

SOURCES

Primary Sources

Commissions

Mushasha Commission of Inquiry into Venda Vhuhosi Affairs, Government Publishers, Venda, South Africa, 1990.

Nhlapo Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims, Government Gazette, 2008.

Ralushai Commission of Inquiry, 1998, Unpublished.

Acts

Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003

Venda Traditional Leaders Administration Proclamation No. 29 of 1991, Part I.

Venda Traditional Leaders Administration Proclamation No. 29 of 1991, Part II.

Venda Traditional Leaders Administration Proclamation No. 29 of 1991, Part III.

Archival Sources

Special Collections, University of Pretoria Library, Van Warmelo Collection, Venda Files:

535, 44/15, 338 Radzilani, O.S., 1937, History of Thjatema and Vhulaudzi

539, 44/20, 16 Mugivhi, J.M., 1937, Gwamasenga na Vhana Vhawe.

Court documents

The Supreme Court of Appeal of South Africa Judgement, Case No: 948/17. 2019.

Newspapers

Business Day, Wednesday, 27 January 1988.

Capricorn Voice, 19 August 2014.

City Press, Sunday, 25 January 1987.

City Press, Sunday, 8 May 1988.

City Press, 9 November 2019

Daily Dispatch, Tuesday, 19 April 1988.

Daily Dispatch, Friday, 22 April 1988.

Limpopo Mirror (date unknown)

Limpopo Mirror, Friday, 21 December 2012.

Limpopo Mirror, Friday, 31 August 2015.

Limpopo Mirror, Friday, 16 December 2016.

Limpopo Mirror, Friday, 3 June 2017.

Limpopo Mirror, Saturday, 4 July 2020.

News 24, 13 August 2017, Tau, P.

South African Press Association (date unknown).

Sowetan, Thursday, 15 January 1987.

Sowetan, Wednesday, 1 April 1987.

Sowetan, Thursday, 3 March 1988.

Sowetan, Tuesday, 19 April 1988.

Sowetan, Tuesday, 26 April 1988.

Sowetan, Wednesday, 11 May 1988.

Sowetan, Monday, 28 June 1988.

Sowetan, Friday, 22 July 1988.

Sowetan, Monday, 8 August 1988, Makhanya, E.

Sowetan, Tuesday, 16 August 1988, Raboroko, J.

Sowetan, Wednesday, 17 August 1988, Tsedu, M.

Sowetan, Wednesday, 15 May 2019.

The Star, Tuesday, 8 August 1986.

The Star, Monday, 11 August 1986.

The Star, Monday, 1 February 1988.

The Star, Tuesday, 19 April 1988.

The Star, Friday, 22 April 1988.

The Star, Wednesday, 11 May 1988.

Sunday Times, Sunday, 5 June 2016.

Sunday Times, Sunday, 11 February 2018, Cowan, K. and Mzilikazi wa Africa.

Weekly Mail, Friday, 16 January 1987.

Weekly Mail, 30 January – 5 Feb 1987.

ZoutNet, 18 September, 2012.

Interviews with Interlocutors of Venda communities

16 February 2015:

Thovhele Pfareli William Sofrite Mutele, Mutele Community, Manenzhe Tribal Community Office

Thovhele Takalani Elon Manenzhe, Manenzhe Community, Manenzhe Tribal Community Office

17 February 2015:

Vho-Khotsimunene Takalani Eric Mashamba, Mashamba Community

Thovhele Malovhana Cecil Masakona and *Gota* Mulondo William Nemaguvhuni, Masakona Community

18 February 2015:

Vho-Khotsimunene Tshililo Amos Manenzhe, Manenzhe Community

21 May 2015:

Thovhele Tshavhayamipfa Ronald Mashau and *Gota* Nthambeleni Hendrick Musekwa of the Musekwa Community

22 May 2015:

Gota Johannes Nkhangweni Makhado, an elder in the Khakhu Royal Council
Vho-Khotsimunene Wildert Mukandangalwo Madzivhandila, Ha-Madzivhandila
Tshakhuma

29 May 2015:

Thovhele Midiavhathu Prince Kennedy Tshivhase

August 2016:

Because of the tension at the time around the interruption of the crowning of Toni Mphepu as *khosikhuli*, it was decided not to disclose the names of interlocutors interviewed during this fieldwork trip.

Secondary Sources

Articles

Field, S., 2008, *Turning Up the Volume: Dialogues about Memory Create Oral Histories*," *South African Historical Journal*, 60, 2.

Gotschling, E., 1905, The Bavenda: A Sketch of their History and Customs, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 35.

Hoernlé, W., 1925, Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of Southwest Africa 1, *American Anthropologist*, 27, 1.

Khunou, F., 2009, Traditional Leadership and Independent Bantustans of South Africa: some milestones of Transformation Constitutionalism beyond Apartheid, *Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad* 12, 4.

Lekhoathi, S.P., 2009, Colonial Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the Transvaal Ndebele, 1930-1989, *Journal of African History*, 50.

Loubser, J.H.N., 1991, The Ethnoarchaeology of Venda Speakers in South Africa, *Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum Bloemfontein*, 7, 8.

Newbury, D., 2007. Contradictions at the Heart of the Canon: Jan van Sina and the Debate over Oral Historiography in Africa 1960-1985. *History of Africa*, 34.

Spear, T., 2003, Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa, *The Journal of African History*, 44, 1.

Tempelhoff, J. & Nemudzivhadi, H.M., 1999, Riding the Storm of Change: Makhado, Venda and the South African Republic (1864-1895), *New Contree*, 45.

Tihon, G., 1976, Les religieuses en Belgique du XVIIIe au XXe siècle, *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis*, 7.

Theses and Dissertations

Fish, W.S., 2001, Early Venda History and the Mutokolwe ruins near Tshiendeulu, MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.

Fokwang, J.T.D., 2003, Chiefs and Democratic Transition in Africa: an Ethnographic study in the Chiefdoms of Tshivhase and Bali, MA Thesis, University of Pretoria.

Khuba, A.E., 1993, The Significance of the Musanda Language in Venda: A Diglossia, D Litt & Phil thesis, University of South Africa.

Kirkaldy, A. 2000. Capturing the Soul. The Vhavenda and the Missionaries, 1870-1900. Doctoral Thesis, University of Cape Town.

Makhari, N.M., 1991, A Biography of President Patrick Ramaano Mphephu, BA Hons, University of Venda.

Matshidze, P.E., 2013, The Role of Makhadzi in Traditional Leadership Among the Venda, PhD Thesis, The University of Zululand.

Mouton, J.A., 1957, *Generaal Piet Joubert in die Transvaalse Geskiedenis*, *Archives Year Book for South African History*, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Mulaudzi, L.J.P., 2007, Linking with the Past and Cultural Regeneration: A Case Study of Schoemansdal Museum in the Soutpansberg Region, Limpopo Province, MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.

Nemudzivhadi, M.H., 1998, The Attempts by Makhado to Revive the Venda Kingdom 1864-1895, PhD Thesis, Potchefstroom University.

Nemudzivhadi, M.H., 1977, The Conflict Between Mphephu and the South African Republic (1895-1899), University of South Africa.

Nevondo, M., 2000, A Political Study of Chief P.R. Mphephu of Venda "The Great Elephant of Africa, MA Thesis, University of Fort Hare.

Ralushai, V.N., 1977, *Conflicting Accounts of Venda History with Particular Reference to the Role of Mutupo in Social Organisation*. Doctoral Thesis, Queen's University Belfast.

Rambau, V.J., 1999, *Role of Venda Women in Formation of Operation of Women in Burial Societies*, MA Thesis, University of Venda.

Van Ryneveld, T.A. 1998, *Remembering Albasini*, MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.

Wentzel, P.J., 1981, *The Relationship between Venda and Western Shona*, D Litt et Phil thesis, University of South Africa.

Books

Anon, 1979, *The Republic of Venda*, Chris van Rensburg Publications, Johannesburg.

Awasom, N.F., 2003, *The Vicissitudes of Twentieth-Century Mankon Fons in Cameroon's Changing Social Order*; in Van Binsbergen, W. and R. Pelgrim (eds.), *The Dynamics of Power and the Role of Law: Essays on Africa and Beyond, in Honour of Emile Adriaan B. Van Rouveroy Van Nieuwaal*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick.

Bahnson, K., 1973, *Akademische Auszüge aus deutschen Universitäts und Hochschulorten*, Dissertation, Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken, Cited in Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (eds.), 1983, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Beach, D.N., 1980, *The Shona & Zimbabwe 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History*, Heinemann, London.

Boonzaier, E. and J. Sharp (eds.), 1988, *South African Keywords. The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts*, David Philip, Cape Town.

Boeyens, J.C.A., 1990, *Die Konflik tussen die Venda en die Blankes in Transvaal, 1864-1969, Argiefjaarboek vir Suidk Afrikaanse Geskiedenis II*, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria.

Braun, L.F., 2014, *Colonial Survey and Native Landscapes in Rural South Africa, 1850 – 1913: The Politics of Divided Space in the Cape and Transvaal*, Brill, Leiden/Boston. Benso/Rau, 1979, *The Independent Venda*, Benso, Pretoria.

Comaroff, J.L. and J. Comaroff, 2009, *Ethnicity Inc; On Indigeneity and its Interpellations*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Comaroff, J.L. & J. Comaroff (eds.), 2019, *The Politics of Custom. Chiefship, Capital and the State in Contemporary South Africa*, Chicago University Press, Chicago.

Cooper, F., 2005, *Colonialism in Question, Theory, Knowledge and History*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Dazinger, C., 1983, *A History of Southern Africa*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

- Delderfield, E.R., 1988, *Kings and Queens of England and Great Britain*, Dorset Press, New York.
- Du Pre, R.H., 1992, *The Making of Racial Conflict in South Africa: A History Perspective*, Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Flygare, J., 1979, *Zoutpansbergen en de Bawenda Natie*, State Library, Pretoria.
- Giesekke, H., 2004, *The History of the Berlin Mission in Venda (the pioneer years, 1871-1901)*, self-published, Polokwane.
- Hammond-Tooke, W.D., 1997, *Imperfect Interpreters, South African's Anthropologists 1920-1990*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.
- Hill, C.R., 1964, *Bantustans, The Fragmentation of South Africa, (a Quote from the Odendaal Report)*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger (eds.), 1983, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hofmeyr, I. 2005. *We Spend our Years as a Tale that is Told. Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom*. Wits University Press, Johannesburg.
- Huffmann, T.N. (ed.), 2007, *Handbook to the Iron Age. The Archaeology of Pre-Colonial Farming Societies in Southern Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- Huffman, T.N. & E.O.M. Hanish, 1986, *Settlement Hierarchies in the Northern Transvaal: Zimbabwe Ruins and Venda History*, Johannesburg.
- Kirkaldy, A., 2005, *Capturing the Soul. The Vhavenda and the Missionaries, 1870-1900*, Protea Book House, Pretoria.
- Kirkaldy, A., 2005. An Examination of the Role Played by Berlin Missionaries in Internal Conflicts in the Vhavenda Polity and in Conflicts between the Vhavenda and the ZAR, c. 1870–1900, in H. Stoecker and U. van der Heyden (eds), *Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart.
- Landau, P.S., 2010, *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400-1948*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lestrade, G.P., 1932, *Venda Affinities; Venda Political Organisation and Venda Marriage Laws*, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Lodge, T., *Politics in South Africa. From Mandela to Mbeki*, David Philip, Cape Town.
- Malan, T. and P.S. Hattingh, 1976, *Black Homelands in South Africa*, Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria.

- Mamdani, M., 1996, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Mangu, X., 2013, *Biko: A Biography*, Tafelberg, Cape Town.
- Maylam, P.A., 1986, *History of African People of South Africa*, Cape Town.
- McNeill, F.G., 2011, *Aids, Politics and Music in South Africa*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Möller-Malan, D., 1953, *The Chair of the Ramabulanas*, Central News Agency, Johannesburg.
- Munnik, G.G., 1934, *Memoirs of Senator the Hon. G.G. Munnik; Covering Eighty Years of Thrilling South African History, Politics and War*, Maskew Miller, Cape Town.
- Nolte, I., 2003, The Interaction Between Chiefs and the State in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods, in Van Binsbergen, W. and R. Pelgrim (eds.), *The Dynamics of Power and the Rule of Law: Essays on Africa and Beyond in Honour of Emile Adriaan B. Van Rouveroy Van Nieuwaal*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick.
- Nyamnjoh, F.B., 2003, Might and Right: Chieftaincy and Democracy in Cameroon and Botswana, in Van Binsbergen, W. and R. Pelgrim (eds.), *The Dynamics of Power and the Rule of Law: Essays on Africa and Beyond in Honour of Emile Adriaan B. Van Rouveroy Van Nieuwaal*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick.
- Oomen, B., 2005, *Chiefs in South Africa, Law, Power & Culture in the Post-Apartheid Era*, James Currey, Oxford.
- Peires, J., 1981, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence*, Raven, Johannesburg.
- Rogers, B., 1980, *Divide & Rule. South Africa's Bantustans*, International Defence & Aid Fund, Paris.
- Said, E. 1993, *Culture and Imperialism*, Knopf, New York.
- Schapera, I., 1966, *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa: An Ethnographical Survey*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Schumaker, L., 2001, *Africanising Anthropology. Fieldwork, Networks and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*, Duke University Press, Durham.
- Stayt, H.A., 1968, *The Bavenda*, Frnk Cass & CO. LTD, London.
- Stoecker, H. & U. van der Heyden (eds.) *Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen. Europäische Missionsgesellschaften im politischen Spannungsfeldern in Afrika und Asien zwischen 1800 und 1945*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 2005.

Tempelhoff, J.W.N., 1997, *Die Okkupasiestelsel in die Distrik Soutpansberg, 1886-1899*, *Archives Yearbook for South African History*, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Tempelhoff, J.W.N., 1999, *The Townspeople of the Soutpansberg*, Leach Printers, Louis Trichardt.

Trichardt, Louis. (ed. T.H. le Roux), 1966, *Die Dagboek van ...*, met inleiding, aantekeninge en glossarium deur ..., Van Schaik, Pretoria.

Van Binsbergen, W. and R. Pelgrim (eds), 2003, *The Dynamics of Power and the Rule of Law: Essays on Africa and Beyond, in Honour of Emile Adriaan B. Van Rouveroy Van Niewaal*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick.

Van Warmelo, N.J. and Lestrade, G. P., 1945, *Contributions Towards Venda History, Religion and Tribal Ritual, together with Three Reprinted Essays on Venda Affinities; Venda Political Organisation and Venda Marriage Laws (1932) (Ethnological Publications 3)*, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Van Warmelo, N.J., 1940, *The Copper Miners of Musina and Early History of the Zoutpansberg*, Union of South Africa, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Van Warmelo, N.J., 1930, *Transvaal Ndebele*, Ethnological Publication, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Wells, J.C., 2012, *The Return of Makhanda: Exploring the Legend*, UKZN Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Wessmann, R., 1908, *The Bawenda of the Spelonken*, The African World, London.

Zöllner. L. and H. Heese, 1984, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa and their Descendants*, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.

Unpublished papers

Giesekke, D.W., 1972, A Hundred Years of Christianity in Vendaleland, A Paper Presented at the Centenary Celebration of Mission Work in Venda.

Websites

Luonde Vhavenda History

Available online:

www.luonde.co.za (accessed periodically during the course of research).