *Practical research: planning and design*, 8th edition. New Jersey: Pearson Education International.
60. Liesegang, G. 1969. Dingane's attack on Lourenco Marques in 1833. *Journal of African History X (4)*:565-579.
61. Liesegang, GJ. 1967. Beiträge zur geschichte des reiches der Gaza Nguni im sudlichen Moçambique 1820-1895. Doktorgrades (Philosophischen Fakultät) inaugural-dissertation. Universität zu Köln, Blomberg.
62. Liesegang, G. 1977. New light on Venda traditions: Mahumane's account of 1730. *History in Africa 4*: 121-182.
63. Lipschutz, MR & Rasmussen, RK. 1980. *Dictionary of African Historical Biography*. London: University of California Press.
64. Lofland, J & Lofland, LH.1995. *Analyzing social settings*, 3rd edition. Belmont: Wadsworth.
65. Long-Sutehall, T. 2010. Secondary analysis of qualitative data: a valuable method for exploring sensitive issues with an elusive population? *Journal of Research in Nursing 16(4)*: 335–344.
66. Loveday. 1961. *Three stages of history in Rhodesia*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema
67. Mabasa, H. 2006. *The Changamire and the Valoyi people: Reflections on the Dutch records of the 18th century*. Notes (Unpublished).
68. Makhuva, F. 1997. *The Mathebula land claim: Makhuva*. Submission. Land Restitution & Claims Commission, Pretoria.
69. Malwandla, J & Nkuzana, MW. 1997. *The History of the Mukansi clan*. **Personal Notes**.
70. Mathebula, EC. 1997. *The Mathebula land claim: Ngirivane, Munyamani, Malamule, Njetimane*. Submission. Land Restitution & Claims Commission, Pretoria.
71. Mathebula, M. 2002. *800 years of Tsonga history*. Polokwane: Sharp-Shoot Publishers.

72. Maxwell, J. 1996. *Qualitative research design: an interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
73. May, T. 1997. *Social research: Issues, methods and process*, 2nd edition. Buckingham: Open University Press.
74. Mbiti, JS. 1975. *Introduction to African religion*. Oxford: Heinemann Education Publishers.
75. Mhinga, S. 1997. *The Mhinga land claims*. Sumbission. Land Restitution & Claims Commission, Pretoria.
76. Mhlongo, M. 1998. *History of Valoyi* (Unpublished).
77. Mogalakwe, M. The use of documentary research methods in social research. *African Sociological Review* 10 (1): 221-230.
78. Mongwe wa Rimbale. Signage. Mongwe village, Mozambique (observed on 29 August 2013).
79. Morse, JM. & Field, PA. 1998. *Nursing research of qualitative approaches*. Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes.
80. Mtetwa, AH. 1984. *A history of Uteve under Mwene Mutapa rulers, 1480-1834: A re-avaluation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
81. Mudenge, SIG. 1988. *A political history of Munhumutapa (c1400 – 1902)*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishers.
82. Newbury, D. 2007. Contradictions at the heart of the canon: Jan Vansina and the debate over oral historiography in Africa, 1960–1985. *History in Africa* 34: 213-254.
83. Newitt, M. 1995. *A history of Mozambique*. London: Hurst and Company.
84. Nkuna, R. 2008. *The Munhumutapa*. Personal Notes.
85. Nkuna, X & Mabunda, GS. 2005. *The Gaza kingship claim*. Presentation. Commission on Traditional leadership Claims and Disputes, Giyani, 11 April 2005.
86. Omer-Cooper, J.D. 1966. *The Zulu aftermath: the nineteenth century revolution in Bantu Africa*. London: Logmans.
87. Oregon State University [s.a]. Definitions. <http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/anth370/gloss.html> (accessed 11 December 2013).

88. Ostrander, SA. 1993. Surely you're not in this just to be helpful. Access, rapport, and interviews in three studies of elites. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22(1): 7-27.
89. Patton, MQ. 1990. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. London: sage.
90. Payne, S. 1999. Interview in qualitative research, in *Handbook of the psychology of interviewing*, edited by A. Memon. & R. Bull. Chichester: Wiley: 89-100.
91. Perreira, L, Macaulay, V, Torroni, A, Scozzari, R, Prata, MJ, & Amorim, A. 2001. A Prehistoric and Historic traces in mtDNA of Mozambique: Insights into the Bantu expansions and the slave trade. *Ann.Hum.Genet*, 2001.65, 439-458.
92. Portelli, A. 1981. The peculiarities of oral history. *History of Workshop 12*: 96-107.
93. Ramos, MC. 1989. *Some ethical implications of qualitative research*. London: Research in Nursing and Health.
94. Randles, WGL. 1979. *L'empire du Monomotapa du XVe au XIXe siecle*. Paris: Mouton et Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sociales.
95. Ranger, TO (ed). 1968. *Aspects of Central African history*. London: Heinemann.
96. Reisman, CK. 2008. *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park: Sage.
97. Rosaldo, R. 1980. Doing oral history, social analysis, using oral sources. *The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 4: 89-99.
98. Samkange, S. 1968. *Origins of Rhodesia*. London: Heinemann.
99. Sandelowski, M. Telling stories: narrative approaches in qualitative research. *Image: the journal of nursing scholarship* 23.3 (1991): 161-166.
100. Seidman, I. 2006. *Interviewing as qualitative research: a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*, 3rd edition. New York: Teachers College Press.
101. Shillington, K (Ed). 2004. *Encyclopaedia of African history*, vol. 1. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn Taylor & Francis Group.
102. Shilowa, M. 2004. *The Shilowa-Mahlathi land claims*. Submission. Land Restitution & Claims Commission.
103. Shilowa, M. 2009. *Launch of the Huvonkulu ya ka Valoyi. Speech. Makhuva*, 20 September 2009.

104. Shilubana, PM & Ntsanwisi, HE. 1979. *Muhlaba*. Braamfontein: Sasavona Publishers & Booksellers.
105. Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: Sage.
106. Smit, GJ. 1995. *Research guidelines for planning and documentation*. Halfway House: Southern Book Publishers.
107. Smith, AK. 1973. The peoples of southern Mozambique: an historical survey. *Journal of African History XIV, 4*: 565-580.
108. Spear, T. 1981. Oral traditions: whose history? *History in Africa 8*: 16
109. South Africa. 1907. Native Location Commission on the location of the chief Modjadji. Report. Pretoria. The Office of the Native Location Commission (127/06).
110. Stan, M. 2007. Qualitative research. <http://www.bcps.org/offices/lis/researchcourse/develop-qualitative.html> (accessed 14 December 2014).
111. Stephens, N. 2007. Collecting data from elites and ultra elites: Telephone and face-to-face interviews with macro-economists. *Qualitative Research 7(2)*: 203-16.
112. Tesch, R. 1990. *Qualitative research: analysis types and software*. London: Falmer press.
113. The Free Dictionary [s.a]. Monomotapa. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/descendent> (accessed 11 December 2010).
114. The Regal Chronologies. 2008. **The Monomotapa Empire**. www.archive.org/stream/3751433-regalchronology (accessed 18 May 2012).
115. Thompson, P. 1988. *The voice of the past: oral history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
116. Tufford, L. 2010. Bracketing in qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Work 11 (1)*: 80-96.
117. Van Oordt, JF. 1907. *The origin of the Bantu: a preliminary survey*. Cape Town: Cape Times Limited

118. Vansina, J. 1985. *Oral tradition as history*. Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press.
119. Vancina, J. 1978. *Oral tradition as history*. London: James Currey.
120. Vansina, J. 2009. *Oral tradition: A study in historical methodology*. Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
121. Van Warmelo, NJ. 1935. *Ethnological publications, vol. 5: A preliminary survey of the Bantu tribes of South Africa*. Pretoria: The Government Printer.
122. Vizenor, G. 1996. *Writing in the oral tradition by Kimberly M. Blazer*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
123. Warhurst, PR. 1966. The scramble and African politics in Gazaland, *the Zambezi past: studies in Central African history*, edited by E. Stokes & R. Brown. Manchester: Manchester University Press
124. Wheeler, DL. 1968. Leadership: Six Political Biographies, *in An introduction to the history of Central Africa: Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe, 4th edition*, edited by AJ. Wills. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
125. Wills, AJ. 1985. *An introduction to the history of Central Africa: Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe, 4th edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
126. Wilson, S. 2003. *Oral history*. Chicago: St Xavier University.
127. Woolf, DR. 1988. History, folklore and oral tradition in early modern England. *Past & Present* 120: 26-52.
128. Zimba, K. [s.a.]. The discovered planet.
<http://africanvoice.edu/instruct/anth380/blu.html>

ANNEXURE A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

TITLE OF STUDY: Genealogy and Migration of the va ka Valoyi People of Limpopo Province, South Africa

RESEARCHER: MD Mathebula

GENEALOGY QUESTIONS	
1. Which lineage of the va ka Valoyi do you belong to?	
2. Please give me the genealogy of your lineage starting from yourself to the founder of the lineage.	
3. Please give me the genealogy from the founder of your lineage to the founder of the va ka Valoyi as a cultural group.	
4. Where does the name Valoyi come from?	
5. What was the relationship between the founder of the va ka Valoyi and the Kalanga ruling lineage when they broke away from the Kalanga?	
MIGRATION	
PLACE OF ORIGIN	
1. Where in "Vukalanga" do the va ka Valoyi come from?	
2. Who was the leader of the Kalanga group from which the va ka Valoyi broke away?	
3. What was the relationship between that Kalanga leader and the founder of the va ka Valoyi?	
4. What was the event that led to the	

va ka Valoyi breaking away from the Kalanga?	
NEW PLACE OF RESIDENCE	
1. From “Vukalanga” where did the va ka Valoyi go?	
2. What are the important events the va ka Valoyi people were involved in at their new place of residence?	
PERIOD OF ARRIVAL IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE	
1. What made some of the va ka Valoyi proceed to the Limpopo Province?	
2. Who led the migration(s) of the va ka Valoyi to Limpopo Province?	
3. What are the important events that the va ka Valoyi were involved in on their arrival in the Limpopo Province?	

ANNEXURE B

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

A Research Project investigating “Genealogy and Migration of the va ka Valoyi People of Limpopo Province, South Africa”.

I would like to invite you to participate in this project, which is concerned with some aspects of the history of the va ka Valoyi of Limpopo Province, South Africa, specifically their genealogy and migration and some important events in their history. I am also interested in the genealogy of your own lineage.

Why am I doing the project?

The project is part of my Doctoral degree course at the University of Limpopo (Turfloop Campus), in South Africa. It is hoped that the project could provide useful information for the va ka Valoyi, the Vatsonga cultural group and contribute to the reconstruction of the history of minority groups in South Africa.

What will you have to do if you agree to take part?

Sign the consent form so that I know you are interested.

- We will arrange time to meet, which is convenient for you and in your own home if that is appropriate.
- There will be one, single interview with myself during which I will ask you questions from few standard questions. The interview is expected to last no longer than an hour and half and is a one-off event.
- When I have completed the study I will produce a report on the findings which I will avail to you if you are interested.

How much of your time is required?

One interview lasting no more than an hour and half.

Will your participation in the project remain confidential?

If you agree to take part, you have a choice of indicating that your name must not be recorded on my documents and the information will not be disclosed to other parties. You can be assured that if you take part in the project you will remain anonymous.

What are the advantages of taking part?

You may find the project interesting and enjoy answering questions about the things you know about your lineage and cultural group. Once the study is finished it could provide information about history of your lineage and cultural group which will be useful to historians, anthropologists and other professionals.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part?

Some of the events we will talk about may bring back bad memories to you and you may be uncomfortable talking about them.

Do you have to take part in the study?

No, your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. You are not obliged to take part. You have been approached as a member of your lineage and society with a view that you might be interested in taking part; this does not mean you have to. If you do not wish to take part you do not have to give a reason and you will not be contacted again.

Similarly, if you do agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time during the project if you change your mind.

What happens now?

If you are interested in taking part in the study you are asked to complete the consent form.

ANNEXURE C

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Genealogy and Migration of the va ka Valoyi People of Limpopo Province, South Africa

Purpose: Doctoral Studies

Name of Researcher: Mandla Darnece Mathebula

Student Number: 9110402

Physical Address: 70 Caraway Crescent, Zakariyya Park, Johannesburg, RSA

Contact Number: 012-3368012/0832358675

Supervisor: Prof S. Mokgoatšana

Supervisor's Contact: 0822005313

Institution: University of Limpopo (Turfloop Campus)

Faculty: Humanities

School: Social Studies

Please Initial Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reasons.

3. I agree to take part in the above study.

5. I agree to the interview being video/
audio recorded

6. I want to remain anonymous

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

ANNEXURE D

LIST OF INFORMANTS

1. **Baloi, Albino** – Elder and community leader of Nkuzi under Hosi Xihlomulo Baloi, Mozambique, 9 August 2011.
2. **Baloi, Domingues** – Community leader at Chokwe, Mozambique, 9 August 2012.
3. **Baloi, Duvulani (Hosi)** – Chief of Nkovele community, Mozambique, 10 August 2012
4. **Baloi, Fenias** – Resident of KaTihoveni, in Mozambique, 18 December 2010.
5. **Baloi, Fernando** – Resident of KaTihoveni, in Mozambique, 18 December 2010.
6. **Baloi, Hadamu** – Resident and member of the royal family of Xikungulu, Mozambique, on 10 August 2012.
7. **Baloi, Ketlani** – Mother to Prince Matlharini Xidakwa Baloi; widow of the late Hosi Xidakwa Baloyi and regent of N'wamahunyani chieftainship
8. **Baloi, Khomisani (Hosi)** – Chief of Xinyeketi community, Mozambique, 10 August 2012
9. **Baloi, Lina** – Resident of Munyamani and sister to Hosi Xihlomulo Baloi, 28 September 2012.
10. **Baloi, Marcello (Hosi)** – Chief of Pfukwe, in Mozambique. His area of jurisdiction was the first of the areas under the va ka Valoyi to experience pressure from immigrants (the va ka Maluleke, from N'wanati, on the east coast). He has preserved a lot of oral history of the events that took place then, more than 300 years ago), 9 August 2012.
11. **Baloi, Matlharini Xidakwa (Prince)** – Heir to the chieftainship of N'wamahunyani (the first capital of the v aka Valoyi in Mozambique – previously called Gulukhulu or Gutse). His father, Xidakwa Baloi had died and although he was of mature age, he was reluctant to take over and his mother, Ketlani Baloi, was acting as regent for him, 10 August 2012.
12. **Baloi, Salomao (Ndhuna)** – Headman of the Mahanuke community, in Mozambique, under Hosi Xikungulu Baloi, 1 October 2011.
13. **Baloi, Soza** – Elder and member of the Mahanuke community, in Mozambique, under Hosi Xikungulu Baloi, 1 October 2012.
14. **Baloi, Simon (Ndhuna)** – the Headman of the Xibotani and Madingani communities (one of those responsible for more than one village as headmen – a rare occasion), in Mozambique, 1 October 2011.
15. **Baloi, Xigevenga (Hosi)** – Chief of Ntshokati, Mozambique, 9 August 2012.

16. **Baloi, Xihlomulo (Hosi)** – Member of the main lineage of Xifun'wana and Chief of the area covering the Munyamani (headkraal), Nkuzi and Makhongele, in Mozambique, 01 October 2011.
17. **Baloi, Zakariya Xitulu (Hosi)** – Chief of Magezi community, resident at Nguluvani, in Mozambique, 10 August 2012.
18. **Baloyi, Abie** – Veteran journalist and member of the royal family of Maxavele, South Africa, 30 November 2009.
19. **Baloyi, Ben** – Elder and member of the Xikukwani royal family, South Africa, 16 June 2012.
20. **Baloyi, Ben Goliath** – Magistrate and member of the Khakhala royal family, 03 July 2013.
21. **Baloyi, Esther** – Resident of Sekgopo and daughter to the headman of Makhaveni community, South Africa, 22 January 2014.
22. **Baloyi, Magezi (Hosi)** – Chief of the Gon'on'o community, South Africa, 28 June 2013.
23. **Baloyi, Risimati** – Elder and member of the royal family of Ribungwani, South Africa, 16 June 2010.
24. **Baloyi, Richard** – Elder and member of the royal family of N'wakhada, Tzaneen, South Africa, 28 June 2009.
25. **Baloyi, Tutu** – Member of the N'wankoti lineage, South Africa, 16 June 2010.
26. **Baloyi, Xichavo** – Member of the Xirimbi lineage, South Africa, 14 April 2011.
27. **Baloyi, Xitlhangoma** – Elder and member of the Maluvatilo lineage, South Africa, 10 June 2013.
28. **Gondola, Elrica** – Member of the Nyayi group currently resident among the North Sotho, South Africa, 7 March 2014.
29. **Hasani, Chapson** - Brother and advisor to Chief Gezani Baloyi (also called Hosi Hasani) of Malamulele, in South Africa, 22 May 2011.
30. **Liesegang, G (Prof)** – Academic, professor in History, University of Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, Mozambique, on 2 October 2010.
31. **Mabasa, Hlengani** - Private researcher, manager at the national Department of Arts and Culture (Pretoria), at Alberton, in South Africa, 19 November 2012.

32. **Mabaso, Eric** – Academic, lecturer of Xitsonga, University of South Africa, Chairman of the Pan South African Language Board's Xitsonga National Language Body, Pretoria, South Africa, 21 January 2014.
33. **Mabena, Curtis Mavula** - Member of the Ndzundza-Ndebele royal family, former Member of Parliament, Director in the Department of Water and Sanitation, Pretoria, South Africa, 10 June 2013.
34. **Macaringue, M** – Member of the Makaringe royal family and senior advisor to Hosi Salomao Macaringue of the Makaringe community, in Mozambique, 2 October 2011.
35. **Macaringue, Salomao B. (Hosi)** – Chief of the Makaringe community with jurisdiction over Makaringe, Xibombi, Guswe and Maxava (Xitlhavanini) communities, Mozambique, 02 October 2010.
36. **Mahlaule, A** – Resident of KaTihoveni and a wife of one of the senior members of the va ka Valoyi royal family at Mhangeni, Mozambique, 30 September 2011.
37. **Mahonisi, Risenga (Hosi)** – Chief of the Mahonisi (Ngoveni) community in Malamulele, South Africa, 16 December 2012.
38. **Makhubele, A** – Member of the royal family of Nkuzana and resident of N'wamankena, South Africa, 23 December 2012.
39. **Makhubele, Mhani** - Resident of Rotterdam, South Africa, 20 December 2013.
40. **Makhuva, Fifteen Mukayeni** - Uncle of the reigning Chief of the Makhuva community, South Africa, 28 August 2009.
41. **Maluleke, Mkhacani (Hosi)** – Chief of the Hlaneki (Maluleke) community, South Africa, 11 January 2013.
42. **Maluleke, Mkhacani** – Chief researcher of the Van'wanati (an organisation representing all the va ka Maluleke communities), South Africa, 16 December 2012.
43. **Malwandla, James** – Member of the Xivodze (Mukansi) royal family at Nkuzana and member of the local civil organisation, South Africa, 11 May 2011.
44. **Mathebula, Anikie** – Member of the Maluvatilo lineage, Phalaborwa, South Africa, 14 March 2016.
45. **Mathebula, Edward Cliff** - Member of the Ngirivane royal family and resident of Sigagule, South Africa, 11 August 2012.
46. **Mathebula, Hlatiki** – Member of the Maluvatilo lineage, Mkhuhlu, South Africa, 14 March 2016
47. **Mathebula, Makhuva Piet** – Executive Member of the Huvonkulu ya ka Valoyi (an organisation representing all the va ka Valoyi Communities in South Africa) and one of

the advisors of Hosi Nkhavi Churchill Mathevula (also called Hosi Makhuva), South Africa, 11 August 2012.

48. **Mathebula - Samson.Baloyi** – Church leader and advisor to Chief Bill Nkuzana, South Africa, 02 June 2009.
49. **Mathevula Masocha Magulasavi** – Elder and senior advisor to Hosi Makhaveni of the communities of Mavodze, Makhaveni, Nghulele, Mahlaule and Xibotani.
50. **Mathevula, Nkhavi Churchill (Hosi)** – Chief of the Mathevula (also called Makhuva) community, South Africa, on 11 August 2012.
51. **Mavanyisi, OC** –Community leader, former representative of Gazankulu government in the Reef, South Africa, 15 December 2010.
52. **Mbhombhi, Rafael (Ndhuna)** – Headman of Makhwaxani, Mozambique, 02 October 2011.
53. **Mkansi, Ben (Hosi)** – Chief of the Xivodze (Mukansi) community at Gumbeni, Mozambique, 31 August 2013.
54. **Mkansi, Dingaani Daniel** – Member of the Xivodze lineage, South Africa, 3 July 2012.
55. **Mkansi, John** - Member of the Xivodze (Mukansi) royal family and advisor to Hosi Ribungwani, South Africa, 3 July 2012.
56. **Mkansi, Lorraine N’wa-Xivuri** – Mother to Hosi Ben Mkansi and widow to the late Hosi Muguduya Vincent Mkansi, Mozambique, 31 August 2013.
57. **Mkansi, Jones, Ximeche** – Member of the Xivodze lineage, South Africa, 16 June 2013.
58. **Mongwe, Mkhomazi** – A senior Xitsonga language practitioner at the Limpopo Provincial Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, Polokwane, South Africa, 04 August 2013. .
59. **Mudenge, S (Dr)** – Senior Zimbabwean historian, author and Minister of Higher Education, Zimbabwe, 14 October 2010.
60. **Neluvhalani, Vele (Dr)** – Academic and anthropologist, South Africa, 08 March 2012.
61. **Nghulele, Muyangani (Ndhuna)** – Headman of the Nghulele community, one of those formally under the va ka Mbhombhi, but assimilated into the va ka Valoyi, Mozambique, 30 September 2011.
62. **Ntuli, Hlazini (Hosi)** – Chief of the Ntshuxi community, South Africa, 8 July 2013.

63. **Rikhotso, Falaza.Joseph** – Member of the Rikhotso (Marholeni) royal family and Municipal Councillor, South Africa, on 31 May 2012.
64. **Rikhotso, Freddy** – Veteran journalist, private historical researcher, author, South Africa, on 8 May 2013.
65. **Shipalana, M** – Former schools inspector, chairman of the Valoyi Traditional Council and advisor to Hosi N’wamitwa II, South Africa, on 28 August 2010.
66. **Thapelo, Dineo** - Government communication practitioner, South Africa, 10 April 2010.
67. **Xitiva, N’waMawule** – Daughter to N’waMarholeni, one of the daughters of Hosi Marholeni Rikhotso (who came with the Rikhotso to Zoutpansberg in the 1840s), South Africa, 04 April 2009.

REFERENCES

Aarnoudse-Moens, CS, Weisglas-Kuperus, N, van Goudoever, JB & Oosterlaan, J. 2009. *Meta-analysis of neurobehavioral outcomes in very preterm and/or very low birthweight children*. *Pediatrics* 2: 717–28.

Ahn, C, Heo, M & Zhang, S. 2014. *Sample Size Calculations for Clustered and Longitudinal Outcomes in Clinical Research*, CRC Press.

Aylward, GP. 2002. *Cognitive and neurophysiological outcomes: More than IQ scores*. *Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities Research Review*. 8:234-240

American Academy of Pediatrics. 5 May 2014. "*Being born 4-6 weeks premature can affect brain structure, function*." *Science Daily*.
www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2014/05/140505094157.htm (Accessed 5 August 2015)

American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists. 2013. *Definition of Term Pregnancy*. Committee Opinion No. 579. 122:1139–40.

Anastasi, A & Urbina, S. 1997. *Psychological Testing*, 7th Edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentiss-Hall, Inc

Arpino, C, Compagnone, E, Montanaro, ML, Cacciatore, D, De Luca, A, Cerulli, A., Di Girolamo, S & Curatolo, P. 2010. *Preterm birth and neurodevelopmental outcome: a review*. *Childs Nervous System*. 26:1139–1149.

Ball, G, Boardman, JP, Rueckert, D, Aljabar, P, Arichi, T, Merchant N, Gousias, IS, Edwards, AD & Counsell, SJ. 2012. *The effect of preterm birth on thalamic and cortical development*. Cerebral Cortex 22:1016–1024.

Beaino, G, Khoshnood, B, Kaminski, M, Marret, S, Pierrat, V, Vieux, R. 2011. *EPIPAGE Study Group. Predictors of the risk of cognitive deficiency in very preterm infants: The EPIPAGE prospective cohort*. Acta Paediatrica 100: 370-378.

Beck, S, Wojdyla D, Say, L, Betran, AP, Merialdi, M, Reuelo, JH, Menon, R, & Van Look, PF. 2010. *The worldwide incidence of preterm birth: a systematic review of maternal mortality and morbidity*. Bull World Health Organ 88: 31-38.

Beery, K & Beery, NA. 2004. *Developmental test of Visual Motor Integration, 5th edition: Administration, Scoring and Teaching Manual*. Minneapolis, MN: NCS Pearson, International.

Birch, H & Lefford, GA. 1967. *Visual differentiation, inter-sensory integration, and voluntary motor control*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development 32(110, Serial No.2).

Bjerager, M, Steensberg, J & Greisen, G. 1995. *Quality of life among young adults born with very low birthweights*. Acta Paediatrica 84:1339-1343.

Blencowe, H, Cousens, S, Oestergaard, M, Chou, D, Moller, AB, Narwal, R, Adler, A, Garcia, CV, Rohde, S, Say, L & Lawn, JE. 2012. *National, regional and worldwide estimates of preterm birth*. The Lancet 379: 2162-2172. Estimates from 2010.

Bohm, B, Katz-Salamon, M, Smedler, AC, Lagrecreantz, H & Forsberg, H. 2002. *Developmental risks and protective factors for influencing cognitive outcome at 5 1/2 years of age in very low-birthweight children*. Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology 44: 508–16.

Bohn, MC & Friedrich, VL Jr. 1982. *Recovery of myelination in rat optic nerve after developmental retardation by cortisol*. *Journal of Neuroscience*,2,1292-1298.

Breakwell, GM, Hammond, S & Fife-Schaw, C. 1995. *Research methods in psychology*. London: Sage Publications

Brink, H, Van der Walt, C & van Rensburg, G. 2012. *Fundamentals of Research Methodology for Health Care Professionals*, Juta and Company Ltd.

Brown, T, Elliott, S, Bourne, R, Sutton, E, Wigg, S, Morgan, D, Glass, S, & Lalor, A. 2011. *The discriminative validity of three visual perception tests*. *New Zealand Journal of Occupational Therapy* 58: 14 - 22.

Bryce, J, Daelmans, B, Dwivedi, A, Fauveau, V, Lawn, JE, Mason, E, Newby, H, Shankar, A, Starrs, A, Wardlaw, T. 2008. *Countdown to 2015 for maternal, newborn, and child survival: the 2008 report on tracking coverage of interventions*. *Lancet*. 371:1247-1258.

Burns, N & Grove, SK. 2005. *The Practice of Nursing Research: Conduct, Critique, and Utilization* (5th Ed.). St. Louis, Elsevier Saunders.

Chyi, LJ, Lee, HC, Hintz, SR, Gould, JB & Sutcliffe, TL. 2008. *School outcomes of late preterm infants: special needs and challenges for infants born at 32 to 36 weeks gestation*. *Journal of Pediatrics* 153:25-31.

Cooke, RWI, Foulder-Hughes, L, Newsham, D & Clarke D. 2004. *Ophthalmic impairment at 7 years of age in children born very preterm*. Archives of Disease in Childhood: Fetal and Neonatal Edition. 89: 249–253.

Constable, RT, Ment, LR, Vohr BR, Kesler, SR, Fulbright, RK, Lacadie, C, Delancy, S, Katz, KH, Schneider, KC, Schafer, RJ, Makuch, RW & Reiss, AR. 2008. *Prematurely born children demonstrate white matter microstructural differences at 12 years of age, relative to term control subjects: an investigation of group and gender effects*. Pediatrics 121:306-316.

Davis, DW, Burns, BM, Wilkerson, SA & Steichen, JJ. 2005. *Visual perceptual skills in children born with very low birth weights*. Journal of Pediatric Health Care 19: 363-368.

De Kievet, JF, Zoetbier, L, van Elburg, RM, Vermeulen, RJ & Oosterlaan, J. 2012. *Brain development of very preterm of very preterm and very low birth weight children in childhood and adolescence: a meta-analysis*. Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology 54:313-323.

de Vos, AS. 2005. *Qualitative data analysis and interpretation*. In De Vos, AS, Strydom, H, Fouché, CB, Delport, CSL. Research at Grass Roots for the Social Sciences and Human Services Professions (3rd edition.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers: 333-349.

Edmond, JC & Fooroozan, R. 2006. *Cortical visual impairment in children*. Current Opinion in Ophthalmology 17: 509-512.

Flax, N. 1968. *Visual function in Dyslexia*. American Journal of Optometry and Physiological Optics 45: 574-586.

Forgus, RH. 1966. *Perception: the basic process in cognitive development*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Gano, D, Anderson, SK, Glass, HC, Rogers, EE, Glidden, DV, Barkovich, AJ & Ferriero, DM. 2015. *Impaired cognitive performance in premature newborns with two or more surgeries prior to term-equivalent age*. *Pediatric Research* 78:323-329.

Geldof, CJ, van Wassenae, AG, de Kievet, JF, Kok, JH, Oosterlaan, J. 2012. Visual perception and visual, motor integration and/or very low birth weight children, a meta-analysis. *Research in Developmental Disabilities* 33: 726-736

Gesell, AL, Ng FL & Bullis, GE. 1949. *Vision: its development in infant and child*. New York: Hoeber.

Gibson, EJ. 1969. *Principles of Perceptual Learning and Development*. New York: Appleton Century Crofts. Meredith Corporation.

Gibson, E & Gibson, JJ. 1991. *The senses as seeking systems*. In Gibson E edition. *An odyssey in learning and perception*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gregory, R. 1991. *Seeing as thinking: an active theory of perception*. In Gibson E edition. *An odyssey in learning and perception*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Grunau, RE, Whitfield, MF & Davis, C. 2002 *Pattern of learning disabilities in children with extremely low birth weight and broadly average intelligence*. *Archives of Paediatric and Adolescent Medicine* 56:615-620.

Gurka, MJ, LoCasale-Crouch, J, Blackman, JA. 2010. *Long-term cognition, achievement, socioemotional, and behavioral development of healthy late-preterm infants*. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine* 164:525-532.

Hack, M, Flannery, DJ, Schluchter, M, Cartar,L, Borawski, E & Klein, N. 2002. *Outcomes in young adulthood for very-low-birth-weight infants*. New England Journal of Medicine 346:149-157.

Hack, M, Taylor, HG, Drotar, D, Schluchter, M, Cartar, L, Wilson-Costello, D, Klein, N, Friedman, H, Mercuri-Minich, N & Morrow, M. 2005. *Poor predictive validity of the Bayley Scales of Infant Development for cognitive function of extremely low birth weight children at school age*. Pediatrics 116: 333–41.

Hack, M & Taylor, HG. 2000. *Perinatal brain injury in preterm infants and later neurobehavioral function*. Journal of the American Medicine Association 284:1973-1974.

Hebart, MN & Hesselmann, G. 2012. *What visual information is processed in the human dorsal stream?* The Journal of Neuroscience 32 :8107-9109.

Halliday, HL. 2004. *Postnatal steroids and chronic lung disease in the newborn*. Pediatric Respiratory Reviews 5: 245-248

Hamilton, BE, Hoyert, DL, Martin, JA, Strobino, DM & Guyer, B. 2013. *Annual summary of vital statistics:2010-2011*. Paediatrics 131:548-558

Harris, MN, Voigt, RG, Barbaresi, WJ, Voge, GA, Killian, BS, Weaver AL, Colby, CE, Carey, WA & Katusic, SK. 2013. *ADHD and learning disabilities in former late preterm infants: a population bases birth cohort*. American Academy of Pediatrics 132: 630-636.

Huppi, PS. 2004. *Immature white matter lesions in the premature infant*. Journal of Pediatrics 145:575-578.

Kephart, NC. 1964. *The perceptual-motor aspects of learning disabilities*. Journal of Exceptional Children 31:201-206.

Kephart, NC. 1971. *The slow learner in the classroom*. 2nd edition. Columbus. Ohio: Charles E. Merrill.

Kerr-Wilson, CO, Mackay, DF, Smith, GC & Pell, JP. 2012. *Meta-analysis of the association between preterm delivery and intelligence*. Journal of Public Health 34(2):209–216.

Kinney, HC. 2006. *The near-term (late preterm) human brain and risk for periventricular leukomalacia: a review*. Seminars in Perinatology 30(2):81–88.

Klebanov, PK, Brooks-Gunn, J & McCormick, MC.1994. *School achievement and failure in very low birth weight children*. Journal of Developmental and Behavioural Pediatrics 15:248-256.

Kozeis, N, Panos, GD, Zafeiriou, DI, de Gottrau, P & Gatziofas, Z. 2015. *Comparative study of refractive errors, strabismus, microsaccades, and visual perception between preterm and full-term children with infantile cerebral palsy*. Journal of Child Neurology 30: 972-975

Krejcie, RV & Morgan, DW. 1970. *Determining sample size for research activities*. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 30, 607-610.

Kumar, R. 2011. *Research methodology, a step by step guide for beginners*. 3rd edition. Sage publications. London

Lagercrantz, H, Katz-Salamon, M & Forssberg, H. 1997. *The Stockholm Neonatal Project: neonatal mortality and morbidity at the Children's Centre, Karolinska Hospital*. Acta Paediatrica 419: 11–15.

Lawn, J & Kerber, K. 2006. *Opportunities for Africa's newborns: Practical data, policy and programmatic support for newborn care in Arica*. Cape town. Partnership for Maternal Newborn and Child Health.

Lundequist A, Böhm B, Lagercrantz H, Forssberg H, Smedler AC. 2015. *Cognitive outcome varies in adolescents born preterm, depending on gestational age, intrauterine growth and neonatal complications*. Acta Paediatrica 104: 292-299.

Luoma, L, Herrgard, E & Martikainen, A.1998. *Neuropsychological analysis of the visuomotor problems in children born preterm at 32 weeks of gestation: A 5-year prospective follow-up*. Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology 40:21-30.

Luu, TM, Ment, L, Allan, W, Schneider K & Vohr BR. 2011. *Executive and memory function in adolescents born very preterm*. Pediatrics 127: 639–646.

Martin, NA. 2006. *Test of Visual Perceptual Skills 3rd edition*. Manual.

McCarthy, D. 1972. *McCarthy's scales of children's abilities*. Psychological corporation. San Antonio, Texas.

McKnight, P & Najab, J. 2010. *Mann-Whitney U Test*. George Mason University: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.

Millodot, M. 2009. *Dictionary of Optometry and Vision Science*. 7th edition. Butterworth-Heinmann. UK. Elsevier.

Milner, AD & Goodale, MA. 1995. *The Visual Brain in Action*. Oxford: Oxford. UP

Moffitt, TE, Arseneault, L, Belsky, D, Dickson, N, Hancox, RJ, Harrington, H, Houts, R, Poulton, R, Roberts, BW, Ross, S, Sears, MR, Thomson, WM & Caspi, A. 2011. *A gradient of childhood self-control predicts health, wealth, and public safety*. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 108: 2693–2698.

Molloy, CS, Wilson-Ching, M, Anderson, VA, Roberts, G, Anderson, PJ & Doyle, LW. 2013. *Visual Processing in Adolescents Born Extremely Low Birth Weight and/or Extremely Preterm*. Pediatrics 132: 704–712.

Molloy, CS, Di Battista, AM, Anderson, VA, Burnett, A, Lee, KJ, Roberts, G, Ly Cheong, J, Anderson, PJ, & Doyle, LW. 2017. *The contribution of visual processing to academic achievement in adolescents born extremely preterm or extremely low birth weight*. Child Neuropsychology 23: 361-379.

Moreira, RS, Magalhaes, LC & Alves, CR. 2014. *Effect of preterm birth on motor development, behaviour and school performance of school-age children: a systematic review*. Journal of Pediatrics (Rio J) 90:119-34.

Moutquin, JM, Milot, Roy, V & Irion, O. 1996. *Preterm prevention: effectiveness of current strategies*. Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology Canada 18: 571-588.

Mulder, H, Pitchford, NJ, Hagger, MS & Marlow, N. 2009. *Development of executive function and attention in preterm children: a systematic review*. Developmental Neuropsychology 34: 393–421.

Narberhaus, A, Lawrence, E, Allin, MP, Walshe, M, McGuire, P, Rifkin, I, Murray, R & Nosarti, C. 2009. *Neural substrates of visual paired associates in young adults with a history of preterm birth; alterations in fronto-parietal-occipital networks and caudate nucleus*. NeuroImage 47: 1884-1893.

Nosarti,C, Murray, RM & Hack, M. 2010. *Neurodevelopmental outcomes of preterm birth: from childhood to adult life*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Omizzolo, C, Thompson, DKH, Scratch, SE, Stargatt, R, Lee, K, Cheong, J, Roberts, G, Doyle, LW & Anderson, PJ. 2013.*Hippocampal volume and memory and learning outcomes at 7 years in children born very preterm*. Journal of the International Neuropsychological Society 19:1-11.

Parush S, Yochman A, Cohen D, Gershon E. 1998. *Relation of visual perception and visual-motor integration for clumsy children*. Perceptual and Motor Skills 86 :291-295.

Perez-Roche, T, Altemir, I, Giménez, G, Prieto, E, González, I, Peña-Segura, JL, Castillo, O, & Pueyo, V. 2016. *Effect of prematurity and low birth weight in visual abilities and school performance*. Research in Developmental Disabilities 59: 451-457.

Perlman, JM. 2001. *Neurobehavioral deficits in premature graduates of intensive care—potential medical and neonatal environmental risk factors*. Pediatrics 108:1339-1347

Pollit, DF & Beck, CT. 2008. *Nursing Research: Principles and Methods*. Philadelphia: Lipincott.

Rademaker, KJ, Lam, JN, Van Haastert, IC, Uiterwaal, CS, Liefink, AF, Groenendaal, F, Grobbee, DE & de Vries, LS. 2004. *Larger corpus collosum size with better motor performance in prematurely born children*. Seminars in Perinatology 28: 279-287.

Resnick, MB, Gomatam, SV, Carter, RL, Ariet, M, Roth, J, Kilgore, KL, Buciarrelli, CL, Mahan, CS, Curran, JS & Eitzman, DV. 1998. *Educational disabilities of neonatal intensive care graduates*. *Pediatrics*. 102:308–314.

Ricci, D, Romeo DM, Gallini F, Groppo M, Cesarini, L Pisoni, S, Serrao F, Pappaci P, Contaldo I, Perrino F, Brogna C, Bianco F, Baranello G, Sacco A, Quintiliani M, Ometto A, Cilauro S, Mosca F, Romagnoli C, Romeo MG, Cowan F, Cioni G, Ramenghi L, Mercuri E. 2011. *Early visual assessment in preterm infants with and without brain lesions: Correlation with visual and neurodevelopmental outcome at 12 months*. *Early Human Development* 87: 177-182.

Romeo, DM, Di Stefano, A, Conversano, M Ricci D, Mazzone D, Romeo MG, Mercuri E. 2010. Neurodevelopmental outcome at 12 and 18 months in late preterm. *European Journal of Paediatrics and Neurology* 14: 503-507.

Schapero, M, Cline, D, Hofstetter, HW. 1968. *Dictionary of Visual Science*. Chilton Book Company, Radnor, Pennsylvania.

Scheiman, MM & Rouse, MW. 2006. *Optometric management of learning-related vision problems*. 2nd edition. Mosby Elsevier. St. Louis, Missouri.

Singer, LT, Arendt, R, Minnes, S, Farkas K, Salvator A, Kirchner, HL & Kliegman, R. 2002. *Cognitive and motor outcomes of cocaine-exposed infants*. *Journal of the American Medicine Association* 287:1952-1960

Spong, CY. 2013. *Defining “term” pregnancy: recommendations from the Defining “Term” Pregnancy Workgroup*. *Journal of the American Medicine Association* 309: 2445-2446

Tabachnik, B & Fidell, LS. 1989. *Using multivariate statistics (2nd edition)*. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers.

Tanabe, K, Tamakoshi K, Kikuchi, S & Murotsuki J. 2014. *Learning Disability in 10-to-16-year-old adolescents with very low birth weight in Japan*. Tohoku Journal of Experimental Medicine 232: 27-33

Thompson, DK, Adamson, C, Roberts, G, Faggian, N, Wood, SJ, Warfield, SK & Inder, TE. 2013. *Hippocampal shape variations at term equivalent age in very preterm infants compared with term controls: Perinatal predictors and functional significance at age 7*. Neuroimage 70: 278–287.

Thorndike, RL. 1986. *Bayesian concepts and test interpretation*. Journal of Counselling and Development 65: 170-171.

van den Hout, BM, Stiers, P, Haers, M, van der Schouw, YT, Eken, P, Vandenbussche, E, van Nieuwenhuizen, O & de Vries, LS. 2000. *Relation between visual perceptual impairment and neonatal ultrasound diagnosis of haemorrhagic- ischaemic brain lesions in 5-year-old children*. Developmental Medical Child Neurology 42:376-386

Volpe, JJ. 2009. *Brain injury in premature infants: a complex amalgam of destructive and developmental disturbances*. Lancet Neurology 8: 110-124

Wechsler, D .2003. *Wechsler Intelligence scale for children. 4th edition*. San Antonio, Texas. The Psychological corporation.

WHO, UNICEF. 2004. *Low Birthweight: Country, Regional and Global Estimates*. Geneva, UNICEF and WHO.

Williams, H. 1983. *Perceptual and Motor Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wolke, D.1998 *Psychological development of prematurely born children*. Archives of Disease in Childhood 78:567-570.

World Health Organisation. November 2014. *Preterm Birth Fact Sheet Number 363*.

World Health Organisation. 2012. *Born Too Soon. Global Action Report on Preterm Birth*.

Woythaler, M, McCormick, MC, Mao, W, Smith VC. 2015. *Late preterm infants and Neurodevelopmental outcomes at kindergarten*. Pediatrics 136: 424-431.

Zhang, J, Mahoney, AD & Pinto-Martin, JA. 2013. *Perinatal brain injury, visual motor function and poor school outcome of regional low birth weight survivors at age nine*. Journal of Clinic Nursing; 22: 2225-2232.