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KADITSHWENE: WHAT'S IN A NAME?

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INTRODUCTION

It is a little-known fact of history that prior to its destruction during the so-called *difaqane* in the 1820s, the capital of the main section of the Bahurutshe was probably the largest African town in the South African interior. In 1820 John Campbell, a director of the London Missionary Society, estimated the population of this Batswana town, to which he referred as "Kurreechane", at either 16 000 or 20 000 (Campbell 1822[i]:277; MSB77[iii]:18). Surprisingly enough, there has been considerable controversy about the correct rendering of the town's name as well as the location of its stone-walled ruins. As a recent author observes, "Many scholars maintain that Kurreechane is the English corruption of Tswana Kaditshwene; that the capital described by Campbell 170 years ago is the same as that currently being excavated by archaeologists. But there are those who disagree, and believe that Kurreechane is in fact a lost city. A number of reasons underline this contradicting theory. Perhaps the most important is that there is no direct oral evidence linking the two names." (Hall 1996:15).

The controversy about the location of the ruins of the capital is discussed elsewhere (Boeyens 1998:78–93); suffice it to say that a study of contemporary descriptions and sketches of the town, an archaeological survey of Iron Age sites in the Marico, as well as an analysis of the recorded oral traditions of the Bahurutshe, have confirmed beyond doubt that the main complex of the Bahurutshe capital was situated on a hill on the border of the two farms, Kleinfontein (or Olifantspruit) 62 JP and Bloemfontein 63 JP, about 25 km north-east of present-day Zeerust in the North-West Province (see the 1: 50 000 topographical map, 2526AC Mokgola).

Until recently, the consensus among anthropologists and historians has been

that Kaditshwene is the correct rendering of the name of the capital of the Bahurutshe, first reported by European explorers early in the nineteenth century. Although Kaditshwene has largely faded from historical memory, the name of the town has been kept alive in corrupted form by the common English names of two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail *(Turnix sylvatica)* and the Kurrichane thrush *(Turdus libonyana)* (see Skead 1967:61). The modern orthographic form of the town's name, Kaditshwene, has come into use mainly as a result of the research done by the two well-known anthropologists, Isaac Schapera (1951:73 & 1959:83) and Paul-Lenert Breutz (1953:6 & 1989:188). However, Kaditshwene represents an unusual construction for Setswana, and no entirely adequate explanation of the meaning or origin of the name has as yet been provided, as the following observation by Cole (1991:188) indicates: "I have not yet been able to find anyone who can explain the origin of this name, T. *Kaditshwêne* HHLL 'by (means of) baboons', which presumably derives, by ellipsis, from some longer construction" [NB H = high tone, L = low tone].

In recent years the spelling "Kaditshwene" has been challenged, and two alternative versions of the place name, viz. "Gaditshwene" and "Karechuenya", have been proposed as the correct rendering (see Mmabatho High School 1992a & b and Hamilton 1995:xiii–xiv). It has been suggested that the place name Kaditshwene is either a neologism or does not conform to the grammatical structure of Setswana. These two proposed versions of the place name have not only gained wide currency in scientific literature, but the version of "Gaditshwene" has also been given the stamp of approval in television programmes and in school syllabuses and projects (Levitz 1996:22–28; SABC (50/50), 26 April 1992; Skinner 1993:99–108). In view of the resurgent interest in South Africa's precolonial past, as well as in the pivotal role played by the Bahurutshe in the interior during the early nineteenth century, some clarification of the issue concerning the name of their capital is urgently needed. What follows is an outline of the results of an investigation into this historical, toponymical and linguistic problem[1]. At the same time this study demonstrates the complexity of enquiries into the meaning or etymology of place names whose origins pre-date recorded memory. It highlights the difficulties inherent in transcribing early recordings of indigenous languages, which were distorted by a lack of knowledge of the relevant language and the absence of a suitable or standardised orthography (for another example, see Rasmussen 1975). In particular, it emphasises the importance of combining fieldwork among local mother-tongue speakers with historical (documentary) investigations and linguistic analyses when attempting to determine the etymologies of indigenous African geographical names.

From Kurreechane to Kaditshwene: An orthographic odyssey

In an attempt to determine whether Kaditshwene[2] is indeed the correct name of the erstwhile Bahurutshe capital, or a neologism coined by twentieth-century scholars, it is necessary to trace the history of the recording of the name. Such an investigation may also reveal some clues as to its meaning or etymology, for earlier recorders may have had a better opportunity of gaining insight into what the name signified to contemporary inhabitants of the town or to their descendants.

The first literate observer to record the name of the Bahurutshe capital was John Campbell, a director of the London Missionary Society. Campbell's visit was primarily aimed at investigating the possibility of establishing a mission station among the Bahurutshe, and his sojourn at the capital lasted from 4 May to 12 May 1820. On 5 May 1820 Campbell entered the following note in his journal: "This morning only we learned that the name of the city was Kurreechane, and that Marootzee [i.e. Bahurutshe] is the name of the nation, not of the town ..." (Campbell 1822[i]:226). Campbell also inquired about the meaning of the name of the town, and in the original, unpublished version of his journal (MSB77[iii]:37), he recorded on May 11: "Kurreechane, the name of the town means, No baboon". One can only speculate as to why this seemingly incorrect explanation was omitted from the published work, but we shall return to its possible significance later.

Campbell was greatly impressed with the populous Bahurutshe capital and the missionary prospects, about which he expressed himself as follows: "I never designed to penetrate farther into the interior than the central city of the Marootzee [Bahurutshe] nation, which I found greatly to exceed, in point of importance, what I had previously conjectured. By the blessing of God it may prove a Jerusalem to the surrounding nations." (Campbell 1822[i]:253). Enthused about the missionary prospects and Campbell's favourable impressions of the Bahurutshe, the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, Stephen Kay, visited the Bahurutshe capital in August of the following year. On 9 August 1821 Kay noted in his journal, recorded at "Kurry Chane": "Arrived about three o'clock this afternoon at Kurry-chane, which appears to be the most populous town I have seen, since I left the Cape." (W.M.M.S., Box I, File 1821). In a letter to his superiors after his return from the Bahurutshe capital, he used the spelling "Kurrichane" (W.M.M.S., Box II, File 1822), and in the published account of his journey it appears as "Kurreshane" (Kay 1834:196).

Only fifteen months after Campbell had been there, Kay found the Bahurutshe in a despondent state, largely because of the continuous wars with neighbouring Batswana chiefdoms. His description of the town and its

inhabitants contrasts sharply in many ways with that of Campbell, little more than a year earlier: "A gloomy spiritlessness sat on every countenance, and the manner of all bespoke the absence of peace. Great poverty was apparent in the aspect both of old and young; and their reduced state induced them eagerly to eye every thing that was at all edible." (Kay 1834:198).

When Europeans again visited the domain of the Bahurutshe, their capital town had been devastated and evacuated. Not long after Kay's visit the Bahurutshe were overrun and dislocated in a series of attacks by several refugee Southern Sotho groups during the so-called *difaqane,* a period of instability which led to the displacement of several Batswana and Nguni communities (see Legassick 1969:328–341). On 12 April 1823 Robert Moffat, the well-known missionary among the Batlhaping at Kuruman, noted in a letter that "If the public accounts of the Bootchuanas can be depended on, Kureecheene is no more than a heap of rubbish, and very probably the camp of a ferocious enemy who are said to carry devastation and horror in their train." (Schapera 1951:73). During the next four years numerous reports of the town's fate were received by literate observers, notably by Robert Moffat. Grappling as he did with the language, he recorded the place name in a variety of ways, but at least some of these are probably typographical errors, as indeed there may be also in the publications of other early writers: "Kureecheene, Kureechane, Kurrecheene, Kureechueene, Kurreechuene, Kureechuene, Kurechuene, Kurechuen, Kurecheune, Kureechuen" (Schapera 1951:73, 77, 86, 102, 131, 139, 197, 216, 241, 242, 244, 258, 262, 289). Others who reported on the losses suffered by the Bahurutshe were the Wesleyan Methodist missionary among the Barolong booSeleka, Thomas Hodgson, who, writing in November 1823 and January 1824, referred to "Kurrichane" and "Kurruchane" (Cope 1977:203, 215), and the traveller, George Thompson, who wrote about the devastation in 1823 of "The populous town of Kurrechein, the capital of the Morootzi" (Thompson 1827:178–179, 99).

When the "trading-travellers", Robert Scoon and William McLuckie, passed through their territory in 1829, about 2 000 Bahurutshe were living in the Mosega basin, to the south-west of present-day Zeerust. Their former capital was found "deserted, and but few houses standing" (Chase 1830:404). In the published extract from their journal the town is referred to as "*Kurreechane,* or properly *Chuan,* i.e. the Town of Baboons, so called from the numbers of that animal in the vicinity ..." (Chase 1830:404; see also Cooley 1833:311). Note that in this quotation there appears another name, "Chuan", which is usually transcribed incorrectly as "Tshwenyane" and to which we shall refer again. The precarious state in which the Bahurutshe found themselves at Mosega at the time was also noted by Robert Moffat (1842:516): "... Mosega, the abode of Mokhatla [Mokgatlha], regent over the fragments, though still a large body,

of the Bahurutsi. These had congregated in a glen, and subsisted on game, roots, berries, and the produce of their corn-fields; having been deprived of their flocks by the Mantatees. They were evidently living in fear, lest Moselekatse [Mzilikazi] should one day make them captives."

To bolster up their position against the AmaNdebele of Mzilikazi, the Bahurutshe sought missionary support and in 1830–1831 three French missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, Prosper Lemue, Samuel Rolland and Jean-Pierre Pellissier, established a short-lived mission among the remnant of the Bahurutshe chiefdom under Mokgatlha and Moilwa (or *Moilwê*) at Mosega (on the present farm Zendelingspost 300 JP). They collected as much information as possible about the geography of the country, and in their early writings mainly used the spelling Kurrichane for the deserted capital's name (Germond 1967:86, 118,120). Its location was described by Lemue (1835:26) as follows: "Then follows a chain of mountains with an almost rectangular form to which the Baharoutsi gave the name of *Morilati* and which most travellers erroneously called Kurrichane, the name of one of its summits."[3] We have not encountered the name "Morilati" in any other source, but it is significant that "Kurrichane" is described as "one" of the "summits" of this mountain range.

The Bahurutshe's hopes of retaining their ancestral lands were finally thwarted when the AmaNdebele of Mzilikazi moved from the Magaliesberg region to the Marico area in 1832 (Rasmussen 1978:98). In fear of their lives, the Bahurutshe fled to the Harts River and began their diaspora, which was only to end in 1848 when they returned to the Marico, by this time part of the territory controlled by the Transvaal Boers (Manson 1990:79–86). When the next round of travellers and explorers visited Lehurutshe, the former country of the Bahurutshe, in the 1830s it was in the possession of the AmaNdebele or Matebele, and only a small number of Bahurutshe were scattered among the settlements of their victors (Wallis 1945[i]:70). Nevertheless, the former capital of the Bahurutshe remained an important point of geographical orientation and reference as is evident from the following remark by J.C. Chase in 1834: "This [the Manica trade fair] is the most southerly establishment of the Portuguese, upon the frontier of the Zambezi colony, and not above four hundred and fifty miles from Kurrechane, that is, about one-third of the distance between Kurrechane and Cape Town." (Steedman 1835:222).

A flurry of travellers made their way through Lehurutshe in the 1830s when the area was in the possession of the AmaNdebele. In all respects, the most influential of these was Dr Andrew Smith, the naturalist and medical doctor. Smith was on an expedition to collect and describe the natural phenomena of the interior and he reached the Marico area in June 1835 (Smith 1836:403–

404). We can surmise from Smith's journal and diary that the bird species which bear the name of the erstwhile Bahurutshe capital were probably collected in its vicinity during his return journey from Mzilikazi's temporary headquarters near the Tholwane River, a tributary of the Marico (Setswana *Madikwê* or *Madikô*), towards the end of September 1835 (Lye 1975:274–275; Kirby 1940:247–251; Wallis 1945[i]:73). On his collection of the Kurrichane buttonquail, which he named *Hemipodius lepurana*, Smith (1849:Plate XVI) commented as follows: "The grassy valleys south-east of Kurichane were the only localities in which they were discovered, and even in those they appeared to be very thinly scattered, for seldom was more than a single individual found in, or even near the same place."

Smith's scientific name for this bird has been placed in the synonymy of *Turnix sylvatica*, but that for the Kurrichane thrush, *Turdus libonyana*, has endured (Maclean 1993:181, 500). Smith reported (1849: Plate XXXVIII) that "The first specimens of this thrush were procured in the neighbourhood of Kurichane." In both cases the common English name has retained one of the old corrupted versions of the name of the Bahurutshe capital. It may be mentioned here that Smith took his specific name for the Kurrichane buttonquail, *lepurana*, from the Setswana *lephurrwana*, which is used also for the Common and Harlequin quails. However, the specific name *libonyana*, for the Kurrichane thrush, though almost certainly of Setswana origin, has not yet been satisfactorily identified or explained (see Cole 1991:185, 188).

Smith's contribution to the scientific description and classification of the South African fauna cannot be over-estimated, but linguistically he is not altogether reliable or consistent. He used a number of variant spellings for the Bahurutshe capital: "Kurrichaine, Kurichane, Kurrichani, Currichaine, Currychaine" in his diary (Kirby 1940:60, 139, 142, 250, 251), "Cuddy chain, Curry Chain, Kurichane, Kurrichaine" in his journal (Lye 1975:199, 213, 214, 225, 244, 274, 295, 296), "Kurrichaine" in his report (Smith 1836:403, 404, 411) and "Kurichane, Kurrichane, Kurrichaine" in his descriptions of various bird species collected in its vicinity (Smith 1849:Plates XII, XVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, LXXIX, CIII). He was more consistent in recording the name of a nearby hill, "Chinyane" (Kirby 1940:139, 206, 224, 247, 248, 250), only once, curiously, as "Chinwayne" (p. 142). Smith also inquired about the meaning of the name of the deserted town, as he noted on 2 October 1835 in his diary: "I have not been able to ascertain the import of the word [i.e. Currichaine]. *Chaine* means baboon, and at that time there were a great number of these animals about the hills." (Kirby 1940:250). On his return journey also, he saw the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital, as he noted in his journal (Lye 1975:274): "In our return we passed over the site of the town in which Mr Campbell found the Baharootzi, nearly on the top of Kurrichaine ...".

While Smith was in the Marico area with Mzilikazi, he was joined by the missionary Robert Moffat in June 1835. Moffat stayed with Mzilikazi for nearly a month while Smith explored the country, first eastwards towards the Magaliesberg region and then to the north, before he returned with Mzilikazi to his other AmaNdebele settlements at Mosega (Wallis 1945[i]:73–113). Moffat's return journey also took him past the ruined town of the Bahurutshe, whose name he recorded variously as "Kurechuene, Kurichuene, Kurrechain, Kurechane, Kurrichuene, Kurrechane" (Wallis 1945[i]:62, 72, 76, 77, 81, 92, 94, 99, 134, 137). Moffat's attempt to see the former capital of the Bahurutshe was, however, unsuccessful, as he later recalled: "Having travelled in a circuitous direction, we came to Kurrechane, or as it is more commonly called, Chuenyane, a noble mountain, in a fine, well-watered country, the boundary of Mr Campbell's journey; but the town which bore the name of the mountain was not to be found by my Matabele attendants" (Moffat 1842:581). We shall refer again to the apparent confusion between "Kurrechane" and "Chuenyane", another corrupted version of the mountain referred to above as "Chuan" in the account of the "trading-travellers", Scoon and McLuckie.

A year after Smith and Moffat had been there, the area was visited again in October 1836, this time by William Cornwallis Harris, the famous hunter. At the time Mzilikazi was already settled at his new headquarters, *eGabeni*[4], not far to the north of the ruins of the former capital of the Bahurutshe, from which he was to be driven by the Boers (Afrikaners) and their Barolong allies the following year (Kotzé 1950:200 and map opposite p. 212; Rasmussen 1978:131–132). Harris (1852:92–93) never saw the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital, but referred somewhat imprecisely to the "Kurrichane range" of mountains in the account of his journey.

It is perhaps opportune to pause here for a moment and to digress briefly into Setswana phonetics and orthography in order to evaluate the various early spellings of the place name. What should be borne in mind is that no orthographic system had been developed for Setswana at the time when the name was first recorded, and that these early explorers and writers used the English sound-spelling "system" as a basis for recording their very deficient hearing and understanding of the totally foreign Setswana words. Their ignorance and lack of understanding of the highly complex but amazingly consistent grammatical structures of the indigenous languages is saliently borne out by the remark of the missionary Stephen Kay (1823:4) on Setswana after his journey in 1821 to the Bahurutshe capital: "Their language, as yet, possesses no regular form, but is filled with all the unsoftened barbarity of savage sound."

For our purposes it suffices now to restrict our analysis to three forms, namely

Campbell's "Kurreechane", the bird-name "Kurrichane" (derived from the contributions of Andrew Smith and other early recorders of the name) and Moffat's "Kurichuene". In each case the author tried to record the Setswana name Kaditshwene, using and adapting the English sound-spelling "system". Thus, all three versions contain the same number of syllables as the original Setswana *Ka-di-tshwê-ne:* Kur-ree-cha-ne, Kur-ri-cha-ne, Ku-ri-chue-ne. Most troublesome for modern readers are perhaps the first two syllables of the word which superficially look very different from the current Setswana equivalent. Taking Campbell's rendering of the name as example, the *u* in *ku* was meant to be pronounced something like the *u* in *curry,* the *ee* or *e* as in *meet* (not as *i* in *bite*), the *ch* as in *chin,* and the *a* as in *dare.* The occurrence of the *r* instead of the *d* can also be easily explained. In Setswana the *d* used to be pronounced as a "soft sound between *l* and *r*" (Wookey 1921:12) and could be confused with the latter two consonants by listeners not acquainted with the language. Numerous examples from the early recordings of Setswana can be cited to illustrate this point. In the following few, the modern orthographic form is placed in brackets after the original rendering: Andrew Smith (see Lye 1975:225), "boreli" *[bodilê]* hooklipped or black rhinoceros; David Livingstone (see Schapera 1959:185, 205), "burile" *[bodilê],* "cukuru" *[tshukudu]* rhinoceros [generic term]; Stephen Kay (1822:59), "moreemo" *[modimo]* God; John Campbell (1822[i]:242), "Sibbewhooree" *[Sebôgodi]* name of a former chief of the Bahurutshe; Robert Moffat (1842:461, 462), "chukuru" *[tshukudu],* "ririmala" *[didimala]* be quiet. The difficulty experienced by Europeans with the recording of the alveolar flapped vibrant *d* in Setswana (see Cole 1955:28) is perhaps best exemplified by the still widely used name, Marico. As we have indicated, this name is derived from the Setswana word for the river *Madikô* or *Madikwê,* but in time its use was extended by the early Boer settlers to refer to a Transvaal district, and it still survives in the name of the village of Groot-Marico.[5]

Of the various versions, Moffat's spelling "Kurichuene" is the most recognisable form and closest to the current Setswana orthography. This is no coincidence, since as missionary among the Batlhaping he was studiously attempting to master the language, also with a view to translating the Bible into Setswana (see Wallis 1945[i]:84). Note that it was the practice for many decades prior to 1937, when the new standard orthography was first introduced, to spell the Setswana word for baboon as "chuene, choene, chwene". In this regard it is significant that in 1847 the missionary Prosper Lemue no longer referred to the site of the former Bahurutshe capital as Kurrichane, but instead called it "Karichuene", which he translated as "montagnes des babouins", i.e. "mountains of the baboons" (Lemue 1847:144). He also mentioned very specifically that "le *babouin* ..., ou le *chuene* des natifs" ["the *baboon* ..., or the *chuene* of the natives"] had given its name to

"Karichuene, montagne du Lohoroutsi" (Lemue 1847:152). Lemue who, as we have indicated, was earlier involved in the ill-fated mission among the Bahurutshe at Mosega, had by then become much more versed in the Setswana language through his missionary endeavours at Motito *(Bothithông)*.

After their return to the Marico area in 1848, the Bahurutshe were awarded the territory around what was to become known as Dinokana, whereas the ruins of their former capital formed part of the Boer settlement in the area which acquired the general name of Enselsberg or Enzelsberg. It was so named after the enigmatic commandant Jan Enslin, owner of the farm Mezeg and also leader of the "Jerusalemgangers", a religious sect among the Boers who yearned to reach the promised land and whose adherents shortly afterwards concluded that they had discovered "de Nyl zyn Oog" [the source of the Nile River] in the vicinity of the present-day Nylstroom (Claasen 1978:24, 54–55, 58–59, 82–85).

From about the middle of the nineteenth century the site and name of the erstwhile capital of the Bahurutshe slowly faded into obscurity and it seems that few, if indeed any, European travellers visited the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital after the flurry of visitors in the 1820s and 1830s. As time went by, uncertainties arose about its location as well as the rendering of its name. When J.G. Gubbins wrote a series of articles, "Notes on the History of Marico", for *The Marico Chronicle* in 1912, he followed the well-known historian G.M. Theal in confounding Campbell's "Kurreechane" with Mosega. In a letter in the issue of 16 March 1912, the Hermannsburger missionary among the Bahurutshe at Dinokana, F.H.W. Jensen, provided the following correction: "As regards Rev Campbell's visit to the Bahurutse it is impossible that it was at Mosega for the Bahurutse were only chased there by Moselikatse several years later. I suggest that the place Mr Gubbins calls Kurrechane was Kaditsoene, where the Bahurutse were at that period, which is a mountain between Leeuwfontein and Bloemfontein near Enzelsberg." Jensen also mentioned that the name of the town meant "amongst the Baboons".

Also closer to the modern orthography was the spelling of the name by Rev Noel Roberts of St. John's Church, Zeerust, who wrote it "Kaditshaene", translated as "the domain of *The Baboon*" (Roberts 1934:3, 5). Roberts obtained much of his information from local Bahurutshe, as well as from H.G. Robertson, the owner of Struan, a portion of Rietfontein 89 JP, the farm adjacent to Bloemfontein and Kleinfontein where lie the ruins of the Bahurutshe capital. While the incorrect translation of the Setswana plural *ditshwêne* by the singular "baboon" may have been a printing error, it is noteworthy that the same mistake appears in an article written by Roberts (1915:242) on the Bahananwa.

The first spelling of the place name which we have located in its modern orthographic form is in an article by Vivien Ellenberger on the Balete, a Batswana tribe purportedly of AmaNdebele origin (Breutz 1989:259). The article appeared in 1937, and in the appendix on the "Manner and Extent to which the Tribe has been Affected by Contact with European Civilization" the name in the reference to Campbell's visit to "Kurreechane" is corrected in a footnote to "Kaditshwene" (Ellenberger 1937:59). We do not know whether Ellenberger himself established the correct version of the place name, or whether this should be ascribed to the endeavours of Isaac Schapera, who is acknowledged in the preface to the article for his advice and emendations.

Certainly, Schapera was the first modern scholar to inquire purposefully into the correct rendering of the name. Though he had already used the correct form, Kaditshwene, in 1942 in his article on the history of the Bangwaketse (1942:5), it is possible that he was still following Ellenberger's lead. Schapera himself did not ever do fieldwork among the Bahurutshe (Letter, 8 February 1995), but when he edited the journals and letters of Robert and Mary Moffat *(Apprenticeship at Kuruman)*, he inquired about the name and location of the capital. The relevant information was obtained from P.L. Hattingh, the Native Commissioner at Zeerust, and acknowledged by Schapera (1951:73, fn.) as follows: "The Native Commissioner, Zeerust, (Mr P.L. Hattingh), who kindly inquired into the matter, informs me that the correct version of the name is *Kaditshwene*. The town was situated on the present farm Bloemfontein 223 [now registered as Bloemfontein 63 JP], Marico district, about 28 miles N.E. of Zeerust, and close to Enzelberg (Tshwenyane)."

After Schapera's groundwork, the name Kaditshwene was adopted by most researchers into the history of the Bahurutshe. Principal among these was the state ethnologist, Paul-Lenert Breutz, whose publication, *The Tribes of Marico District* (1953), is one of several ethnographic monographs on the Batswana of the former Transvaal. Breutz devoted long periods of fieldwork to the Bahurutshe and consistently recorded the name of their former capital as Kaditshwene, although he doubted the claims of some of his informants that their ancestors were the builders of the numerous stone-walled settlements in the Marico district (Breutz 1953:15). These he erroneously attributed to a pre-Bantu "mining and stone building culture", possibly of Cushitic origin (Breutz 1989:3, 84). As far as could be ascertained Breutz never attempted an explanation of the name, although he alluded to the possibility that the capital was named after the totem of the Bahurutshe [i.e. the baboon, *tshwêne,* plural *ditshwêne*] (Breutz 1989:188). In a private communication (Letter, 11 February 1996), however, he explained the meaning of the name as "place of the baboons", and suggested that it was derived from a combination of the locative prefix *ka-* and the plural noun *ditshwêne* ("baboons"). The function of the

locative *ka-* in Setswana, as well as reasons why this explanation of the name seems implausible, will be dealt with below. Another researcher who subsequently used the name Kaditshwene is Edwin Smith (1956:55), who, in his account of Sebetwane's Makololo, one of the main destroyers of the Bahurutshe capital during the 1820s, suggests that the name signifies "the home of baboons".

Challenging the orthodoxy: Kwaditshweneng, Kaditshweneng, Gaditshwene or Karechuenya

From our discussion so far it is clear that a steady train of contemporary observers and also modern-day scholars recorded the name of the town as Kaditshwene, albeit often in corrupted form, and therefore that it is definitely NOT a neologism. Nevertheless, the name of the town has been in dispute, and the main reasons for this are (a) that the linguistically unsophisticated way in which the name was recorded led to confusion, especially with "Chinyane", to be discussed further below, and (b) that the various explanations offered for the meaning of the name, such as "the town of baboons", "the home of baboons" or "amongst the baboons", could not be inferred from a literal interpretation or translation of the Setswana name.

Perhaps the first person to question the then current rendering of the name was the missionary David Livingstone. Writing to his parents on 27 April 1844 from Mabotsa, his mission station among the Bakgatla ba Mmanaana in what was later to become the Marico district, Livingstone noted the following: "Sebegwe [the son of the late Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketse] lives a little to the South of Kurreechane. The range you see marked in the map so is somewhat long, but there is one conical hill in it which gives explanation to the whole name. It means a little baboon, & the Natives below being much plagued by baboons spoiling their gardens say, "By it we are vexed", or Karechuenya. It may also be translated, "A vexation by or near us", viz. the whole range, on account of the depredations of the baboons. These animals always inhabit rocks." (Schapera 1959:96–97).

In his editorial note Schapera (1959:97, fn. 17) gives a plausible explanation for Livingstone's etymological attempt: " 'Kurreechane' was Campbell's rendering of the name Kaditshwene ... D.L., apparently misled by the spelling, wrongly suggests that it is derived from *ka-rea-tshwenggwa,* 'since we are troubled'. The 'conical hill' is Tshwenyane, which he correctly translates 'little baboon'; it is located, very close to Kaditshwene, 'on the farm Mezeg 139, "Waterval", around the post office Enzelsberg' (Breutz, *Tribes of Marico District,* p. 93)." There is no evidence that Livingstone ever visited the ruins of the deserted

Bahurutshe capital, and it is also not clear who the people were who were living below the mountain for, at the time of his writing, the bulk of the Bahurutshe had not yet returned to the Marico. Read in a broader context, Livingstone's comment seems to confirm that the name of the town was derived from the large number of baboons which inhabited the mountain and plagued the Bahurutshe before, and probably even after, they established their capital on its summit.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing early comments on the name of the town comes from Joseph D.M. Ludorf, then a Wesleyan missionary among the Barolong of Moroka at Thaba Nchu. In a letter dated 17 August 1854 which was published in the *Missionary Notices* of *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* in 1855, he related the death of John Moguera, a Motswana evangelist. On John's background he included the following snippet: "John Moguera was born far in the interior, at Chuenyane, 'little monkey,' so called from a small species of the *opealrumania* families, which abound in the mountainous region of which Chuenyane forms the principal peak, and which the late Rev John Campbell in his travels called Kurechane (should be *Kua lichueneng,* 'among the Monkeys')" (Ludorf 1855:21). Ludorf was mistaken, of course, in his identification of the animal, for the Vervet monkey is *kgabo* in Setswana; *tshwêne* is the Chacma baboon.

In modern orthography Ludorf's rendering would be transcribed as "Kwa ditshweneng" *(Kwa ditshwêneng),* and translated as "at or to [the place of] the baboons". Of all the versions of the name that have been proposed, this one (Kwaditshweneng) makes the most sense grammatically and semantically and would have been gladly accepted by us, but for the fact that no other recorder of the name corroborates Ludorf's transcription, and that our own fieldwork among the local Bahurutshe clearly demonstrates that the name of the mountain is Kaditshwene. As a missionary, Ludorf was reasonably well acquainted with the Setswana language, having served for two years between 1850–1852 as a missionary among the Barolong booRatshidi of Chief Montshiwa at Lotlhakane to the south of Mafikeng, and he had some knowledge of the area since he had travelled to Mosega in June 1851 (Bloemhof Blue Book 1871:175; Wallis 1945[ii]:31). Furthermore, it is clear from his letter that he had collected information about John Moguera's life history and had presumably spoken to him about his early career. We can only speculate that he presented this incorrect version of the name because he was imposing the logic of his own knowledge of the language on Campbell's poor rendering of an imperfectly understood place name.

While Ludorf's comment on the name may have been caused by the seemingly unintelligible transcription of "Kurechane", it may also have been prompted

by his uneasiness about the grammatical correctness of the locative construction. He might have assumed that the "ku-" was in error for the locative prefix *kwa-*, with which he was familiar, and been puzzled by the absence of the complementary locative suffix *-ng*. The form *ka-* also occurs as a locative prefix in Setswana (as in the other Sotho languages), and very often in association with the suffix *-ng*, but generally with the implication that some line of demarcation exists between the speaker and the locality designated (see Cole 1955:355–358). Because of his knowledge of Southern Sotho, the missionary D.F. Ellenberger may for a similar reason have decided to add the locative suffix *-ng* in his rendering of the place name as "Kurrichueneng" (Kaditshweneng in modern orthography) in his account of the attack of the Bataung of Moletsane on the Bahurutshe during the *difaqane* (Ellenberger & · Macgregor 1912:165). Several examples can be cited of the omission of the locative suffix *-ng* in the early recordings of place names, for example Andrew Smith's use of "Latacoo" instead of Dithakong and "Chuie" instead of Tswaing (Lye 1975:207). However, it has become clear from our fieldwork that the prefix *ka-* in the name Kaditshwene is NOT the homophonous locative prefix.

Likewise, it is probably the enigmatic occurrence of the prefix *ka-* which has led some researchers to consider "Gaditshwene" to be a more appropriate basis for the meaning which has most often been ascribed to the name of the town, namely "place of the baboons". This perhaps explains why Lye (1975:313) in his annotated index to Andrew Smith's journal suggests "Gadithwene" as an alternative for Kaditshwene, and why Setiloane (1986:5–6) refers to the former capital as "Gaditshwene", to which he adds the following explanation: "*Ga-Ditshwene* translates, 'At the place of Baboons/Monkeys' [sic]. Baboons are plentiful in the land of Bahurutshe and the animal is their tribal totem."

The view that "Gaditshwene" is the correct name was strongly advocated in a recent school project on the history of the town, and an attempt was also made to justify its adoption instead of Kaditshwene: "We prefer to use the seTswana spelling 'Gaditshwene' to the seSotho spelling 'Kaditshwene' so commonly used by the South African Archaeological and Historical Fraternities" (Mmabatho High School 1992a:no page number), and "The group has decided to use the seTswana spelling of *Gaditshwene* rather than the more commonly used seSotho spelling, *Khaditshwene* [sic], when referring to the city" (Mmabatho High 1992b:18). The confident manner in which the school group presented the case for Gaditshwene perhaps persuaded other researchers to follow their lead in abandoning Kaditshwene as the accepted form of the town's name (see Maggs 1993:32, 34; Phillips [no date, but presumably 1995]).

Some comment is necessary here. First, to the best of our knowledge, no-one

from Mmabatho High School has ever done any linguistic research on this name. Second, the Sesotho spelling "Kaditshwene" is not different from what it is in Setswana; after all, the two languages are very closely related, and the translation in both is "by (means of) baboons" (Cole 1991:188). Third, the South Sotho equivalent of "Gaditshwene" would be Haditshwene, NOT "Khaditshwene". We are unable to find any basis for the latter in our knowledge of Sesotho, nor in any of the dictionaries or grammars available to us. The only possible basis for Setswana "Gaditshwene" would involve ellipsis, e.g. as in *golô ga ditshwêne* ("place of baboons"), and it is presumably this construction to which Setiloane refers, as noted above. This would be entirely plausible and acceptable, but the fact is that Setswana-speaking people in the area consistently and totally reject "Gaditshwene" as the name of the place.

The argument of the Mmabatho High School group is not based on a historical analysis of the recording of the place name, nor is it confirmed by fieldwork among the Bahurutshe in the area. It is also very clear that their linguistic reasoning is suspect. Reference may be made here also to the following comment by Louwrens (1994:36) on place names formed by means of locative prefixes: "Of the different locative prefixes which are distinguished in the Sotho languages ..., only *ga-* (NS and TWN)/*ha-* (SS) occurs abundantly in place names. This prefix occurs together with *personal names* [our emphasis], in which case it denotes an area or territory that was traditionally governed by such a person ...". It is important to emphasise here that the possessive prefix *ga-* is typically used with names of people, or kinship terms, NOT with names of animals.

More recently, Livingstone's explanation of the name of the site has been revived by the historian Neil Parsons. In the second edition of his *A New History of Southern Africa* (1993:45), he refers to the "Hurutshe capital of Karechuenya (Ka-re-tshwenyega), in the hills north of later Zeerust". The phrase "ka re tshwenyega" is presumably intended to serve as a modern orthographic rendering of Livingstone's original suggestion. A fuller explanation of the reasoning behind Parsons's choice is found in the introductory "Notes on Orthography and Names" in Carolyn Hamilton's recently published collection of essays, *The Mfecane Aftermath* (1995:xiii–xiv): "Place names present a particular set of problems. ... In some instances an appropriate usage is not easily established. A case in point is Karechuenya which is better known as Kaditshweni [sic]. Our use of Karechuenya is based on the following argument provided by Neil Parsons:

'David Livingstone, writing to his mother on 27 April 1844, in a letter not published until 1959, used the name Karechuenya. Livingstone explained that the town was next to a conical peak called Chuenyane ("little

baboon"). "Karechuenya" meant "By it we are vexed" or "A vexation by or near us", a reflexion of people's complaints about the depredations [sic] of baboons on their gardens, putting the blame jocularly on the "little baboon". The name "Kaditshwene", on the other hand, is a neologism which was first suggested to the archaeologist P.W. Laidler in the 1930s by a white farmer at Zeerust called Hattingh. As Desmond Cole points out, "People with no knowledge of linguistics or of the Tswana language have confused *tshwenyana* or *tshwenyane*, meaning "young or small baboon" and *go tshwenyana* meaning "to bother or trouble one another"" (Hamilton 1995:xiii–xiv). [Parenthetically, two things need be noted here: The entry attributed to Desmond Cole, with full benefit of quotation marks, is NOT a quotation but a paraphrase of his statement in *Botswana Notes and Records* 1991:186; and Jan Boeyens's contributions to this discussion, gratefully acknowledged in footnote 2 on p. xiv, were in fact totally ignored].

Perhaps as a matter of editorial policy and consistency, Parsons's use of "Karechuenya" instead of Kaditshwene has been adopted for all the various contributions to the volume which touch upon the fate of the Bahurutshe during the *difaqane* (see Hall 1995:311; Hartley 1995:405; Kinsman 1995:366; Manson 1995:352; Parsons 1995:331). This gives undeservedly great credence to a speculative piece of historical writing which, as we will demonstrate, is consistently rejected by all informants in specifically directed field research and is also seriously flawed. Incidentally, neither *Ka re tshwênya* nor *Ka re tshwênyêga* can occur as a meaningful entity on its own, though they might be used elliptically, as parts of longer constructions, e.g. in response to questions.

In any event, it seems inappropriate, and indeed even insensitive to Setswana speakers, to retain the grammatically doubtful and orthographically outdated rendering "Karechuenya" as the approved name of the nineteenth-century Bahurutshe capital. Furthermore, as our historical investigation of the recording of the name has revealed and as our field data show, Kaditshwene is definitely not a neologism, as Parsons suggests. Parsons fails to give any consideration to Schapera's explanation of Livingstone's apparent misreading of Campbell's original rendering of the name; instead he gives credence to Livingstone's explanation of the name in terms of his still inadequate grasp, at that time, of the Setswana language.

Parsons also ignores the fact that Livingstone never actually visited the locality and thus never heard the name at first hand from local people. However, while the reference to Livingstone's suggestion might merely have highlighted a linguistic problem, Parsons aggravates his error by his cavalier treatment of the sources which he invokes to support his interpretation. As we have indicated

above, it was Schapera who obtained the information from Mr P.L. Hattingh about the correct version of the name and the location of the site, and not P.W. Laidler who, incidentally, was a medical doctor by profession, although he did undertake archaeological research. Laidler visited the ruins of Kaditshwene in the 1930s, where he collected some pottery and surveyed part of the site, but in his publications he used "Kurrechanee" or "Kurrichanee", both corrupted forms of the name (Laidler 1937:45 & 1938:133). Furthermore, as is clear from Schapera's comment, cited above, Mr P.L. Hattingh was the Native Commissioner at Zeerust, and not, as Parsons states, a local "farmer".

Recent fieldwork

From our discussion of the historical recording of the name of the Bahurutshe capital, it is clear that *Kaditshwêne,* in its various corrupted forms, is the name attempted by all those early travellers who actually visited the town, or its ruins, or its vicinity. We have shown also that of all the alternative names suggested, "Kwaditshweneng" is, at first sight, the most plausible, but that the single remark of Ludorf in 1854 is not confirmed by any investigator who inquired about the name in the relevant area. Nevertheless, in our recent fieldwork (1995-1996) among Bahurutshe living in the vicinity of the ruins of the erstwhile capital, we inquired of our informants not only about the name of the mountain on which the ruins of Kaditshwene are located, but also very specifically whether the other suggested names were not the correct ones. As indicated in the list of interviews tabled in the Acknowledgements below, our informants were all from Kleinfontein (or Olifantspruit) 62 JP and Bloemfontein 63 JP, the farms on which the archaeological site is located, or from the adjacent settlements of Leeuwfontein (Mokgola) and Braklaagte (Lekubu). All Bahurutshe interviewed during our fieldwork consistently named the mountain *Kaditshwêne,* and equally consistently rejected any suggestion that the name could have been "Gaditshwene", "Kaditshweneng" or "Kwaditshweneng".

One possibility which must be borne in mind when trying to determine the etymology of the place name Kaditshwene is that it could refer to the baboon as totem of the Bahurutshe, and not merely as a ubiquitous member of the area's wildlife. As we have indicated, Breutz (1989:188) has alluded to the possibility that Kaditshwene could have been named after the totem animal. What makes this a particularly tempting explanation for the origin of the name is the fact that the Bahurutshe's adoption of the baboon as totem is purported to be linked with their settlement in the area around Kaditshwene. There are different accounts of their adoption of the baboon as totem (see Brown 1926:37, 262), but it occurred so long ago that it is doubtful whether these

accounts have any factual basis, and they should rather be viewed as versions of an origin myth.

It is nevertheless interesting to recount one of the versions of this occurrence. As recorded by Breutz (1953:19) the Bahurutshe changed their totem from the eland *(phôfu)* to the baboon after a dispute between Motebele and Motebejane, the sons of Mohurutshe, the eponymous founder of the Bahurutshe chiefdom: "It is still well remembered how the totem *phofu* came to be changed. On a hunting expedition MOTEBEJANE'S regiment caught a young baboon and took it to the chief MOTEBELE. The chief ordered him to guard the baboon at the cattle post. One day the baboon escaped. When MOTEBEJANE'S men reported to the chief what had happened, they were flogged severely. This led to a split in the tribe. MOTEBEJANE prepared his regiment for war and defeated the chief, who thereupon fled to the south-east. The majority of the people elected ... MOTEBEJANE as their chief. He adopted the baboon as totem, and founded a new village at Tshwenyane (Mezeg 139, Waterval, post office Enzelsberg) at some time between 1470 and 1520."

All our informants rejected the notion that the reference to baboons in the place name was linked to the baboon as totem animal. Similarly, none concurred with the suggestion that the name of the town derives from an oath in which the Bahurutshe swear by their totem, i.e. hypothetically *Ka ditshwêne!* ("By the Baboons!"). Taking oath in the name of one's totem animal is well known among the Sotho-Tswana, as Ellenberger and Macgregor (1912:241) observed long ago: "The emblem of the Bakuena is the crocodile *(kuena)*. They consider themselves under its protection, calling it their father, and swearing by it *(ka kuena)*". The important point here is that if and when Batswana swear by their totem animals, they use the singular form, in this case *Ka tshwêne!* (NOT *Ka ditshwêne*). Another suggestion was rejected by some of our informants, but others agreed that *Tshwêne!* (singular) and *BôTshwêne!* (plural, not *Ditshwêne*) could be used interjectively as greeting forms when addressing one or more persons who venerate the baboon (but see Snyman 1990:198). However, all our informants agreed that *Motshwêneng!* (singular) and *Batshwêneng!* (plural) are the more usual salutations.

Another indication that the name is unlikely to have been derived from an oath involving the totem of the Bahurutshe is the occurrence of the same place name among Northern Sotho speakers in an area where no connection with the Bahurutshe or their totem could be established. In what was formerly known as the homeland of Lebowa (now part of the Northern Province), about 50 km north-west of the modern town of Potgietersrus and to the west of the Mogalakwena River, there is a little village which is named after a hill called

Kaditšhwene. The hill and the village, which are located on the registered farm Klipplaatdrift 787 LR (see 1: 50 000 topographical map, 2328DC Suswe), fall under the jurisdiction of the Langa of Bakenberg, a Northern Ndebele chiefdom which has become largely Sothoized. Fieldwork carried out at Kaditšhwene in 1993 failed to reveal much of the early history of the area, except that it was formerly occupied by Northern Sotho speakers, whose language has become the *lingua franca* of the current inhabitants of the village. The local chief and councillors of the town were adamant that the hill had no historical link with the Bahurutshe, and no evidence in the oral or the documentary record of the Bahurutshe has as yet been discovered to counter their claim. Our informants also suggested that the present town of Kaditšhwene was named after the mountain, which derived its name from the large number of baboons which inhabited it before the commencement of the recent mining thereof for granite. Thus the place name Kaditshwene in the Marico area has at least one parallel elsewhere in the Sotho-Tswana language cluster.

In response to our inquiries about the possible meaning of the name, our informants among the Bahurutshe agreed unanimously that it referred to the large number of baboons which formerly inhabited the mountain, and still do. Since such an explanation of the meaning of the name is not evident from a literal translation of the Setswana word which, as we have already pointed out, appears to signify "by [means of] the baboons", the name must have been derived by ellipsis from some longer construction. In our fieldwork interviews two such possibilities were offered by our informants:

[a] *Re utlwilê* [or, *Re utlwa*] *ka ditshwêne* ("We heard [or, We hear] by the baboons"), i.e. We heard by the warning barking of the baboons of the arrival of enemies. According to one informant the name derives from the fact that the large number of baboons which inhabited the mountain gave warning of an imminent attack by the AmaNdebele of Mzilikazi. In the oral traditions of the Bahurutshe the name of Kaditshwene is first mentioned in connection with the reign of *Menwê*, who ruled about the middle of the seventeenth century AD (see Breutz 1953:22–23). As noted before, the town's name was also recorded by Campbell in May 1820, so that it is unlikely that the above phrase refers to the Bahurutshe being attacked during the *difaqane*. However, this folk etymology clearly supports earlier references to the name of the town being derived from the presence of the large number of baboons on the mountain.

[b] The second explanation for the possible origin of the name, offered by another of our informants, was that the name derives from the idiomatic expression, *Ga se ka ditshwêne!* This translates literally as "It is not by baboons!", seemingly incomprehensible, but a common Setswana

idiomatic and exclamatory usage to describe a very large number of baboons; see also, for example, in *Ga se ka batho!*, indicating a huge crowd of people [batho], or *Ga se ka dikgômo!*, referring to vast numbers of cattle *[dikgômo]*. This usage is reminiscent of John Campbell's remark in 1820 that the name of the town "Kurreechane" means "No baboon". Campbell's note warrants careful consideration, for it is clear from his journal that he consistently tried to obtain the meanings of the names of people and places he encountered on his journey. At the Bahurutshe capital, for instance, he attempted, by no means always successfully, to note the meanings of the names of various persons, e.g. "Sinosee" [*Senôsi*, the chief of a large "district" of Kaditshwene] as "only" (MSB77[iii]:25); "Liqueling" [*Diutlwilêng*, the regent] as "what have you heard?", and "Moeelway" *[Moilwê]*, the "young king" as "cannot bear him" (Campbell 1822[i]:227).

Campbell's explanation, "[There is, or, It is] No baboon", would be translated literally as *Ga go tshwêne* or *Ga se tshwêne*, but we must bear in mind his lack of knowledge of the Setswana language and the fact that he worked through an interpreter who himself had a limited knowledge of English (see Campbell 1822[i]:144–145 & 1822[ii]:188–191). In the case of a highly idiomatic expression such as *Ga se ka ditshwêne!*, the difficulties of translation and comprehension would have been greatly compounded. Furthermore, it seems likely that the same name-giving strategy obtained among Setswana and Northern Sotho speakers in the coining of the place names *Kadithwêne* in the Marico and *Kaditshwêne* in the former Lebowa. It should be noted that the latter site is located in a region which borders on the Setswana language area and that some influence of Setswana on the local Northern Sotho dialect is, or was, possible, if not probable. In any case, as the following entry in Kriel's Northern Sotho dictionary (1984:248) indicates, a similar grammatical construction is also found in that language cluster: "**ka,** plus negative means very much, abundance of; **ga se ka** — , much, many". The idiomatic expression *Ga se ka ditshwêne!* seems to us a more likely source for the origin of these two names than any other construction from which they might have been derived by ellipsis. To this day the mountain on which the former capital of the Bahurutshe stood remains the abode of a large troop of baboons, an often vocal reminder of the origin of the name Kaditshwene, as also of the capacity for survival of *Papio ursinus,* the totem of the Bahurutshe, and his near neighbour and distant relative, *Homo sapiens!*

The latter explanation also suggests the possibility that the name of the mountain pre-dates the establishment of the town on top of it at some time after the middle of the seventeenth century AD, as indicated by radiocarbon dates obtained from the archaeological excavations and a careful analysis of

Bahurutshe oral traditions. Earlier settlements at the base of nearby hills, which can be ascribed to the Batswana/Bahurutshe on the basis of ceramic styles and oral traditions, date to between 1450 and 1650. The place name Kaditshwene may therefore represent part of the oldest recorded vocabulary in the Sehurutshe dialect of Setswana.

In our historical overview of the recording of the name of Kaditshwene, occasional reference has been made to another place name, "Chinyane", which, in modern orthographic form, has been transcribed as "Tshwenyane". As such, the name has been assumed to be derived from *tshwênyana* or *tshwênyane,* the Setswana word for "little baboon" and diminutive form from *tshwêne*. Some of the references suggest that "Tshwenyane" might be an alternative name for the same mountain on which the town Kaditshwene was located; others attest to the ambiguity of the geographical relationship between Kaditshwene and "Tshwenyane" and the tendency of some early travellers to use them interchangeably. This is particularly clear from some of the entries in the diary of Andrew Smith pertaining to his visit to the Marico area in 1835: "The aborigines call the mountains of Kurichane, Chinyane" (Kirby 1940:139); "The Baharootzie lived on the west of these hills and amongst them about the hills called Kurrichani, which lies behind and to the west of Chinwayne" (Kirby 1940:142); "The high hill to our left on crossing the range is called Chinyane and that on our right Currichaine" (Kirby 1940:250). Even Robert Moffat who, as we have noted, suggested that the two names referred to the same mountain, distinguished between the two geographical markers when he recorded on 10 June 1835: "I have still to search for timbers at Chuenyane, close to Kurichuene ... " (Wallis 1945[i]:76). Breutz (1953:19) is much more specific in locating the hill "Tshwenyane" on the farm Mezeg (now registered as 77 JP), at the "waterval" near the former "post office of Enzelsberg", the old farm of commandant Jan Enslin.

A possible explanation for this apparent confusion is that the geographical range of the two names overlap. This is suggested in the information collected by Noel Roberts (1934:6, fn.): "From Native sources I gather that *Chuenyane* was (and is) the name given to the whole settlement of which *Kaditshaene* was the Citadel. According to Mr H.G. Robertson, of Struan, this settlement covered all the hills on the farms Kleinfontein 27, Bloemfontein, Mezeg [Enzelsberg], Kareepoortfontein, Ella, and the Eastern portion of Grietefontein 107." It should be pointed out, however, that such a naming strategy does not seem to be the pattern among the Sotho-Tswana, where the tendency is not to give an overarching name to large mountain ranges, but rather to name each individual hill-top or valley. There is, for example, no all-encompassing indigenous name among the Bahananwa (a Northern Sotho chiefdom which is, incidentally, of Batswana origin) for the Blouberg in the

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Northern Province – when the need arises to refer to the mountain in general they use the adoptive *Bolôubêrê* (Louis Louwrens, personal communication, 21 May 1996). The extension of the place name "Tshwenyane" to cover a broader geographical area may therefore be a more recent development, attempting to find an equivalent for the Afrikaans name Enselsberg. It may be significant that the confusion between the two names seems to have arisen after the Bahurutshe had been driven from the region, and when later explorers such as Andrew Smith and Robert Moffat had to depend mainly on Matebele interpreters who were also newcomers to the area.

Further research might clarify the geographical ambience of the two names, but our fieldwork has revealed with total consistency that the name "Chwenyane" or "Tshwenyane" has, hardly surprisingly, been incorrectly recorded, and should be *Tswênyane* with tones LHL. The tone-pattern for this is the same as for *Tshwênyane* "small or young baboon", but in the first the initial consonant /ts/ is never aspirated, in the second the /tsh/ is consistently aspirated. Needless to say, the similarity of *Tswênyane* to *Tshwênyane*, and the fact that the latter is the diminutive from *Tshwêne*, the basis for *Kaditshwêne*, has complicated matters further. However, whereas informants provided some suggestions as to the origin of the name *Kaditshwêne*, we have been unable to get any leads in respect of *Tswênyane*. It is most interesting to note that this name appears in a praise-poem collected by the Hermannsburg Mission in 1906, when it was presumably recorded in the old orthography as "Cwenyana", and revised at some later date to "Tšwenyana" (Breutz 1953:28–29). The alternation of word-final /a/ and /e/ is common in Setswana, especially in the diminutive suffix /-ana ≈ -ane/. Further confirmation of our fieldwork data is found in a brief outline of the history of the Bahurutshe, which was *"Revised in October, 1922, from notes supplied by Rev F.H.W. Jensen and the Native Commissioner, Zeerust"*, but only published in 1947. In this "Note on the Bahurutshe" the totem of the tribe is referred to as "Tshoene", whereas their former abode is designated as "Tsoenyana" or "Tsoenyane", that is without the aspirated consonant (Jeffreys 1947:177). In addition, in his account of the Balete, Ellenberger (1937:31, fn. 22) locates an old settlement of the Bakgatla ba Mmanaana as being "at or near Tswenyane, some 10 miles northeast of Dinokana (Transvaal)". This description accords well with Tswenyane's geographical orientation to Dinokana.

One suggestion, not from any of our informants in the Kaditshwene area, was that *Tswênyane* might be connected with the verb *go tswena* "to ooze or trickle, of water, e.g. out of the ground". However, although alternations between the vowels /e/ and /ê/ do occur sometimes in Setswana, we have no record of it in this instance. Another name to add to the complexity of the problem is *Tswêdiane*, LHHL, for a small stream which emanates from near the

Kaditshwene mountain on the farm Bloemfontein 63 JP. It comes as no surprise that this name, too, has been incorrectly recorded as "Tshwediyane" (Breutz 1953:23) or "Tšhwedinyane" (Breutz 1989:228). *Tswêdiane* might be derived as a diminutive from *motswêdi* LLL, "spring, fountain", though not by any extant process in Setswana, according to which the diminutive is *motswêtsana*. Bearing in mind, though, that these two names, as also *Kaditshwêne,* most certainly date back several centuries, allowance must be made for the possibility of some structural and/or semantic changes in the language. It is also noteworthy that there used to be a constant spring in the *Tswêdiane* stream, and that the Afrikaans name of the adjacent farm, Kleinfontein, on which two small fountains can be found, literally records the occurrence of this natural phenomenon. In fact, the well-watered Enselsberg-Tswenyane area is renowned for the number of small streams and fountains that dot the landscape, and this probably explains why the Bahurutshe originally decided to settle there.

Uncertain as the etymology of *Tswênyane* may be, the name is of major significance in the ancient traditions of the Bahurutshe people. A praise-poem similar in some respects to that recorded by Breutz (1953:28–29), as noted above, appears in *Mogorosi II,* a school reader published by the Hermannsburg Mission (1942:50). Here again reference is made to "Ngwana wa ntswê la Tswenyane ..." [Child of the hill of Tswenyane ...]. Another Bahurutshe praise-poem, recorded more recently by K. Mogapi (1994:29) ends as follows:

> Tseo ke tshwene tsa ga Malope-a-Masilo
> [Those are the baboons of Malope son of Masilo]
> Ba ga Sebogodi-a-Menwe-a-Moilwa
> [Of Sebogodi son of Menwe son of Moilwa]
> Bana ba ntswe la Tswenyane
> [Children of the hill of Tswenyane]

It is not possible to go into details here about the aetiological legends of the Batswana, more specifically those of the Bahurutshe who are the senior tribe from which all others purportedly derived. According to one version they are believed to have emerged from a cave on Tswenyane, hence the references in these praise-poems to the child, or children, of the hill of Tswenyane (for snippets of information on this legend, see Campbell 1822[i]:303, 306–307; Kirby 1940:218, 221–222; Lye 1975:267).

A last point to mention is that Andrew Smith's specific name for the Rattling cisticola, *Cisticola chiniana,* is in all probability derived from *Tswênyane*, for it was in this region that he collected the bird (see Skead 1967:61). On the discovery of *Drymoica chiniana,* as it was originally named, Smith (1849:Plate

LXXIX) commented as follows: "Only one specimen of this species was obtained, and that was killed while perched upon some brushwood growing near the edge of a small stream to the northward of Kurrichane."

CONCLUSIONS

Extensive study of the relevant literature on the recording of the place name and recent fieldwork among local Batswana living in the vicinity of the archaeological ruins clearly show that the name of the early nineteenth-century capital of the Bahurutshe, north-east of present-day Zeerust, was *Kaditshwêne*. The town was most probably named after the mountain, which in turn derived its name from the large number of baboons which inhabited it prior to and after the establishment of the Bahurutshe settlement on its summit at some time after the mid-seventeenth century. The mountain's name was most probably derived by ellipsis from some longer construction. The most plausible etymology offered during the investigation suggests that the place name can be traced to the idiomatic expression, *Ga se ka ditshwêne!*, which can be translated roughly as "What an incredible number of baboons!". The name Kaditshwene is therefore not, as has been suggested, a neologism coined in the twentieth century, nor is it an ungrammatical construction in Setswana. No connection could be determined between the reference to baboons in the place name and the beliefs or practices of the Bahurutshe concerning the baboon *(tshwêne)* as their totem animal. It has also been established that another name which has sometimes been used interchangeably with Kaditshwene, but which refers to a nearby hill, has been incorrectly recorded as Tshwenyane ("little baboon") instead of *Tswênyane*. At present no satisfactory etymology for the latter name can be offered. However, Tswenyane is of major significance in the praise-poems and aetiological legends of the Bahurutshe.

Historical and linguistic reasons have also been advanced as to why two alternative renderings of the place name which have recently gained wide acceptance, viz. Gaditshwene and Karechuenya, as well as two other suggested forms, Kwaditshweneng and Kaditshweneng, must be rejected. The propagation of Gaditshwene and Karechuenya as alternative versions of the place name, in particular, is based on ignorance of the historical context in which the name was recorded, a poor grasp or understanding of linguistic principles in general and of the Setswana language and grammatical structures in particular, and a neglect of primary linguistic fieldwork among local Bahurutshe who are acquainted with the landmarks and their names. The recording of our indigenous place names is important, not only to preserve the cultural heritage of South Africa, but also to trace the linguistic prehistory and affinities of the Bantu (and Khoisan) languages. Such place names may serve

as a repository or historical record of the human imprint on the changing South African landscape, and their study is perhaps particularly important in areas subject to the influence of the English and Afrikaans languages.

An analysis of the historical context in which the name was recorded clearly demonstrates how a lack of knowledge of Setswana and the absence of a suitable or standardised orthography led to confusion about the correct rendering of the name and of its meaning. The corrupted spelling of Kaditshwene which still occurs in the common English names of two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail and the Kurrichane thrush, is just one example of the many unsuccessful attempts by early European explorers and writers to record the place name. The various corruptions or distortions also explain why some recent scholars, especially those who are linguistically ill-informed, unsophisticated or ignorant, find it difficult to accept or appreciate that the earliest spellings of the name all represented no more than approximations to the Setswana name *Kaditshwêne*. According to A.N.B. Masterson the name "Kurrichane" in the names of the two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail and the Kurrichane thrush, is "normally pronounced as 'curry-cane'" which, as is rightly pointed out, "bears little resemblance to the word 'Kaditshwene' from which it was derived" (Ginn 1989:192). Other pronunciations heard among birding enthusiasts are "curry-chain" and "curry-chin". The dispute about the name of the town having now been clarified, ornithologists may care to consider adopting the uncorrupted form of the name for the bird species concerned. Equally, historians and other scholars need no longer be unduly concerned about the correct rendering or etymology of the town's name, but could instead focus on the reconstruction of Kaditshwene's complex and intriguing past, as well as the future conservation of its stone-walled ruins as an invaluable cultural resource.

ENDNOTES

1 This is a revised and updated version of an article which appeared in *Nomina Africana*, 1995, 9(1):1–40. It is republished here by kind permission of the Scientific Editor.

2 Note that as a rule diacritics are not used in the rendering of indigenous place names (see Louwrens 1994:6); hence the name of the Bahurutshe capital should be written as Kaditshwene and not Kaditshwêne. In any linguistic analysis, however, and to ensure correct pronunciation of Setswana words, it is essential to distinguish between the close vowels /e, o/, and the mid-open vowels /ê, ô/ respectively. Therefore we retain the circumflex where we are concerned primarily with linguistic aspects.

3 "Vient ensuite une chaîne de montagnes qui a presque la forme d'un rectangle à laquelle les Baharoutsi donnent le nom de *Morilati* que la plupart des voyageurs ont improprement nommée Kurrichane du nom de l'un de ses sommets."

4 Van der Merwe (1986:210–214) has convincingly argued that this settlement, which is more commonly known by its corrupted name "Kapain", could not have been located on the present farm Zelikatskop 16 JP on the Marico River, but was situated much nearer to the deserted capital of the Bahurutshe.

5 Incidentally, the popular belief (see Du Plessis 1973:268–69; Gronum 1938:31) that the Setswana name of the river is derived from the words *madi* "blood" and *kô* [sic] "there" must be rejected on grammatical grounds. The arguments are too complex to present briefly here. The name may refer to " 'twists and turns, meanderings' (in the river), from *-dika* HL 'go around'" (Cole 1991:183), but, perhaps more probably, to "the centre of activities", from *-dikwa* "be surrounded [by]". The river's name was recorded by Robert Moffat as "Marikue, Marico, Maricue, Marique" (Wallis 1945[i]:12, 59, 68, 70–72, 86, 98, 125).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

whose intimate knowledge of the landmarks in the area, revealed during an all too brief interview shortly before his death, kindled a lasting interest in toponymy and started a long search for the origin of the place name Kaditshwene.

Maria van der Ryst first drew Jan Boeyens's attention to the occurrence of the place name Kaditšhwene in former Lebowa (now part of Northern Province), and he wishes to thank her and Frik de Beer, another colleague in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in the University of South Africa, for their assistance and contributions during his fieldwork at the site in 1993. To Chieftainess Ngali (*ngwan'a* Maapa) and her councillors at Kaditšhwene he conveys his gratitude for their willingness to bear with his seemingly incomprehensible obsession with a place name. Lastly, he wishes to acknowledge the encouragement and help received from yet three more colleagues in the University of South Africa: Johannes du Bruyn of the Department of History, who was always willing to share his wide knowledge of early documentary sources on the Batswana, and Jan Snyman and Mpho Mothoagae of the Department of African Languages, who patiently answered his many queries about Setswana place names over the past five years.

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Letter from Prof. I. Schapera to J.C.A. Boeyens, 8 February 1995

Letter from Dr P.-L. Breutz to J.C.A. Boeyens, 11 February 1996

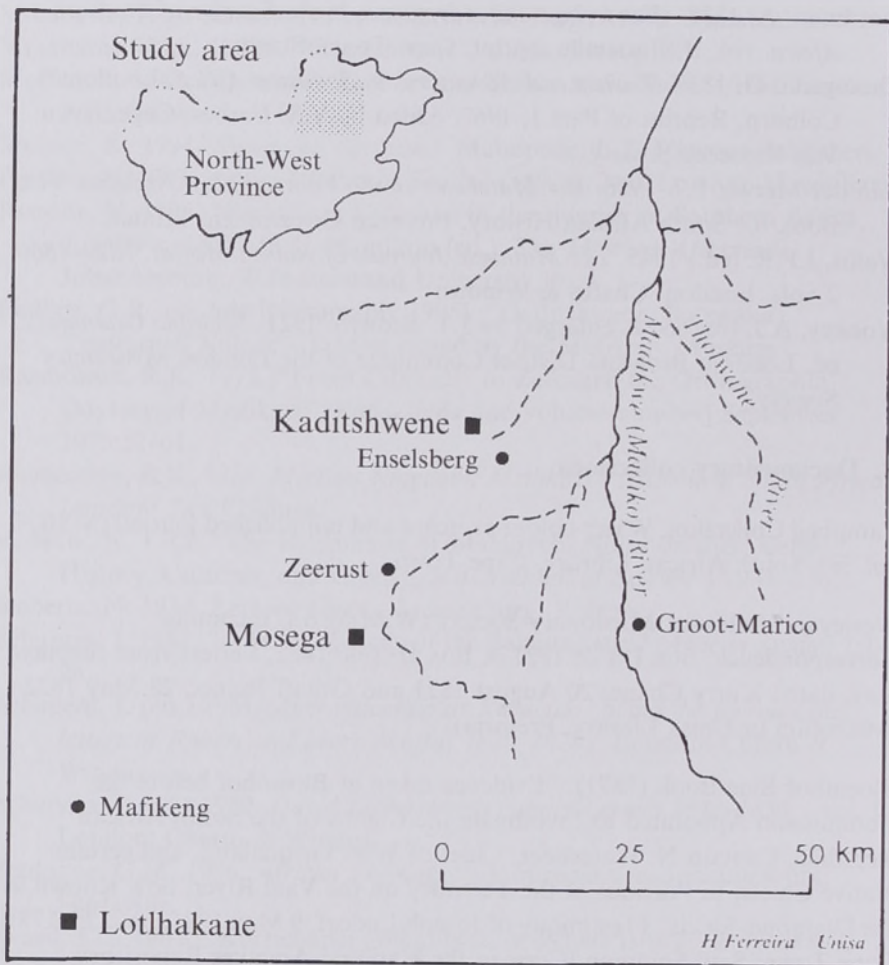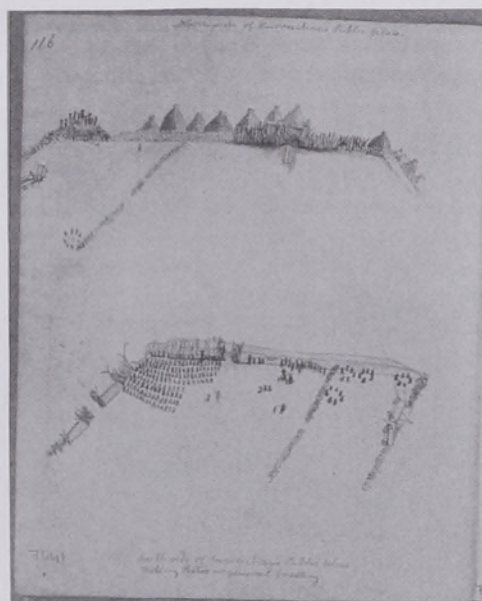## D. Television Programme

SABC 50/50, 26 April 1992

Fig. 1: Map depicting the location of Kaditshwene, the erstwhile capital of the Bahurutshe, north-east of present-day Zeerust in the North-West Province

Photograph 1: View of a small portion of the stone-walled ruins of Kaditshwene on the farm Kleinfontein (or Olifantspruit) 62 JP

Photograph 2: John Campbell's depiction of the *pitsô* in the main *kgotla* or public gathering-place where he and his entourage stayed during their visit to Kaditshwene in May 1820 (original water-colour sketch in the South African Library, Cape Town)

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Photograph 3: The monolith near the entrance to the main *kgotla* (part of the ruins of Kaditshwene on the farm Bloemfontein 63 JP). Note that this monolith is also depicted in Campbell's 1820 sketch of the northern section of the public gathering-place

HEMIPODIUS LEPURANA. A Male. B. Female.
(Aves.—Plate 16)

Photograph 4: The Kurrichane buttonquail as depicted in Andrew Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* (1849)
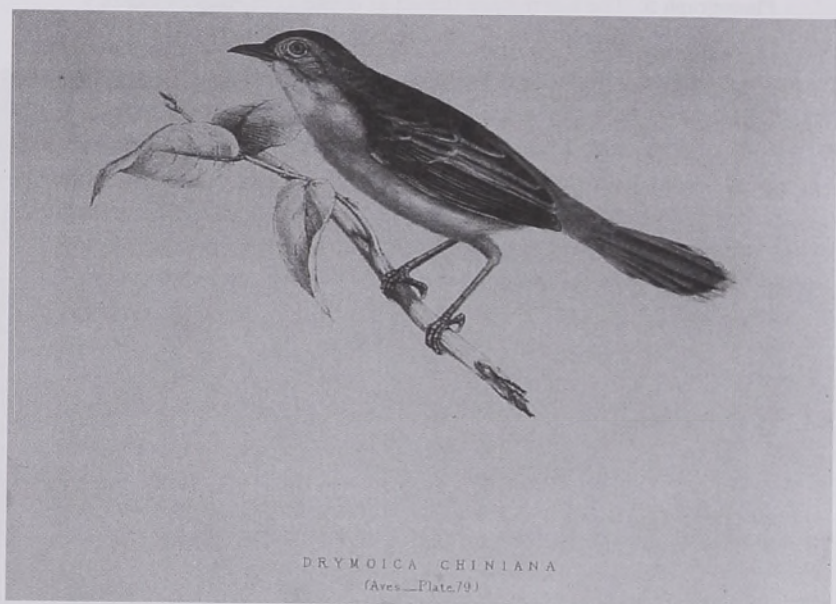
Photograph 5: The Kurrichane thrush as depicted in Andrew Smith's
Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa (1849)

Photograph 6: View of Kaditšhwene village and hill, north-west of Potgietersrus in the
Northern Province (former Lebowa)

Photograph 7: The waterfall at Tswenyane on the farm Mezeg 77 JP, Enselsberg, Marico district

DRYMOICA CHINIANA
(Aves—Plate 79)

Photograph 8: The Rattling cisticola as depicted in Andrew Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* (1849)