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Ntšhabeleng Social Structure

A Study of a Northern Transvaal Sotho Tribe

by

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C O N T E N T S

3

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	Page 5
CHAPTER 2 - HISTORY	9
CHAPTER 3 - SOCIAL STRUCTURE	
COMPOSITION OF THE TRIBE	14
MODE OF SETTLEMENT	19
ANALYSIS OF A LINEAGE GROUP (KGÔRÔ)	
1 Origin and composition of lineage groups	21
2 Composition of dwelling units and the grouping of lapas	37
3 The grouping of lapas of a polygynist - ranking of wives and preferential marriage	43
HOUSEHOLDS (LAPAS) AND FAMILIES	47
KINSHIP	51
REGIMENTAL SYSTEM	54
CHAPTER 4 - POLITICAL ORGANIZATION	
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	58
1 The chief and his private advisers - the batseta system - sebegô (tribute to the chief)	58
2 The privy council (Lekgotla la thopa)	68
3 The representative council (Lekgotla la batseta, or Lekgotla la tikologô)	68
4 The tribal gathering (Lekgotla la banna, or Pitšô)	70
THE EXERCISE OF CONTROL IN LINEAGE GROUPS AND DWELLING UNITS	70
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF LINEAGE GROUPS AS DISTINCT FROM GENEALOGICAL RANK	72
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS	74
CHAPTER 5 - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	80
INDEX	
SUBJECTS	81
TRIBES AND GROUPS	84
PERSONS	85
PLACES	90
ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF NAMES IN GENEALOGY	91

T A B L E S A N D D I A G R A M S

Sketch map of the village of Ntšhabeleng at Mothopong	Frontispiece
1 Composition of the tribe	15
2 Dwelling units established by Mankopane I c.1880 ..	25
3 Separation of the last four lineage groups from Tšhweung	29
4 Summary: Origin of lineage groups	34
5 Dwelling units and lapas of Tšhweung	41
6 Regimental membership of men of six lineage groups.	56
7 The batseta system	62
8 Genealogy of Mokhulwane	95

L I S T O F I L L U S T R A T I O N S

PLATE		facing page
1	1 Entrance to parent kgôrô of Tšhweung	18
	2 Dikgôtôboriba in Tšhweung	18
2	3 Cairns (diphiri) marking circumcision sites ..	19
3	4 Panorama of main part of village	36
4	5 Courtyards (lapas)	37
5	6 Woman grinding corn under eaves of hut	54
	7 Utensils stored under eaves of hut	54
6	8 Dinkwanyane sewing grain basket (sešego) . ..	55
	9 Grain basket in storage hut	55
7	10 Chief Mankopane II	70
8	11 Chief Mankopane II and followers	71

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1 This study is an analysis of the structure of a Northern Sotho tribe viz. the Ntšhabeleng tribe at Mothopong, Sekhukhuneland.¹⁾ Similar studies of Tswana and Southern Sotho wards were made by Schapera, 1935, and Ashton, 1946, respectively. A different method of analysis, however, has been employed here: instead of selecting a local unit and analysing it as a separate entity, I chose an entire tribe. The village or settlement of the tribe was mapped, indicating every group of huts forming a separate local unit (kgôrô). Then it was determined by whom each local unit was occupied, and what the relationship between the occupants of the different units was. In this way it was established that the occupants of a few such units, not necessarily situated together, constitute one lineage group of agnatic relatives, and that a number of these lineage groups in turn are related, constituting the nucleus of the tribe, while a number of other lineage groups are regarded as foreign i.e. foreign to the nucleus. The lineage groups were then listed in order of rank, as given by tribesmen. Subsequently, the history of the tribe was recorded, starting from its origin as a small group, following its growth, and subdivision into lineage groups, to the complex society of today. After this knowledge of the composition of the tribe as a whole had been obtained, some units, which were not necessarily local or territorial units, were selected for detailed analysis, combining history²⁾ and genealogical data³⁾ in the same way.

2 The Ntšhabeleng tribe at Mothopong, Sekhukhuneland, in the Lydenburg district (No. 34-135 in Van Warmelo, 1935, p.109), is one of a group of eleven tribes known as

1) Material was collected in the years 1953-1957 for a thesis at the University of Pretoria on "Die Verwantskapsbasis van die Politieke Struktuur van die Bantšhabeleng van Mothopong, Sekhukhuneland" and supplemented by additional research in 1961.

2) Although the tradition used here may not all be true history, it is nevertheless believed to be true, and the people base their explanations for their observance of certain customs on it.

3) For the importance of the study of genealogy, see para. 146.

Batau. The people of Ntšhabeleng call themselves "Batau ba Ntšhabeleng" or just "ba Ntšhabeleng", while others call them "ba ga Ntšhabeleng", or "ba Mankôtsane" after a former chief. The tribe constitutes one of the chiefdoms of the Pedi under the paramountcy of chief Sekhukhune of the Maroteng tribe, which is the ruling tribe of the Pedi, but is virtually independent of Sekhukhune. Traditionally Sekhukhune's permission has to be sought by the Ntšhabeleng chief for the holding of a circumcision lodge, but this does not happen nowadays. Previously Sekhukhune also had direct jurisdiction over the people of Ntšhabeleng, conferred on him by the Governor-General. This jurisdiction was seldom exercised and recently jurisdiction was conferred on chief Ntšhabeleng himself, while Sekhukhune's jurisdiction was limited to the area occupied by his own tribe. The Ntšhabeleng chief always obtains his tribal wife (great wife for whom marriage cattle are contributed by the tribe as a whole) from the house of Sekhukhune and the Maroteng tribe is therefore regarded as the bo-malome (mother's brothers) of the Ntšhabeleng tribe. (For an account of the rise and fall of the Pedi empire, see Hunt, 1931.)

3 The present Ntšhabeleng chief is Mankopane II, who succeeded his father, Kômane II, in 1946. In 1957 he was appointed as chief and civil and criminal jurisdiction was conferred on him for his tribal area. A tribal authority in terms of the Bantu Authorities Act, 1951, was established for the "Batau ba Ntšhabeleng" tribe in 1959.

4 The tribe numbers approximately 7,000 members, occupying some ten square miles of country situated to the West of the Leolo mountain range, and to the East of the Olifants river. By road the tribal area is approximately 60 miles from Pietersburg, 70 miles from Groblersdal, and 80 miles from Lydenburg. A public motor bus service links the area with Pietersburg and Groblersdal. The tribe is served by a primary school, two shops and a butchery. The nearest police station is at the administrative offices at Schoonoord, 27 miles away, and the nearest post office and telephone at Apèl, 6 miles away. A gravel road, linking Schoonoord and Apèl, passes through the village of Ntšhabeleng.

5 The tribal area is traversed by four small rivers (the Mothopong, the Lepellane, the Mohwetse and the Sethakadu), which are dry in winter, when water is obtained from boreholes. The average rainfall is approximately 17 inches per annum. Vegetation is sparse, except in the mountains, and consists mainly of scrub. The area around the village is almost denuded of vegetation and is subject to severe erosion, especially sheet erosion.

6 The dwelling units (kgôrôs) of the tribe are scattered around a few kopjes (shown as Matadi, Letapo, Mabotšeng and Magokobo on the sketch map) on the southern side of the Mohwetse river, while a few are on the northern side at the foot of the Leolo mountains, where they remained in the localities shown as Makhurwaneng, Masweneng and Magotwaneng when the bulk of the tribe moved across the Mohwetse river at the beginning of this century. The site they abandoned (Maropeng on the sketch map) is now used as a burial place.

7 The influence of Western civilization on the Ntšhabeleng (as on all tribes in Sekhukhuneland) is most noticeable in their clothing, especially that of the men, and in the rectangular houses with corrugated iron roofs scattered among the traditional huts. Western influence is seen also in agricultural implements such as ploughs, the occasional wagon, and household utensils. More important, however, has been the influence of missionaries who have been active in this area for approximately 100 years. This has resulted in the division of the tribe into two sections: churchmembers (Majakane) and non-members (Mahetene). The Christians number about 170, and are members of either the Berlin Lutheran Mission or the Dutch Reformed Mission, besides 8 Zionists. They isolate themselves from the non-Christians by living outside the traditional kgôrôs, usually near their churches. Also, they do not practise polygyny, nor do they participate in traditional ritual. They bury their dead in a separate graveyard; their womenfolk wear western-type clothing, and they are not supposed to attend beer gatherings. Most important, they do not send their children to circumcision lodges, and for this they are despised by the pagans.

8 The pagans have also lost much of their traditional religious belief and practice, but they still have their ancestor cult, and in years of severe drought rainmaking rites are performed. Circumcision lodges are held regularly every few years, the period of seclusion of approximately 3 months being chosen to coincide partly with the school holidays. The site of the circumcision lodge is in the Leolo mountains, about one mile from the village. It is marked by a number of cairns or conical monuments (diphiri) about three feet high and two feet in diameter which contain the ashes of past lodges. From these it is apparent that the site has been used for twelve lodges, from which it is also possible to calculate that the tribe has occupied the area for approximately 80 years. Girls are initiated in a grove on the banks of the Mohwetse river about a quarter of a mile from the village.

9 The tribe obtain their staple food by agriculture, the main products of which are maize, sorghum and millet, grown together with beans, pumpkins and watermelons. Every married woman has a land varying in size according to the status of her husband, the average extent being about one morgen. In general, the hoe has been replaced by the plough, which is drawn by cattle or donkeys, sometimes both in one team, but a portion of the chief's land is still ceremonially cultivated with hoes by the women of the tribe. When new land is cleared, wild trees with edible fruit are not felled and are regarded by the owner of the land as his property. Animal husbandry is less important as a source of food, although cattle, goats, and sheep are usually kept, and some people also have donkeys, one or two pigs, and a few fowls. Since the eradication of prickly pear by the cochineal bug in 1940, wild fruit is not an important source of food in Sekhukhuneland, although some edible wild fruit and tubers still supplement the daily diet in summer. Only rock-rabbits are still hunted.

10 Wage-earning in the industrial centres is gradually becoming imperative to the people of Ntšhabeleng. Whereas the Bantu economy is traditionally based mainly on the labour of women, nowadays approximately 60% of the able-bodied men are away at work.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY

11 The early history of the Tau tribes has been fully recorded by E.M. Ramaila in his book "Setlogô sa Batau". For the purpose of this study, however, a brief mention about their earliest history will suffice.

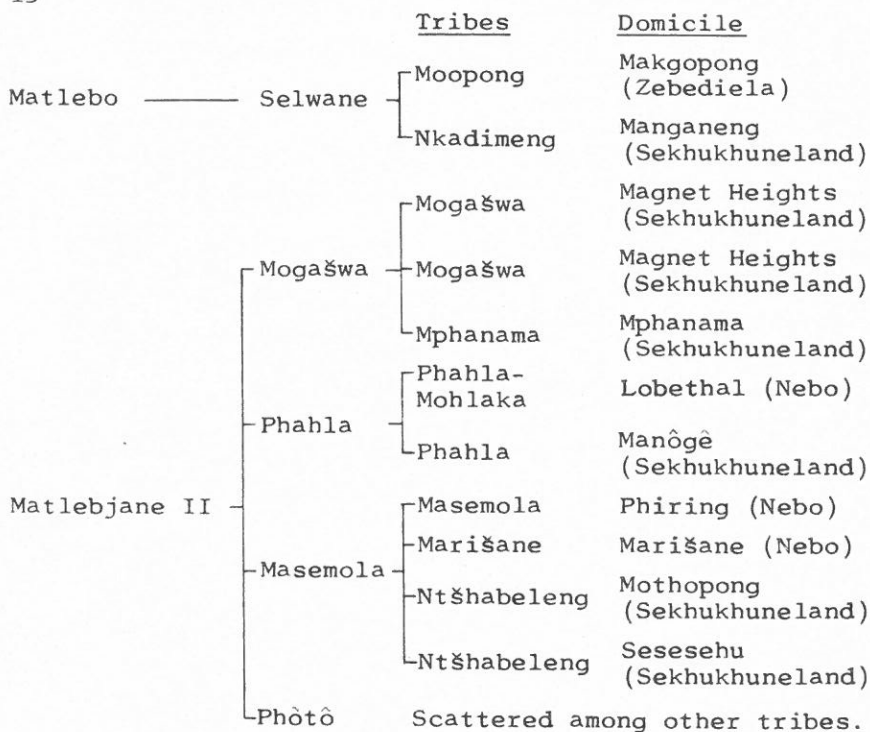
12 The Tau originated from the Langa section of the Swazi, the abasemaLangeni. In Sotho they were known as 'baseLakeng' with ilanga, the Swazi for "sun", as their totem. This they later changed to nong (vulture) and still later to tau (lion), but a section of the tribe refused to accept this last change and retained nong, calling it 'tau ya godimo' (lion from above) for the sake of tribal unity. This latter section is known as the Kgaditsi.

13 Their earliest dwelling place as a separate tribe was in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie, whither their chief Ngwato had led them. From here they moved in a northerly direction to the present Lydenburg area. It is not known how long they lived in these two areas, nor are the number and the names of their chiefs of that period remembered. However, through contact with Sotho tribes their language and culture gradually became Sotho. From the Lydenburg area they moved under their chief Matlebjane I to an area near the Crocodile river where they remained during the reigns of three chiefs. Matlebjane I was succeeded by Mokwêna, who had two sons: Matlebo and Matlebjane II. Matlebo died before he could succeed to the chieftainship and before a tribal wife for him could be obtained, but he did have a son, Selwane, born from a wife of low rank. Matlebjane II succeeded his father, Mokwêna. He had the following four sons from different wives: Mogašwa, Phahla, Masemola and Phôtô. In his old age Matlebjane II showed most affection for Phôtô, and the other sons, fearing that their father would appoint him as his successor, arranged for the old man to be murdered in such a way that Phôtô got the blame. In this they succeeded and Phôtô has been despised ever since.

14 After the death of Matlebjane II his sons led the tribe to the Olifants river where strife broke out among them over the chieftainship. Selwane claimed to be the highest in rank because he was the son of Matlebo, the elder brother of Matlebjane II, but he was not acceptable as chief to the majority because his mother was of in-

ferior status, and he and his followers were driven out. So, although he was the senior in the male line, he lost status to the sons of Matlebjane II because of his mother. Mogašwa was then considered as the successor to Matlebjane II. Nevertheless the tribe then split up into three sections (not counting Selwane's section) headed by Mogašwa, Phahla and Masemola. Phôtô had no followers of his own because of the blame attaching to him for the murder of his father. These sections subsequently broke up further, forming the eleven tribes found today, as shown in the following diagram. My informants on tribal history give differing accounts of the genealogy and relative seniority of these tribes, but the following is acceptable to most.¹⁾

15



16 Today these tribes form political entities independent of one another. However, they do recognise relative genealogical rank: a senior tribe is regarded as ba ramo-golo (descendants of father's elder brother) and a junior as ba rangwane (descendants of father's younger brother). But this is of no political importance. Socially, however, it has significance in that if candidates of a tribe

1) This account differs totally from the genealogy given in Short History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905, p.65.

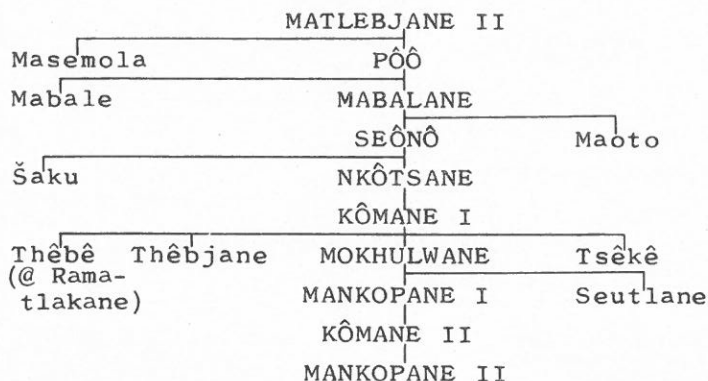
attend the initiation at another tribe, they are ranked according to status relative to that of the other tribe.

17 In general the tribes are interested in each other's welfare. When a Tau chief is ill or in distress the other chiefs participate in a ceremony to appease the ancestor spirits (go phaša badimo). When a chief dies the other chiefs attend the funeral, each contributing one beast for the ceremony.

18 The people of Ntšhabeleng are proud of their descent from the Masemola tribe, with which they still maintain strong ties as shown by frequent visits to each other by members of the two tribes, and much intermarriage.

19 It is not certain how the lineage of the Ntšhabeleng chiefs is linked to the lineage of the Masemola chiefs. All agree that a certain Pôô was the "father" of the Ntšhabeleng tribe, but it is not clear whether this Pôô was Masemola himself, his father, his younger uterine¹ brother, or his son. They describe him as "Pôô 'a Mabale", "Pôô 'a Mabale 'a Mokwêna" and in one of their praises as "Mabale 'a Pôô" or "Seônô sa Mabale 'a Pôô". Nor is it clear who Mabale was. Some say Mabale was another name for Matlebjane II, but others say for Masemola.

20 Assuming that Pôô was a younger uterine brother of Masemola and that Mabale was his son, the genealogy of the Ntšhabeleng chiefs would be as follows:



(Some informants place one Modingwane between KÔMANE I and Mokhulwane.)

1) The term "uterine" is used throughout for children of one woman and does not necessarily imply different fathers, because the question of biological paternity is not generally raised in Sotho society. Children born by a woman after her husband's death are regarded as those of her late husband.

21 Pôô and his followers were settled at Thetyane near Thabampje, the headquarters of the Masemola tribe. During the time of Seônô, grandson of Pôô, a dispute arose between his section and that of Masemola with the result that he and his followers left and settled at Mogwêê, west of the Olifants river. This is how they got the name of Ntshabeleng, which means "flee from me". After Seônô's death his son Šaku killed cattle of his younger half-brother Nkôtsane for the burial, without killing any of his own. This gave rise to a dispute and Nkôtsane was then taken away by Maoto, younger brother of his late father, to Nokana, his mother's brother, who lived at Sesesehu. They settled at Sesesehu where they were subsequently joined by the majority of the tribe. Šaku remained at Mogwêê. In this manner the chieftainship was taken over by Nkôtsane. After about 20 years¹⁾ Nkôtsane and his people returned to the Masemola area and settled again at Thetyane, where they were joined by Šaku and his people. Although Šaku ranked higher than Nkôtsane, the chieftainship did not revert to him, and the latter remained chief. Nkôtsane was succeeded by his son Kômane I, whose reign was without notable events. Kômane I was in turn succeeded by his son Thêbê. Thêbê rebelled against the rule of Masemola and in the ensuing clash the Ntshabeleng tribe was defeated and its members scattered, some fleeing to the Mphanama area, a few miles to the North-east. Thêbê and his younger brother Thêbjane were killed. When all was quiet again, Thêbê's half-brother Mokhulwane, being the son of a sister of the Masemola chief, was allowed to gather the scattered members of the Ntshabeleng tribe together again.

22 Mokhulwane had no sons by his tribal wife Lefalane. After his death his sons, Mankopane I and Seutlane, issue of inferior wives, disputed the chieftainship. Some people say that Mankopane I claimed that his mother had been designated seantlo (ancillary wife) to Lefalane and that Seutlane denied this, claiming that his mother ranked next after Lefalane. Others say that a certain Mmatshêgane²⁾ was married as a ngwetši (daughter-in-law) for Lefalane to bear a son as successor to Mokhulwane, and that, according to custom, one of Mokhulwane's sons was

1) This was determined by counting the number of dikgô-tôboriba (round stones placed in front of the chief's dwelling unit by girl initiates at the termination of their initiation course), which are still at the site of the old settlement, although they must have been placed there before the beginning of the nineteenth century. One pair of dikgô-tôboriba represents one initiation course and a period of approximately seven years.

2) The name "Mmatshêgane" should not be confused with "Mmatshêgane".

to have fathered the child. But Tsêkê, younger brother of Mokhulwane, cohabited with Mmatšhêgane and begot a son, Ngwanammala. They say that because this was contrary to custom,¹⁾ Lefalane then instructed Mankopane I to take another woman as tribal wife and raise seed for Mokhulwane. So Mmapapo was taken by Mankopane I as tribal wife. This dispute caused a split in the tribe, the majority supporting Mankopane I, and to this day the relative status of the two sections is still in dispute.

23 Mankopane's paternal uncle Tsêkê acted for him during his minority. When he came of age, his uncle refused to relinquish the chieftainship and strife ensued. Tsêkê was driven out and was accompanied by a few followers, including two of his half-brothers and a section of the Šaku group headed by Molongwane. Later they returned to the tribe and subjected themselves to Mankopane I, but Molongwane did not rejoin the junior branch of Šaku, which was now headed by Motsomi.

24 Mankopane I assumed the chieftainship about 1850. A few years later he and his tribe left the Masemola tribe to settle at Manôgê in Sekhukhuneland and live under the rule of the Pedi chief Sekwati.²⁾ Seutlane's section settled at Sesesehu, Sekhukhuneland, while a third section of the tribe remained at Thabampje under the rule of Masemola. In c.1880³⁾ Mankopane I and his people left Manôgê and settled a few miles to the north at Mothopong, where their descendants still live today. He died in 1901⁴⁾ and was succeeded by his son Kômane II, who was in turn succeeded by his son Mankopane II, the present chief, in 1946.

Note:

Chief Mankopane II died on 17 October 1961, after the final draft for this publication was completed. He was succeeded as regent by his father's brother Dinkwanyane, and not by his own brother Letswalô, for reasons which need not be discussed here.

1) But see para. 134.

2) They left in the same year when the Pedi left Phiring i.e. in 1853 or shortly after, according to Hunt, 1931, p.289.

3) The Pedi left Dšate c.1880 (cf. Hunt, 1931, p.302) and moved into the abandoned village of the Ntšhabeleng tribe at Manôgê.

4) His burial is described in Hoffmann, 1905.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

COMPOSITION OF THE TRIBE

25 The tribe of Ntšhabeleng comprises 30 kgôrôs. A kgôrô consists of a group of agnatically related people with their wives, and a few others, living together in one dwelling unit, or a few dwelling units which may or may not be situated together. The term "kgôrô" has several meanings, however: Primarily it means the enclosed circular gathering place in front of a number of households (*malapa*, singular *lapa*: one or more huts in a courtyard enclosed by a low wall) grouped in a semi-circle. Secondly, it denotes the entrance to the gathering place. Thirdly, it denotes the whole dwelling unit, consisting of households and gathering place. (See table 5.) Fourthly, the word is used by extension for the group of people occupying such a unit (or several such units but descended from a group which at some time in the past lived together in one such unit). They speak, for example, of the kgôrô of Ponyaneng, denoting either a certain dwelling unit or the agnatic group living there. In this latter sense it thus has the connotation of kinship, more or less similar to that of lineage group,¹⁾ as will be shown in this chapter. I shall therefore use the term "lineage group" for kgôrô in its connotation of a group of people and "dwelling unit" for the assemblage of dwellings they live in. I use the term "lineage group" only for lack of a more suitable one. We shall see that a kgôrô is not always the equivalent of a lineage group; for example, where two different lineage groups together form one kgôrô or corporate body. Schapera (1953, pp. 46-47) uses the term "ward" for 'kgôrô' or 'kgotla', but because this term has a territorial connotation, I prefer not to use it as the members of a kgôrô often live in several dwelling units which are not situated together in one territorial ward. Krige (1954, p. 57) uses the term "agnatic group".

26 The lineage groups constituting the tribe comprise a nucleus of 14, which are all related by common patrilineal descent, and 16 groups of foreigners whose ancestors joined the tribe at various times. These 30 groups are listed in the accompanying table to which a diagram is attached, indicating the manner in which the groups of

1) Cf. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 15

TABLE 1 COMPOSITION OF THE TRIBE

INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE FOUNDERS OF LINEAGE GROUPS				LINEAGE GROUPS	TOTEM	TRIBAL ORIGIN	
MABALANE	SEŌNŌ	Šaku	Seŋō	Šaku	Mailola	n Kwēna	Balobi
					Raphiri	m Phiri	
					Kgaphola	a Tau	
					Šaku (Molongwane)	b Tau	
					Šaku (Motsomi)	d Tau	
					Nkwēlē	e Tau	
					Molefana	Z Tau	Not related to nucleus Balobi
		MOLONGWANE	Motsomi	Motsomi	Kōmane II—Tšhweung	A Tau	Nucleus
					Matshephole—Ponyaneng	B Tau	
					Mageti—Manganeng	C Tau	
					Puwane—Magaseng	D Tau	
					Kōmane—Makweng	E Tau	
	NKŌTSANE	MOKHULWANE	Mankopane I	Mankopane I	Ngwanammala—Mokgōmane	F Tau	
					Masweneng	G Tau	
					Makgaleng	H Tau	
					Masailaneng	J Tau	
					Manganeng (Magwadi)	K Tau	
		KŌMANE I	Tsékē	Tsékē	Maoto—Nkareng—Malatšē	L Tau	Foreigners incorporated into the tribe
					Sebei	M Tau	
					Ratšhidi	N Tau	
					Phakwago	O Tau	
					Maoto	P Tau	
	Maoto	Sebei	Ratšhidi	Phakwago	Ramaila	P Nong	Kgaditsi-section of the Tau
					Tšebana	Q Phuthi	
					Matseba (Maila)	R Tlou	
					Lekgoro	S Tlou	
					Morwaswi	T Kwēna	
	Motsomi	Mokgōmane	Manaleng	Masweneng	Tebeila	U Kgomo	
					Phaahla	V Kgomo	
					Morwaswi	W Phuthi	
					Mokgophi	X Phuthi	
					Mareidi	Y Phuthi	

1 The order of lineage groups from top to bottom is that applied in circumcision lodges (cf. paras. 27-35), but letters reflect genealogical rank: first a-e, then A-O. Foreigners rank thus: first P-Y, then m followed by n. This is a slight modification of the order in which they joined the tribe (cf. paras. 28 and 35). For Z, see para. 35.

2 Maoto, Mareidi and Ramakwē did not establish independent lineage groups. They form part of Makgaleng, Sebei and Tebeila respectively.

3 It is not certain whether Sebei, Ratšhidi and Phakwago were half-brothers of Kōmane I, or his sons, or classificatory sons.

the nucleus are inter-related through their founders. The various lineage groups originated as follows:

a. The nucleus of the tribe: lineage groups A - O

27 Tšhweung (A) was established by Nkôtsane when he usurped the chieftainship from his senior halfbrother Šaku. From this lineage group the entire tribal nucleus of 14 lineage groups originated. The principle underlying this sub-division of Tšhweung will be discussed later. The lineage groups are listed in the order of genealogical rank which is also applied in initiation lodges.

b. Foreigners incorporated into the tribe

(i) The lineage groups P - Y

28 These consist of ten groups of foreigners which were incorporated into the tribe, each group forming a separate lineage group. They rank in the order in which they joined the tribe, except Ramaila (P) which is a group of Kgaditsi (that section of the Tau which retained nong as its totem) and was given a senior position despite having joined the tribe at a relatively late stage. For reasons of his own, Mankopane I also placed Tšebana (Q) before Matseba (Maila) (R), Lekgoro (S), Morwaswi (T) and Tebeila (U) although Tšebana joined the tribe after them, and Mokgophi (W) was placed before Maredi although the latter joined the tribe before Mokgophi. Also, Marutla (Y) is placed last on the list, not because it was the last lineage group to join the tribe, but because its candidates for initiation are sent to the Masemola tribe and this group is therefore not included in the ranking of lineage groups.

29 Two smaller groups, viz. Maredi and Ramakwê, did not establish separate lineage groups. They settled in the dwelling units of Sebei (M) and Tebeila (U) respectively, and are still regarded as part of those kgôrôs although they have since established dwelling units of their own.

(ii) The lineage groups a, b, d and e

30 These four lineage groups are of Tau origin but do not form part of the nucleus. They are regarded as genealogically senior to the nucleus for the following reasons:

31 Kgaphola (a) originated from the Mphanama tribe, which is genealogically senior to the Ntšhabeleng tribe, cf. para. 15.

32 Šaku (Molongwane) (b) and Šaku (Motsomi) (d) originated from the lineage of Šaku, the senior halfbrother of Nkôtsane, the founder of Tšhweung.

33 Nkwêlê (e) originated from Mokalapa, one of the senior lineage groups of the Masemola tribe. (As a young boy Nkwêlê, founder of the lineage group Nkwêlê, lived with Bogaleng, daughter of his paternal aunt, and wife of chief Mokhulwane. When he married he was not allowed to build inside the dwelling unit, for then he, as highest ranking person genealogically, would have become head of the unit. He was used by the chief as a messenger for unimportant errands, and today his descendants are "servants of the servants" of the chief.)

34 Kgaphola, Šaku (Molongwane), Šaku (Motsomi) and Nkwêlê precede Tšhweung in the table because in initiation lodges, as also in religious ceremonies, genealogically senior persons take precedence of their political superiors.

(iii) The lineage groups Z, m and n

35 These three lineage groups are also of foreign origin. Although one of them, viz. Molefana (Z), has tau as its totem, it is not related to the Tau tribes. Initiates from these three lineage groups are called 'balobi' (from the verb "go loba" - to subject oneself, to recognize the overlordship of) because the chief "loba's" with them to the ancestor spirits for the success of the initiation lodge. They are the "sacrifices of the lodge" and are circumcised before other and more important initiates "to wash the knife" and are therefore also referred to as the maleka-digale (those who test the dangers first). Initiates from Molefana (Z) serve as balobi for Tšhweung and the tribal nucleus only, as this lineage group began with a servant of Tšhweung during the reign of Mankopane I. That is why Molefana is placed immediately before Tšhweung in the table of lineage groups. Initiates from Raphiri (m) and Mailola (n) serve as balobi for initiates of the entire tribe, which is why these two precede all lineage groups, including the genealogically senior groups, in the table. These two lineage groups were the last to join the tribe and are regarded as having the lowest status.

36 The origin of the foreign lineage groups, and their incorporation into the Ntšhabeleng tribe, are briefly described below.

37 Until the time when Nkôtsane and his followers settled at the place of his mother's brother, Nokana, at Sesesehu (cf. para. 21), the Ntšhabeleng tribe consisted of Tau only. At Sesesehu they were first joined by Nokana and his followers, who were Ndebele, known as ba ga Matseba. After that they were joined by Morwaswi (T), comprising a group of Rôka from a place called Sego (near Tšhwenispoort), and subsequently by Tebeila (U), comprising a group of Hwaduba, also from Sego. [Later when the tribe separated into two sections (cf. para. 22) the senior branch of the Matseba group joined Seutlane's section, leaving the junior branch, Maila, with Mankopane's section. Hence the name Matseba (Maila) R.]

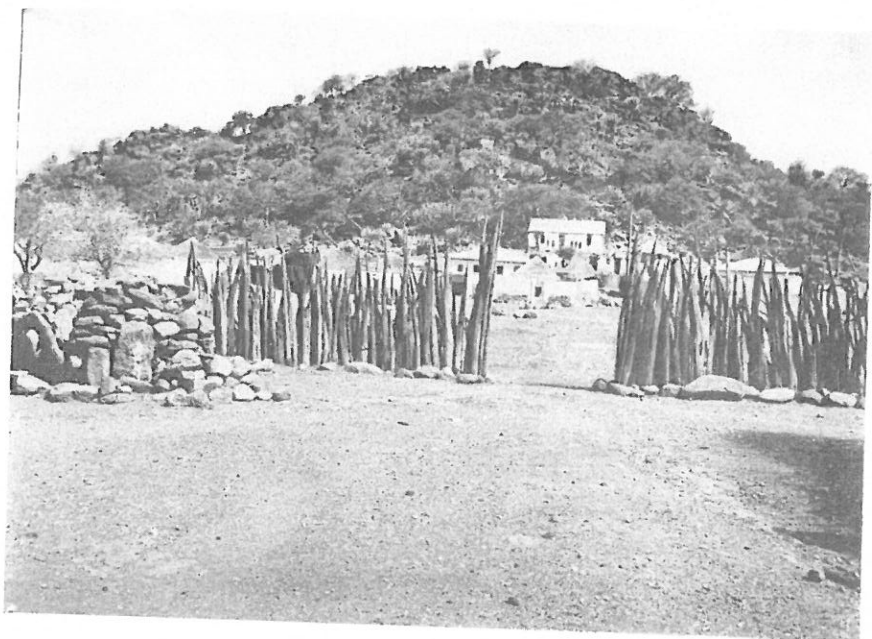
38 From Sesesehu the tribe, including Matseba (R), Morwaswi (T) and Tebeila (U), moved back to Thetyane, where it was first joined by the lineage group of Šaku, who had remained at Mogwêtê when Nkôtsane left for Sesesehu (cf. para. 21), and thereafter by that of Tšebana (Q), comprising a group of Koni from a place called Mafatê on the Steelpoort river. (The latter group also included Phahla-Morwaswi, of Hwaduba origin, who later established a separate lineage group, V.)

39 After the revolt against Masemola (cf. para. 21) some members and groups of the Ntšhabeleng tribe fled to the Mphanama area. They included the following: Magabê (son of chief Kômane I), Lekgoro (a member of the Matseba group), the Morwaswi group and the Phahla-Morwaswi group. (These groups rejoined the tribe several years later at Manôgê.)

40 When still at Thetyane, but after the tribe had separated into two sections (cf. para. 22), Mankopane's section was joined by two foreign groups viz. Maredi, comprising a group of Koni of unknown origin from somewhere near the Steelpoort river, and Marutla (Y), comprising a group of Koni from the Matlala tribe at Marulaneng in Sekhukhuneland. (Marutla is placed last in the list of lineage groups because initiates from this lineage group attend the initiation lodges of the Masemola tribe, and are therefore not included in the ranking of initiates of this tribe.) Besides the foregoing, Molefana (Z), a Tau of unknown origin, was also granted residence in Mankopane's dwelling unit and became a servant of the chief. He later established a separate lineage group.

41 At Manôgê the tribe was joined by Magwadi (K), the son of Magabê, accompanied by Lekgoro and Morwaswi, all of whom had fled to the Mphanama area. The tribe was also joined by Kgaphola (a) from the genealogically senior Mphanama tribe, accompanied by Ramaila (P) (of the Kgaditsi section of the Tau) and Phahla-Morwaswi (V). The latter had also fled to the Mphanama area.

PLATE 1



1 Entrance to parent *kgôrô* of *Tšhweung*



2 *Dikgôtôboriba* in *Tšhweung*
(see note 1 to para. 21)

PLATE 2



3 Cairns (*diphiri*) marking circumcision sites

facing page 19

42 At Mothopong the tribe was joined by Mokgophi (W), comprising a group of Koni from the Mathabatha tribe near Tšhwenispoort, and by Ntswana (X) and Ramakwê, both Koni (or Kgaga) from the Mphahlêlê tribe. Many years later Raphiri (M) and Mailola (N), from the Matlala and Mongatane tribes respectively, were the last to join the Ntšhabeleng tribe.

MODE OF SETTLEMENT

43 The mode of settlement of the tribe is shown on the sketch map. The entire settlement is regarded as one village or town (motse, plural metse) in the sense of it being situated at some distance from the villages of other tribes. In the same way the people of Ntšhabeleng refer to the three outlying settlements shown on the sketch map as Makhurwaneng, Masweneng and Magotwaneng, as separate metse. But this has no social or political significance, since none of these three settlements has a common political leader or headman and each consists of households and dwelling units which are merely fortuitously situated together as shown on the sketch map. The word 'motse' is also used for any group of huts standing together, even if it comprises one dwelling unit only.

44 The basic unit of the tribe is the household. A number of these, belonging to close relatives, are generally grouped together in a semi-circle to form one dwelling unit. For lack of space households are sometimes built outside the circular unit, but they are nevertheless considered an integral part of that unit. For this reason such households are not separately indicated on the sketch map if they are close to the unit and so situated that they can never develop into separate units, and will always use the common gathering place. For various reasons, however, some households become established at some distance from the parent unit and through accretion of more households may grow sufficiently to form new dwelling units. These are also commonly called "kgôrôs" although they may be referred to as offshoots or branches (dithabi, singular thabi) of the parent kgôrô. Kgorwana, the diminutive of kgôrô, is used only in a derogative sense.

45 From the sketch map it will be noticed that each of the 30 lineage groups composing the tribe occupies several dwelling units, namely a parent dwelling unit (kutu: 'trunk') and its offshoots (dithabi: 'branches'), and that

these are scattered over the entire settled area, intermingled with other dwelling units in such a way that no group of dwelling units forms a separate localised unit or territorial ward to the exclusion of other units, although offshoots tend to be situated near the parent unit.

46 The old men say that it is a new trend for related units to be so widely scattered. In former times when they still "lived by the assegai" close relatives tended to live together. The following reasons are commonly given for this wide distribution of related units: lack of room, strife or quarrelling, and fear of being bewitched by relatives.

47 Although the dwelling units of a lineage group may be widely separated, the group of agnates occupying them nevertheless remains a corporate body under the leadership of its most senior member. The mere physical separation of the members of the group does not disrupt their social and political cohesion.

48 The locality where the parent dwelling unit is situated, or where the head of a lineage group resides, is often referred to by the name of the lineage group. They speak, for example, of Makgaleng or Masweneng as the locality where the heads of those lineage groups reside, disregarding the dwelling units which are offshoots.

49 From the sketch map it will be noticed that in some instances the parent dwelling unit of a lineage group is at the same time the senior one of that group. But this is not always the case, for example, where the senior member has left the parent unit and has established his own, as with the head (B3) of Ponyaneng (B) who left the parent unit (B). In his case there was a special reason, as will be shown later, (cf. para. 71).

50 It will also be observed that the dwelling units of the more senior lineage groups such as Ponyaneng (B), Manganeng (Lekôkô) (C), Magaseng (D), Makweng (E) and Manaleng (F) lie scattered around A₃, the dwelling unit of the chief of the tribe. The exception is Masweneng (G), which, for reasons unknown, remained north of the Mohwetse river when the bulk of the tribe moved south. The position of K₄, dwelling unit of the head of Manganeng (Magwadi), adjoining A₄, the parent unit of Tšhweung, does not correspond with the relatively inferior status of this lineage group. This will be explained later, (cf. para. 60).

ANALYSIS OF A LINEAGE GROUP (KGÔRÔ)

1 Origin and composition of lineage groups

51 A study of the lineage group Tšhweung from the time of its origin, following its growth, and sub-divisions, and analysing its present composition, will provide a complete picture of the origin and composition of the lineage groups constituting the tribal nucleus, because all these lineage groups originated from Tšhweung.

52 Tšhweung was established at Sesesehu six generations ago by chief Nkôtsane, who had usurped the chieftainship from his higher-ranking halfbrother Šaku. The origin of the name Tšhweung and its exact composition at that time are not known. Nor are tribesmen sure who Nkôtsane's sons were, except that he was succeeded by his son Kômane I. Some say that Kômane I had eleven sons born to nine wives and give the names of these sons as follows:

- 1-^a Thêbê
- ^b Thêbjane
- 2-^a MOKHULWANE
- ^b Tsêkê
- 3 Mokwene
- 4 Mašišimalo
- 5 Magabê
- 6 Maoto
- 7 Sebei
- 8 Ratšhidi
- 9 Phakwago.

Others say that the last three viz. Sebei, Ratšhidi and Phakwago were either half-brothers or classificatory sons (i.e. sons of brothers or half-brothers) of Kômane I.

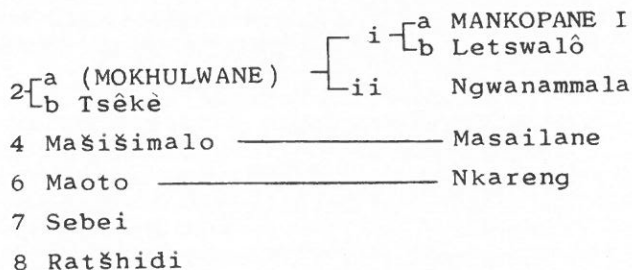
53 This difference of opinion is not of practical importance, because the relative rank of the descendants of these men is not altered by the fact that the three in question were either halfbrothers of Kômane I or his lowest-ranking sons (including classificatory sons), as can be seen in table 1. Informants say, however, that Phakwago was No. 8, but lost status to Ratšhidi, because his mother was a quarrelsome woman in consequence of which

she was expelled from the dwelling unit. Phakwago and his mother established a separate dwelling unit and his descendants today form a separate lineage group, often referred to as Magakala (those on the outside).

54 Mokwene (3) left Tšhweung and established the lineage group Makgaleng. He was joined by the descendants of Maoto, the brother of his great-grandfather, Seônô (see table 1). Maoto's descendants still form part of Makgaleng as one corporate body.

55 Thêbê and Thêbjane (1 a and b) were killed in the war with the Masemola tribe (see para. 21) and Magabe (5) fled to the Mphanama tribe.

56 Thereafter Tšhweung thus included six sons of Kômane I, counting Sebei and Ratšhidi as well. The new chief, Mokhulwane, had four sons born to three wives. After his death (c.1830) the tribe split into two sections headed by his sons Mankopane I and Seutlane respectively. Mankopane's section of Tšhweung then comprised the following (cf. table in para. 52):



57 Tsêkê (2 b) acted for Mankopane I (ia) during the latter's minority, but refused to relinquish the chieftainship when Mankopane I came of age. He was then driven out of Tšhweung and left the tribe, accompanied by Mašišimalo (4) and Sebei (7), both of whom were members of his own circumcision regiment (i.e. they had attended the circumcision lodge of which he was the leader). Tsêkê then founded the separate lineage group Masweneng (G), and was joined by the lineage group Šaku (Molongwane) (b) as described in para. 23. Masweneng and Šaku (Molongwane) later rejoined the Ntšhabeleng tribe as separate lineage groups. Mašišimalo and Sebei acted as servants (see later) for Tsêkê. [Years later, when the tribe settled at Mothopong, these two servants, or their descendants, left Masweneng and founded the lineage groups Masailaneng (M) and Sebei (J), which are still under the jurisdiction of Masweneng.]

58 The tribe left Thabampje c.1853 and settled at Manôgê in Sekhukhuneland. The nucleus of the tribe then consisted of four separate lineage groups, the origin of which is described above. In order of rank they were Tšhweung, Masweneng, Makgaleng and Phakwago.

59 Tšhweung was then reduced to the following (cf. para. 56):

	i	└ ^a MANKOPANE I
		└ ^b (Letšwalô)
	ii	— Ngwanammala
6 Maoto	—	Nkareng
8 Ratšhidi	—	Mmakgantšaka

(Letšwalô was killed by white farmers c.1845. A wife must have been married for him posthumously, for he has "descendants", who are still in Tšhweung.)

60 At Manôgê, Tšhweung was joined by Magwadi, son of Magabê (5), who had at first fled to the Mphanama tribe, where Magwadi founded the lineage group Manganeng (Magwadi) (K). Magwadi, having married the sister of Mankopane I, built his dwelling unit just outside Tšhweung. [According to custom he could not build his lapa in the dwelling unit of Tšhweung because "motlogolo ga a age ka teng ga kgôrô" (a sister's child may not build inside the kgôrô). This, however, applies only to those sons of "sisters" (i.e. women of a dwelling unit), who have left the dwelling unit by contracting a marriage with someone outside that unit. Nor may such women themselves return to the dwelling unit for this would result in their sons living in the unit.] Until this day the dwelling unit of Magwadi (K₄) is still close to Tšhweung as indicated on the sketch map although the tribe has moved twice since that time. (In para. 50 the fact was mentioned that the territorial situation of K₄ does not correspond with its status.)

61 When they left Manôgê and settled at Mothopong in the year 1880 the nucleus of the tribe thus consisted of five separate lineage groups.

62 Tšhweung then comprised the following:

- 1 Mankopane I with 12 wives and their children.
- 2 His late brother Letšwalô's wife and children.
- 3 His half-brother Ngwanammala with 2 wives and children.
- 4 Nkareng, the son of his father's late half-brother Maoto, with 3 wives and their children.
- 5 His father's half-brother Ratšhidi, who was by now a very old man, with one wife and children.

63 These people all settled in three dwelling units which were regarded as one kgôrô, and which grew to the stage of development shown in the accompanying diagram. The kgôrô was abandoned c.1900, but the site as well as the grouping of lapas in the dwelling units, are still well-known, because the dead are nowadays buried there, each in his or her lapa of origin. A study of the accompanying diagram and table shows that the lapas were not grouped according to any specific pattern.

64 The lapas of Mankopane's twelve wives (A1 - A12) lay scattered over two of the three units with his tribal wife (A1) in the centre position of the main unit, Letswailô's wife (B1) immediately to her right and Ngwanammala's senior wife (C1) to her left. The latter's second wife (C2) was placed three lapas to the left of his first wife. Nkareng's three wives (D1-D3) and their married sons' wives (D1a1, D1a2, D1a3, D2a1 and D2b1) occupied the extreme portion of the left wing of the main unit, their lapas adjoining one another. Ratšhidi's wife (E1) and the wives of her married sons (E1a1, E1a2, E1b1 and E1c1) occupied the whole of the third unit. Married sons occupied positions close to their mothers' lapas if building space allowed.

65 No pattern is revealed by examination of the grouping of lapas of polygynists' wives, cf. Mankopane's wives. It is also interesting to note that status was disregarded in the grouping of his wives, except that his great wife was placed in the centre position. This was because he married some of his more senior wives after the available building space had already been taken up by other women.

66 Despite the apparent lack of pattern, the analysis of this dwelling unit brought to light a fact which later proved to be of very great importance, viz. some of Mankopane's wives who occupied lapas adjoining one another, were closely related. These were the sisters A2 and A3, who occupied part of the right wing of the main unit together with their married sons, and the sisters A4 and A5, and a close relative, A8, who occupied one entire unit together with their married sons. It is also of interest that some of his wives who were of inferior status, were regarded as servants or *dingwetši* of the great wife. Thus A10 and A12 were placed in her lapa.

67 To understand the further sub-division of Tšhweung, a more detailed study is necessary: Mmapapo, tribal wife

of Mankopane I, was killed in a Zulu raid in 1851.¹⁾ Mankopane I then intended to make his wife Mmahlageng, who was a sister of the chief of the Masemola tribe, his principal wife, but in consequence of a dispute with the chief of the Masemola, he ranked her below several of his other wives. His wife Mmatlolobe then became the senior wife. He and his tribe subsequently (1853) left Thetyane and settled at Manôgê. Fearing the Masemola tribe, he then sought closer connections with the Pedi and married Tlakalê as tribal wife from their royal house c. 1856. However, she remained a foreigner as far as the Ntšhabeleng tribe was concerned and some say that members of the tribe continued to render bothokgo services (free labour as tribute) to Mmahlageng until her death. Mmatlolobe also lost status to Tlakalê.

68 Tlakalê bore three sons: Kômane II, Matshephole and Dinkwanyane.

69 Years later, when the tribe was settled at Mothopong and Mankopane I was already an old man, he arranged to marry Mmatsêkê, a relative of Mmapapo, his tribal wife, who was killed in 1851. In 1897 he became ill and left Tšhweung, taking with him two of his younger wives (11 and 12), who had no male issue, and his servant Nkareng with his people. He also took with him Matshephole, his son next in rank to the heir apparent. He then established a new dwelling unit approximately one mile from Tšhweung and to the south of the Mohwetse river, and named it Ponyaneng after Matshephole's circumcision regiment. Here he died in 1901.

70 Before Mankopane's death he instructed Nkareng to watch over Ponyaneng. Malatšê, Nkareng's son, then built his dwelling unit at the entrance to Ponyaneng, and until this day the lineage group of Malatšê still watches over Ponyaneng.

71 In 1903, i.e. after Mankopane's death, the above-mentioned Mmatsêkê came to Ponyaneng as wife of Matshephole. Some say, but not openly, that Mmatsêkê was married as a substitute (seantlo) for Mmapapo (she was a daughter of a son of Mmapapo's sister) and that Mankopane I arranged to give her to Matshephole and not to his senior

1) According to Hunt, 1931, p.288, the Zulu raid was shortly before the arrival of the Trekkers in 1845, but according to Merensky, 1890, p.72, it was in 1851, i.e. a year before Potgieter attacked Sekwati in 1852. Faye, 1923, p.35, gives the year of the Zulu expedition against the Pedi as 1852.

son Kômane II, because the latter also had to get his tribal wife from the Pedi. They say he did this to prevent Mmatsêkê from becoming a minor wife of Kômane II and also to combine in her son the blood of the ruling house of the Ntšhabeleng tribe and that of the lineage which traditionally supplied the tribal wives. In later years her son moved his dwelling unit to a prominent position near the chief's dwelling unit [which accounts for the position of the dwelling unit (B3) of the head of Ponyaneng to which reference was made in paragraph 49]

72 In the year 1900 the tribe followed Mankopane I (and Ponyaneng) and began settling south of the Mohwetse river as shown on the sketch map. At this new place of settlement five more lineage groups, apart from Ponyaneng and Malatšê, broke away from Tšhweung. They were:

Manganeng (Lekôkô)	} Established by sons of Mankopane I.
Magaseng	
Makweng	
Manaleng	Established by the sons of Mankopane's half-brother Ngwanammala.
Ratšhidi	Established by Ratšhidi, half-brother of Mankopane's father.

(Ngwanammala's son Mokgômane remained in Tšhweung as servant of chief Kômane II.)

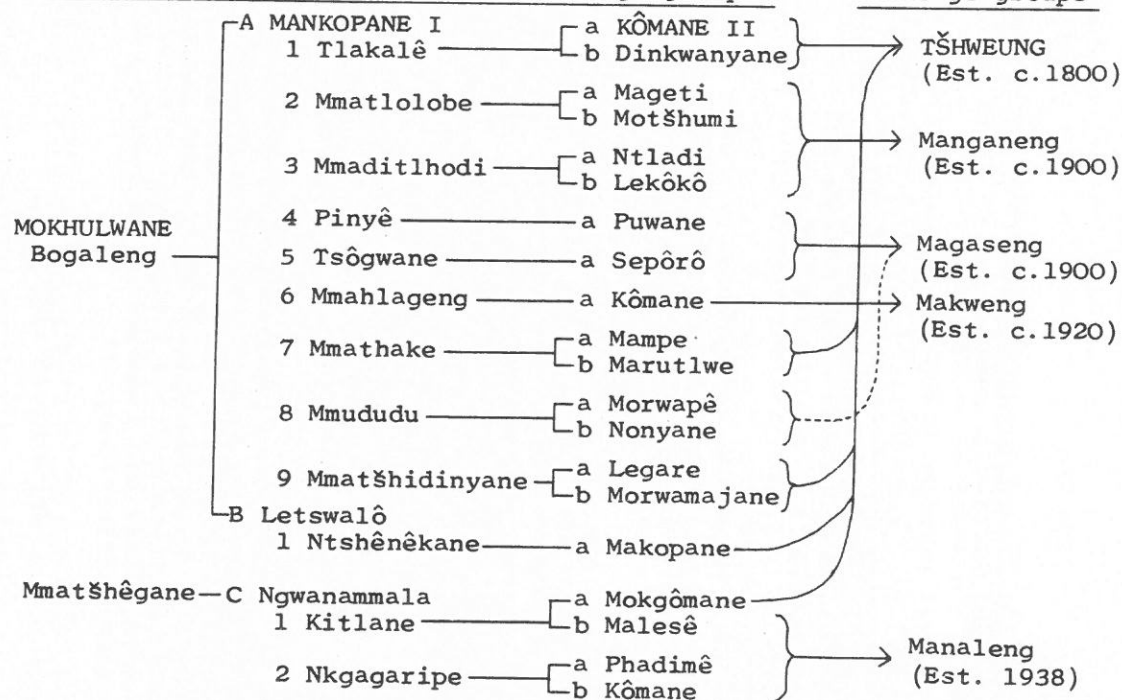
73 The adjoining table shows the composition of Tšhweung and each of these lineage groups after separation, excluding Ratšhidi, which will be discussed later. Examination of this separation (cf. table 3) reveals the following:

74 1. The sons of Mankopane I established three new lineage groups (not counting Ponyaneng, which has already been dealt with), and the sons of his half-brother, Ngwanammala, a fourth one, while the son of his uterine brother, Letswalô, remained in Tšhweung. [One of the sons of Ngwanammala also remained in Tšhweung for special reasons, see 4(e) below.]

75 2. New lineage groups were established by sons of wives of relatively high rank only.

76 3. Sons of women who were related and were the wives of one man, formed one lineage group. Thus the sons of A₂ and A₃, who were uterine sisters, founded one lineage group, and the sons of A₄, A₅ (also uterine sisters) and A₈ (a cousin) another one lineage group. (In the old dwelling unit these wives and their sons already occupied

TABLE 3 SEPARATION OF THE LAST FOUR LINEAGE GROUPS FROM TŠHWEUNG
Interrelationship of founders of lineage groups



Letters and numerals refer to those used in table 2. Sons who appear in this table (table 3), but not in table 2, were not yet married in 1880. Connecting lines indicate in which lineage groups sons went to live.

adjoining lapas, as can be seen from the diagram adjoining table 2.)

77 4. The following remained in Tšhweung:-

- a) The two sons of Mankopane's principal wife.
- b) The two sons of A7. Mampe (A7a) was appointed as a servant in Tšhweung. (A7 was related to the principal wife.)
- c) Mmatšhidinyane (A9), who cooked for the principal wife, and her sons. (She was a relative of A4, A5 and A8, but remained in Tšhweung so that she and her sons could serve as messengers for the more important inmates of the kgôrô. It is said that the lowest ranking wife with male issue usually remains in the chief's kgôrô for this purpose. Apart from that, her mother was a woman from Tšhweung.)
- d) Makopane¹⁾ (B1a), son of Letswalô, uterine brother of Mankopane I. (Makopane was appointed as servant in the chief's lapa.)
- e) Mokgômane (C1a), son of Ngwanammala. When the other sons of Ngwanammala left to establish Manaleng, Mokgômane remained in Tšhweung to assist Mampe [see (b) above].

78 From this sub-division of Tšhweung we may draw the conclusion that these new lineage groups were formed by sons of important wives of the chief and that, for the purpose of forming lineage groups, sons of related wives were grouped together as if they were uterine brothers. From this it follows that uterine brothers are usually members of the same lineage group. There are the following exceptions, however:

- i Matshephole, younger uterine brother of the new chief, Kômane II, founded Poryaneng. This happened in very exceptional circumstances as described above (cf. paras. 69-71).
- ii When his brothers, including a uterine brother, founded Manaleng, Mokgômane remained in Tšhweung as servant of the chief. (All the offspring of Mokgômane have since joined Manaleng, except one son.)
- iii Tsêkê, uterine brother of the chief Mokhulwane, founded a separate lineage group, Masweneng, as described earlier (para.57).

Servants of chiefs

79 In the preceding paragraphs mention has been made of the servants of chiefs. A chief usually has one or more men in his dwelling unit to serve as messengers, receive visitors, and so on. These men are called bahlanka ba kgôrô (kgôrô-servants). They are chosen from his half-brothers, or the sons of his father's half-brothers,

1) The name 'Makopane' should not be confused with 'Mankopane'.

and are usually members of his mphatô (circumcision regiment.) Apart from these kgôrô-servants he has a special servant in his lapa (mohlanka wa lapa), usually the son of a uterine brother of his father. These servants are also known as batseta (messengers, mediators, ambassadors) and play an important role in the administration of the tribe.

80 The following were the servants of the different chiefs:

1 Servants of chief Mankopane I

a Kgôrô-servants:

Nkareng received visitors to the chief and announced them to him, while the cooking of meat in the chief's kgôrô was done by Ratšhidi and his sons, who were also sent on unimportant errands. Ngwanammala, the chief's half-brother, was one of the most important bakgomana (royal councillors) and some informants therefore regard him as an important motseta, in the sense of a go-between, but not as a servant. (Nkareng, who was a son of a half-brother of the chief's father, was a member of the chief's regiment.)

b Lapa-servants:

The son of the chief's father's uterine brother Tsêkê should have been lapa-servant, but, because Tsêkê had established a new lineage group, Nonyane of the lineage group Tšebana was chosen in his place. Nonyane was a member of the chief's regiment and a motlogolo (sister's child) of Tšhweung. He could not live in Tšhweung because "motlogolo ga a age ka teng ga kgôrô" (cf. para. 60).

2 Servants of chief Kômane II

a Kgôrô-servants:

The kgôrô-servant was the chief's half-brother Mampe. He was assisted by the chief's father's half-brother's son Mokgômane. Both were members of the chief's regiment.

b Lapa-servants:

Makopane, son of the chief's father's uterine brother, Letswalô, was the lapa-servant. He was a member of the chief's regiment. Sampje, a relative of Nonyane, lapa-servant of Mankopane I, assisted whenever meat was prepared in the lapa.

Visitors to the chief were usually received by either Mokgômane or Makopane who announced them to Mampe, who then announced them to the chief.

3 Servants of chief Mankopane II

a Kgôrô-servants:

The chief's half-brother Mašilo was appointed, but he asked to be released from this duty and Magedi,¹⁾ son of Mampe, kgôrô-servant to Kômane II, was chosen in his place. Magedi died and was succeeded by his younger brother Maboregane. Mmalenginê, son of Mokgômane, assistant to the kgôrô-servant of Kômane II, assists Maboregane. Both Mašilo and Magedi were members of the chief's regiment, but Maboregane and Mmalenginê are not.

b Lapa-servants:

Matshephole, a son of Dinkwanyane, uterine brother of the chief's father, should have been lapa-servant as he is a member of the chief's regiment, but he became a teacher and married a Christian woman. In consequence of this marriage he had to leave the dwelling unit and somebody else had to be found as lapa-servant. His younger half-brother Mantlheng, who is not a member of the chief's regiment, will become lapa-servant in time, but at present Phadimê, who is the son of the previous lapa-servant and is also a member of the chief's regiment, has this position. Sampje, mentioned in 2 (b) above, cooks the meat when cattle are slaughtered for circumcision rites.

Visitors to the chief are usually received by Mmalengine, who announces them to Phadimê, or by Phadimê himself, who announces them to the chief. If Dinkwanyane, the chief's rangwane, is present, visitors must first be announced to him before being brought to the chief. Maboregane's only function is to prepare meat in the chief's kgôrô. (Kômane, son of Matshephole, uterine brother of the chief's father, is not regarded as a servant or motseta of the chief because he is the head of the separate lineage group Ponyaneng.)

81 The descendants of kgôrô-servants usually establish their own lineage groups after they have been replaced by other kgôrô-servants, but the descendants of lapa-servants do not do so. This follows the pattern of the last subdivision of Tšhweung i.e. half-brothers of the chief whose mothers are not related to the chief's mother, establish separate lineage groups while uterine brothers or half-brothers whose mothers are so related, usually do not. None of the descendants of the abovementioned lapa-servants established separate lineage groups, but some of the kgôrô-servants did do so. The descendants of the kgôrô-servant Mampe did not do so, because his mother was a relative of the chief's mother, but one of his sons did

1) The name 'Magedi' should not be confused with 'Magetî'.

establish a separate dwelling unit, which is not independent i.e. it still forms a part of Tšhweung, and is not a separate lineage group.

The lineage group Ratšhidi

82 We have now examined the origin of every lineage group except that of Ratšhidi (cf. para. 73). It is not known why Ratšhidi and his offspring remained in Tšhweung for two or three generations and then broke away when the tribe moved across the Mohwetse river. Ratšhidi was the lowest-ranking of the half-brothers of Mokhulwane or of Kômane I, apart from Phakwago, who was expelled (see paras. 52 and 53), and he probably remained in Tšhweung in order to be of service to the kgôrô (cf. para. 77c). This presumption is strengthened by the fact that he and his sons cooked meat in the chief's kgôrô. No reason could be given for his ultimate departure from Tšhweung, but I do have reason to believe that it has connection with the departure of Manganeng (Lekôkô) or with that of Ponyaneng. As described before, Manganeng (Lekôkô) is the lineage group comprising the sons of Mmatlolobe, the wife of Mankopane I who lost her status as senior wife when Tlakalê was taken as tribal wife from the Pedi royal house. These matters are not readily discussed, however, and one should therefore not enquire too deeply about the departure of Ratšhidi, but the presumption that his departure was connected with that of Manganeng (Lekôkô) is strengthened by the fact that, shortly before his death, Mankopane I had instructed Ratšhidi to watch over the interests of Manganeng (Lekôkô). It will also be observed from the sketch map that Ratšhidi built his dwelling unit close to that of Manganeng (Lekôkô). Further, there is today a close connection between Ratšhidi, Manganeng (Lekôkô) and Ponyaneng, which is understandable when seen against the background of the traditions concerning Mmatšêkê, as described in paras. 68-71. The present chief also states that Ratšhidi should not be regarded as a separate lineage group (kgôrô), but only as people of Tšhweung who became separated from Tšhweung in consequence of the abovementioned command of Mankopane I. Thus the men of Tšhweung are the first to sample beer made in any of its dwelling units¹) and should also do so at Ratšhidi, but they are debarred from doing so by the expressed wish of Mankopane I that Ratšhidi should watch over the inter-

1) This custom is called "go ntšha legata" (to take out the head) and is derived from a custom whereby the men of a lineage group (sometimes together with the men of one or two other lineage groups) are invited to eat the legata (upper part of the head, or skull), when a beast is slaughtered in any of the dwelling units of that lineage group.

TABLE 4 SUMMARY: ORIGIN OF LINEAGE GROUPS

Inter-relationship of founders.				Lineage groups.			
KÔMANE I	MOKHULWANE	MANKOPANE I	KÔMANE II	TŠHWEUNG	A	Royal lineage group est. c.1800 at Sesesehu by chief Nkôtsane, cf.para.52.	
			Matshephole	Ponyaneng	B	Est. 1897 at Mothopong when Mankopane I left Tšhweung because of illness, cf.para.69.	
			Mageti	Manganeng (Lekôkô)	C	Est. c.1900 at Mothopong, cf.table 3.	
			Puwane	Magaseng	D	"	" " " " " " " "
		Ngwanammala	Kômane	Makweng	E	"	" 1920 " " " " "
				Manaleng	F	"	" 1938 " " " " "
	Tsêkê			Masweneng	G	Est. c.1850 at Thabampje by Tsêkê, regent for Mankopane I, cf.para.57.	
	Mokwene			Makgaleng	H	Est. at Thabampje shortly before or after the death of Kômane I, cf.para.54.	
	Mašišimalo	Masailane		Masailaneng*	J	Est. at Mothopong. Originated from Masweneng where founder had been a servant, cf.para.57.	
	Magabê	Magwadi		Manganeng (Magwadi)	K	Est. c.1853 at Manôgê when founder rejoined the tribe after having fled to Mphanama area, cf.para.60.	
	Maoto	Nkareng	Malatšê	Malatšê*	L	Est. c.1897 at Mothopong to watch over interests of Ponyaneng, cf.para.69.	
	Sebei			Sebei*	M	Same as J above.	
	Ratšhidi			Ratšhidi*	N	Est. c.1900 at Mothopong under exceptional circumstances, cf.para.82.	
	Phakwago			Phakwago*	O	Est. at Thabampje when Phakwago's mother was expelled from Tšhweung, cf.para.53.	

ests of Manganeng (Lekôkô). These two lineage groups now sample one another's beer. I thus got the impression that the traditional pattern of forming lineage groups was disturbed by the marrying of a great wife from the Pedi royal house, and the origin of Ratšhidi as a separate kgôrô (lineage group) was contrary to custom.

83 We have now considered the origin of all the lineage groups comprising the tribal nucleus. The adjoining diagram is, by way of recapitulation, an illustration of the way in which these lineage groups originated by sub-division of Tšhweung.

Origin of names of lineage groups

84 The names of all lineage groups, except those marked with an asterisk (see table 4), are derived from the names of circumcision regiments. For example, circumcision regiment: Makgala, lineage group: Makgaleng. Makgala was the circumcision regiment of which Mokwene was the leader and Makgaleng the lineage group founded by him. (Except the name and the leadership, there is no connection between the circumcision regiment and the corresponding lineage group.) In the same way Manaleng (F) is derived from Manala, and Masweneng (G) from Maswena. This pattern was, however, not strictly followed in the naming of all the lineage groups concerned. A comparison of the names of lineage groups from the last sub-division of Tšhweung (lineage groups no's. B - F) and the names of the regiments of their founders, shows that:-

85 Ponyaneng (B): Matshephole was the leader of a regiment Dithaga. Ponyane is a synonym for Dithaga, hence the name Ponyaneng.

86 Manganeng (Lekôkô) (C): Lekôkô was the leader of a regiment Mangana and he established this lineage group. Later his higher-ranking half-brothers Mageti and Motšhumi joined the group and Mageti became head of it.

87 Magaseng (D): This lineage group was founded by Puwane and his half-brothers Sepôrô, Morwapê and Nonyane. As none of them was the leader of a regiment they resorted to the name that would have been given to the regiment had Puwane been the leader of it, that is Magasa, the name of the regiment of which Puwane's maternal uncle (also Puwane) was a member. (The name of a regiment is usually determined by that of its leader, cf. para. 151.)

88 Makweng (E): Kômane, the founder of this lineage group, was a member of the regiment Makwa, of which Motšhumi was the leader. Motšhumi joined Manganeng (Lekôkô) (C) (see para. 86) and thus Kômane took the name Makweng for

his lineage group. According to my informants it was not the right thing to do.

89 Manaleng (F): This lineage group was named after Ngwanammala, leader of the regiment Manala.

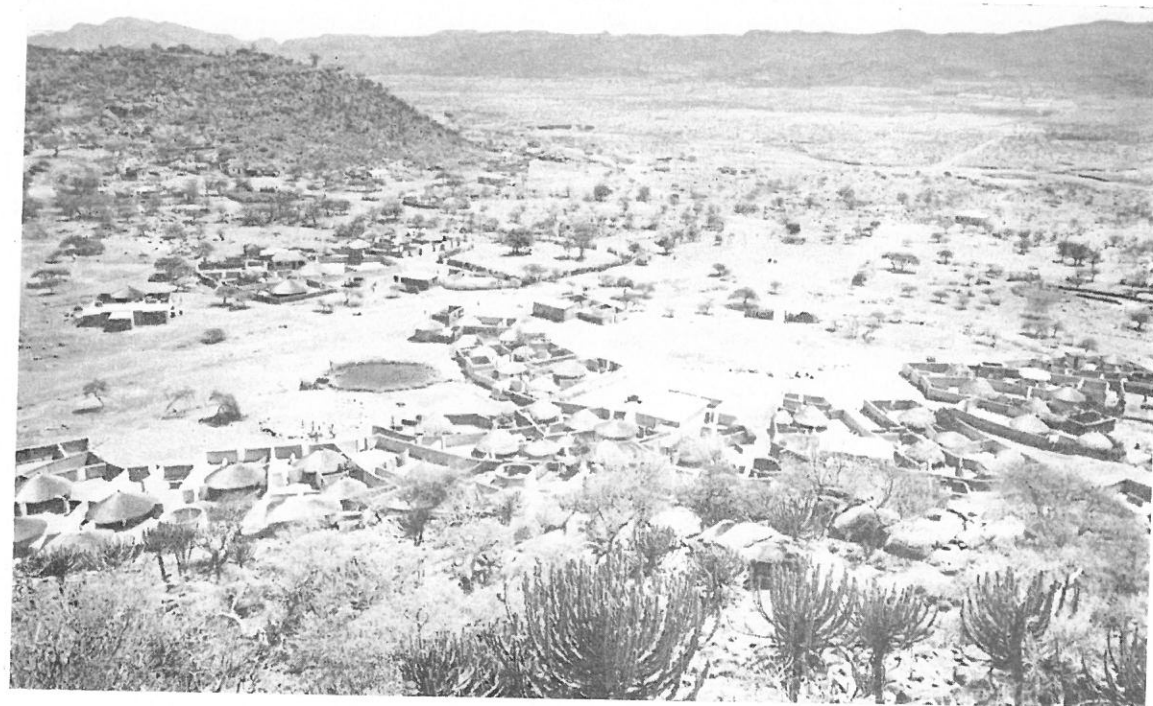
90 Those five lineage groups which did not derive their names from circumcision regiments, did not originate in the same way as those mentioned above: Three, viz. Masailaneng (J), Sebei (M) and Malatše (L) did not originate directly from Tšhweung, whilst another, Phakwago (O), was expelled from Tšhweung and the other one, Ratšhidi (N) left for special reasons as described. In a sense these lineage groups lack separate status e.g. Masailaneng (J) and Sebei (M) are still attached to Masweneng (G), which has authority over them. In the same way Malatše (L) is attached to Ponyaneng while Ratšhidi (N), according to informants, should not be regarded as a separate kgôrô (lineage group).

Conclusions

91 Concerning the origin of the lineage groups of the tribal nucleus, it may now be concluded that the normal pattern is as follows: A new lineage group is established by the eldest son of a high-ranking wife of a chief, jointly with his uterine brothers and his half-brothers whose mothers are kin to his own mother. Such a new lineage group is named after the circumcision regiment of its founder. The chief's own lineage group differs from such new groups in that it includes, besides his brothers and certain half-brothers, the descendants of brothers and half-brothers of earlier chiefs, some of whom are his servants. Some of the latter establish their own lineage groups when their services are no longer required.

92 The term "lineage group" for "kgôrô" is therefore not correct in all cases in which it is used here. A kgôrô is a patrilineage (leloko) if it was founded by one man (and his sons) only, for example, the kgôrô Ponyaneng, all the members of which are descended in the male line from Matshephole. But kgôrôs such as Manganeng (Lekôkô) and Magaseng, each of which comprises the lineage groups of two or more men, are actually patri-clans or segments of the lineage of their father Mankopane I. Collectively all the kgôrôs which originated from Tšhweung may also be seen as one lineage group (leloko) namely that of Nkôtsane, the founder of Tšhweung. The people of Ntšhabeleng therefore do not use the word "kgôrô" as completely synonymous with "leloko", although the words are synonymous in some contexts. We have also seen that a kgôrô may even comprise two lineage groups which are not kin, for example the kgôrô Sebei, which comprises Sebei (tau) and Maredi (phuthi). (See also para.144.)

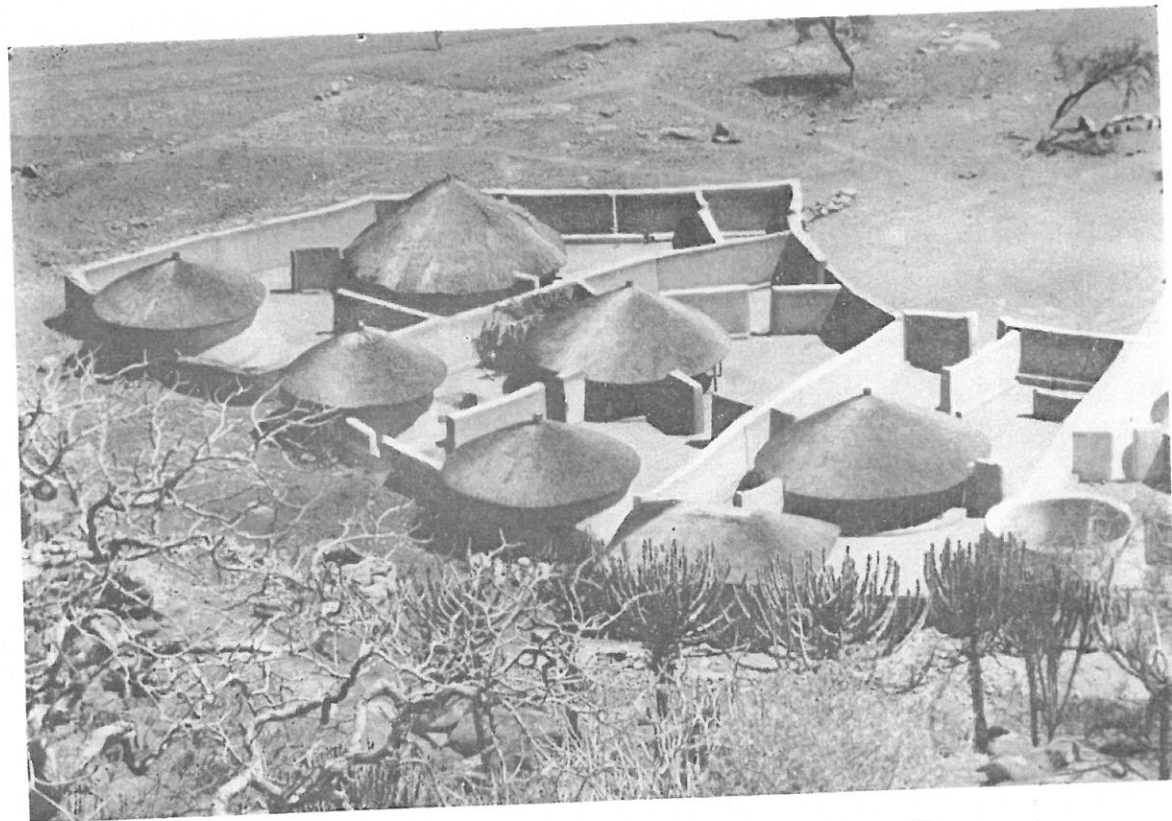
PLATE 3



4 Panorama of main part of village

RIGHT CENTRE: parent *kgôrô* of *Tshweung*. LEFT CENTRE (adjoining *Tshweung*): parent *kgôrô* of *Manganeng* (*Magwadi*). LEFT ABOVE CENTRE: chief's *kgôrô*.

PLATE 4



5 Courtyards (*lapas*): section of *Manganeng* (Magwadi)

93 New lineage groups were last established by brothers and half-brothers of Mankopane I and Kômane II. Since the separation of Manaleng from Tšhweung in 1938, no new lineage groups have been established. Chief Kômane II died in 1943 and was succeeded in 1946 by his son Mankopane II. None of the latter's half-brothers has established a new lineage group as yet, either because their mothers are kin to his own mother or because they lack status. The people of the lineage group Tšhweung did, however, establish five separate dwelling units, and this process of sub-division of a lineage group into dwelling units, as well as the grouping of lapas (households) in these units, can now be considered.

2 Composition of dwelling units and the grouping of lapas

94 It can be seen from the sketch map that the dwelling units constituting a particular lineage group are not situated in such a way as to form a separate territorial ward excluding dwelling units of other lineage groups. On the contrary, the dwelling units of other lineage groups are to be found interspersed among them. Each group nevertheless remains one corporate body. Thus the five dwelling units of Tšhweung are widely scattered and intermingled with dwelling units of other lineage groups, but form a separate corporate body on a lineage basis. For convenience these five dwelling units are grouped together in the diagram on page 41 while foreign dwelling units are omitted. The composition of each of these five units (see table 5) is as follows:

1 Parent Kgôrô

95 This unit was established in the year 1901 by chief Kômane II and others as shown in table 5. The inter-relationship of these founders of the dwelling unit is shown in table 3. [At the time when the dwelling unit was established, Marutlwe (D) left the tribe to go and live elsewhere. After his death his wife and two sons returned, and, because there was no space left in this dwelling unit, established a new one, shown in the diagram as Modibê's Kgôrô.]

96 The members of the lineage groups Makweng and Manaleng initially also settled in this dwelling unit but later moved out and established separate dwelling units, leaving only one member, Mokgômane (H) of Manaleng, in this unit as kgôrô-servant. After Mokgômane's death, his wives and children also left and joined Manaleng, except one son, Mmalenginê (H_{2a}), who assists the new kgôrô-servant and lives with his wife in his mother's lapa (H₂).

97 This dwelling unit is the kutu (trunk) of Tšhweung from which the other units are dithabi (offshoots), but it is nowadays referred to as kgôrô ya mokgalabje (kgôrô of the old man i.e. of the previous chief), because Mankopane II, the new chief, established a new unit when he succeeded to the chieftainship in 1946. His unit, comprising the senior branch of the lineage group, is now the kutu of Tšhweung.

98 Tlakalê, mother of chief Kômane II (A) and of Dinkwanyane (B), built her lapa in the centre position on the semi-circle (the position of the lapas B1 and B2 in the diagram) because her lapa was the 'great lapa' at that time. To the right of her lapa space was kept vacant for the chief's great wife, Mantê (A1), whom he married in 1907. Dinkwanyane (B), youngest son of Tlakalê, lived with his wife B1 in his mother's lapa, a portion of which was later made available as a separate lapa for his second wife, B2. Kômane II placed his wives A2, A4 and A6 to the left of the great lapa and A5 to the right. Thus the lapas of Kômane II and Dinkwanyane were grouped together around the great lapa, but the wives they married later had to find space for their lapas among the lapas of the other founders of the dwelling unit, which is the reason why they were scattered over the whole of the right wing of the unit, as shown in the diagram. The right wing was further occupied by members of the present lineage groups Makweng and Manaleng (of which the lapa H2 is the only remainder) together with Legare (E) and Morwamajane (F), who were uterine brothers, and their wives. The left wing was occupied by the servants Mampe (C) and Makopane (G) and their wives.

99 Morwamajane's wife Mmakamele (F2) did not have a lapa in this unit as she lived permanently at the cattle posts (merakeng).

100 Makopane's wife Mmadume (G4) left her lapa in this unit because of a quarrel with other women of the unit, and built her lapa about half a mile away.

101 The lapa marked X belonged to a man of the lineage group Manaleng. He left when Manaleng was established, but his daughter Lekôtô and her child remained in the lapa, waiting for her husband to gôrôša her (take her to his place). Before he could do so, he died. She should then have gone and lived in levirate with her husband's younger brother, but because the latter was a Christian, he refused to do his duty as prescribed by custom, and left her where she was. She could not go and live with her father or brother because they had already received the magadi-cattle. Tribal custom knew no way out, and for years she

lived in this lapa. The huts and the lapa became dilapidated, the walls fell in, but she did not repair them, for "motlogolo ga a age ka teng ga kgôrô" (cf. para. 60). She, as a woman who sprang from that dwelling unit could not reside there permanently, because she had married outside the unit. Recently she joined the Church of Zion and went away with members of that church.

102 Married sons of the founders of the dwelling unit either brought their wives into their mothers' lapas or left the unit to establish separate dwelling units, except Mankopane II (Ala) and Letswalô (Alb) who placed their first wives (Ala2 and Alb1) in this unit, but slightly to the rear as no other space was available. [Mareketle (Ala2) was the first but not the great wife of Mankopane II. When the latter married his great wife Alal, he established a new unit.]

103 One married son (Bla) left the dwelling unit to live in a western type of house after marrying a Christian woman.

2 The Chief's Kgôrô

104 In 1946 Mankopane II succeeded to the chieftainship and established this dwelling unit. It comprises the lapas of three of his wives, that of his kgôrô-servant, Maboregane (C2c), [with whom the first wife (C2b1) of his (Maboregane's) late brother Magedi (C2b) lives in levirate] and that of Mogafu (Y), a man of the lineage group Manganeng (Lekôkô). Mogafu left his lineage group because he believed that a relative had bewitched his children and he was granted residence in this unit. Because his children had since grown up, he recently returned to Manganeng (Lekôkô), and his lapa was demolished. Immediately to the right of his great lapa Mankopane II reserved building space for his first wife, Mareketle (Ala2), whom he had left behind in the parent unit and who is at present still living there.

105 The chief's kgôrô and the parent kgôrô are regarded as one unit with one pheko (doctored wand across entrance of dwelling unit). The gathering place of the old dwelling unit is no longer used as the men of that unit use the gathering place at the chief's kgôrô. The unity of the two kgôrôs is expressed by the saying "Mmei wa kgôrô ke o tee" (the founder of the kgôrô is one), which also expresses the unity of a father and son, in this case Kômane II and Mankopane II.

3. Mašilo's Kgôrô

106 Mašilo (A5a) was chosen as kgôrô-servant for Mankopane I, but asked to be released from these duties and

established a separate dwelling unit because there was no more space left in the old unit. His brother (A5b) remained in the old unit and inherited his mother's lapa.

4. Kitiki's Kgôrô

107 This unit was established by Kitiki (C2d). It comprises the lapas of Kitiki's two wives, C2d1 and C2d2, and the lapa of a woman C2b2 who was married posthumously by Kitiki for his late brother Magedi (C2b). [Magedi died after he had married his first wife C2b1 but before she was transferred to his place and she then went and lived in levirate with Maboregane (C2c) in the chief's kgôrô. Maboregane died recently and his widow as well as both "widows" of Magedi will now live in levirate with Kitiki.]

5. Modibê's Kgôrô

108 As mentioned above, Marutlwe (D) left the tribe at the time when the parent dwelling unit was established. After his death his wife and sons, Modibê (D1a) and Kgwana (D1b), returned and established this unit.

Conclusion

109 From the above it is clear that the division of Tshweung into dwelling units did not happen according to any fixed pattern. New dwelling units were established when there was no building space left in the parent unit. The founders of the parent unit placed some of their wives in adjoining lapas, but wives they married later had to be placed elsewhere. Founders who were uterine brothers also lived close to each other, cf. the lapas of A and B and of E and F. Some of the sons of founders inherited their mothers' lapas, but others had to leave the dwelling unit and establish new ones. A study of the division of other lineage groups into dwelling units revealed the same pattern: a man and all his married sons seldom live together in a separate part of a dwelling unit or a dwelling unit of their own to the exclusion of others. Therefore extended families of any description cannot easily be distinguished as separate units in the social system of the tribe, but nevertheless constitute separate functional units, because the living apart of close relatives does not disrupt their unity.¹⁾ On the other hand, the living

1) Schapera, 1938 (1955), p. 17, uses the term 'family group' for a territorial unit occupied by an extended family of which some members, however, may live elsewhere, and which might include a number of strangers. In other words, he uses the term 'family group' for what I call a dwelling unit, and regards it as a functional entity.

together of more distant relatives and unrelated people does not make a separate corporate body of such a physical unit, excluding more close relatives in other units.

110 We have also seen that a lineage group is a functional entity despite the fact that its members may live in different dwelling units which are often situated far apart and are intermingled with dwelling units of other lineage groups (cf. paras. 45-47). Also, if a man lives in a dwelling unit belonging to a lineage group other than his own, he does not become a member of that lineage group, and does not usually relinquish membership of his own. For example, whilst Mogafu was living in the chief's dwelling unit (cf. para. 104) he was not regarded as a member of Tšhweung and he maintained the ties with his own lineage group, Manganeng (Lekôkô), although he lived in Tšhweung for many years. He was excluded from discussions of matters concerning Tšhweung, but attended those held at Manganeng (Lekôkô). Whenever marriage or inheritance was discussed at Manganeng (Lekôkô), or preparations were made for feasts, he had to participate. (If a man and his followers break off the connection with their own lineage group and are adopted by another, or become a separate group, it is a matter of political significance of which the chief has to approve, as will be shown in the next chapter).

111 It may now be concluded that the members of the kinship unit Tšhweung occupy different dwelling units which are not situated together to form a separate territorial ward, and that the people occupying those dwelling units do not constitute separate sub-units of the kinship unit on a kinship basis. In other words occupants of dwelling units do not form kinship sub-units, whilst kinship sub-units (viz. extended families) do not usually live in separate dwelling units or even in separate parts of dwelling units. We have also seen that the lapas occupied by the polygynous families of Tšhweung are mostly not situated together, and that many lapas are occupied by more than one family, i.e. apart from a man, his wife and unmarried children, a lapa often includes a married son and his wife and children as well. [The composition of lapas (households) is discussed in paras. 123-137.]

112 We must therefore come to the conclusion that the social units of the tribe are not based primarily on the living together of their members, but on the principle of kinship.

3 The grouping of lapas of a polygynist

113 According to my informants the usual pattern according to which a polygynist groups his wives, if there is space, is to place his second-ranking wife on the right

hand side of his principal wife, the third one on her left hand side and after that, one right, one left and so on.¹⁾ This pattern is, however, not clear for the wives of the polygynists of the dwelling unit which was established in 1880 (cf. diagram 2). But it must be borne in mind that related wives were grouped together although they were of different rank (cf. para.66), which tends to conceal the pattern.

114 Some of the polygynists of the dwelling units in diagram 5 followed the pattern for their first two or three wives, but others could not do so for lack of space. The grouping of the first five wives of Kômane II is of special interest. They were grouped around his mother Tlakalê in the lapa B2 with A1 and A5 on her right and A2, A4 and A6 on her left, as if his mother was his great wife. A3 and A7 were married much later and do not form part of the pattern, due to lack of space.

115 In the chief's kgôrô, Mankopane II (Ala) reserved a site for his second-ranking wife, Ala2, on the right hand side of the great wife, Ala1, and placed Ala3 and Ala4 to the left of the great wife.

116 Mašilo did not follow the pattern although he could have done so as he started a new unit and had sufficient space. He did not do so because he holds that the second wife must be placed on the left hand side of the first one. He is the only informant who is of this opinion, and might have been misled by the situation of A2 to the left of A1 in the old unit.

117 The right hand side of a dwelling unit is often referred to as the serope (haunch) and the left hand side as the letsôgô (shoulder). This is a reflection of the way in which meat is divided whenever a beast is slaughtered: The principal wife gives a haunch to the wife of the right hand side and a shoulder to that of the left hand side. Because the abovementioned grouping of lapas is not followed in many dwelling units, the terms are frequently used merely to denote either the second- or the third-ranking wife and those attached to them. The terms also apply to wives of a son, for example, Tlakalê in B2 (cf. para. 114) gave serope to A1 and letsôgô to A2. Likewise a woman gives serope to the wife of her husband's elder brother and letsôgô to that of his younger brother. (The system of division of meat among a polygynist's wives and the wives of their sons is very intricate, and needs further investigation.)

1) The terms 'right' and 'left' apply when standing outside the great hut with one's back to the door.

Ranking of wives and preferential marriage

118 The relative status of the wives of a polygynist is determined by the order in which they were married, but may be affected by the contracting of a preferential marriage.¹⁾ In the choice of a partner in marriage, a man should give preference to daughters of his mother's brother (malome), and after that either to daughters of his father's sister (rakgadi) or his father's elder brother (ramogolo) or younger brother (rangwane). If a man intends marrying his malome's daughter but she is not yet of marriageable age, he may give a bull to his malome as a token that he wants to marry her which is a guarantee that she will be his principal wife, even if he contracts other marriages in the meantime. If he has not made this provision, his first wife will be his principal wife. To avoid dispute over rank he will then not marry his malome's daughter. For the same reason marriage with any of the others mentioned above is not recommended as a second or later marriage. Likewise marriage with the daughters of a malome, rakgadi or ramogolo, one in addition to the other, is regarded as venturesome: although a malome's daughter usually takes precedence of the others, it may nevertheless give rise to dispute over rank. Furthermore, a man should pay respect to the house of his ramogolo and to the house of his rakgadi as well if the latter is older than his father. The house of a rangwane is less important. A ramogolo's daughter therefore always ranks higher than a rangwane's daughter, whilst the rank of a rakgadi's daughter in relation to them is determined by whether her mother is older or younger than their fathers, apart from the fact that the rank of her father is also taken into account according to the rules of seniority (see paras. 139-141).

119 In general, a man must be careful not to marry a higher ranking woman after a lower ranking one, but if he wishes to do so and he wants her to take up the inferior position, he has to arrange the matter beforehand with her father.

120 A man often marries a younger sister of his wife, either as an independent marriage or as an ancillary marriage, as will be seen in the analysis of households

1) Some marriages contracted by a chief are often of a diplomatic nature and this is also taken into account in determining the relative status of his wives. His great wife is usually not his first wife, but her position is beyond dispute, because the marriage cattle (magadi) for a great wife are provided by the tribe as a whole.

below. He may never marry an elder sister after a younger one, because the former may not be made inferior to the latter.¹⁾

121 Out of a total of 150 marriages (cf. para.122) only nine (6%) were preferential marriages, viz. six men married the daughters of their mothers' brothers, two the daughters of their fathers' elder brothers, one the daughter of his father's sister, while none married a daughter of his father's younger brother. About half of the marriages were contracted between men and daughters of their fathers' half-brothers, half-sisters, or classificatory brothers and sisters, or their mothers' half-brothers or classificatory brothers. Almost all the marriages were contracted between relatives of some sort, because hardly anybody is not in some way related to everybody else.

122 Table 8 (genealogy of Mokhulwane) reflects the incidence of polygyny in the six lineage groups covered by the genealogy, which was first obtained in 1953. Data concerning marital status are correct only up to that year, subsequent marriages not having been entered. The following table, which is an extract from the genealogy, shows the marital status of the members of each of the regiments i to q. The age of members of regiments was determined from data in table 6. From the regiments of their children it is possible to deduce that in a large majority of cases the wives of each man were contemporaries. They were not successive monogamous wives, but lived in polygamy with their respective husbands for the larger part of their married lives.

1) There is also a prohibition against a man marrying the following persons: any woman related to him in the direct line of descent, a sister or half-sister, a sister or half-sister of his father or mother, a daughter of his mother's uterine sister, a daughter of his brother, sister, half-brother or half-sister, a daughter of a member of his regiment (mphato), and a uterine sister of his uterine brother's wife.

Regiment	Age of members in 1953 in years	Number of men with wives:						Total men	Total wives
		0	1	2	3	4	5		
i Dithaga	74 - 79			2	3			5	13
j Matladi	65 - 73		2	2	1	1	1	7	18
k Matlakana	60 - 64		4	5	2	1		12	24
l Magasa	53 - 59		2	6	1			9	17
m Matsepa	42 - 52	1	11	8	1	2		23	38
n Magôlôpô	37 - 41	3	8	2				13	12
o Marutla	28 - 36	8	17	2				27	21
p Mankwê	20 - 27	20	6					26	6
q Matladi	13 - 19	39	1					40	1

Remarks:

- 1 Two men, one in the age group 37 - 41 years and one in the age group 42 - 52 years, were unmarried because they were mentally deficient.
- 2 One man in the age group 13 - 19 years married because he was the father of an illegitimate child. He has since left the tribal area and the marriage has been dissolved.

HOUSEHOLDS (LAPAS) AND FAMILIES

123 The dwelling units of Tšhweung (cf. diagram 5) are composed of lapas of different types as shown in the following paragraphs.

124 Some lapas are occupied by a husband, his wife and her unmarried children. (The lapas of a polygynist are included here, in which case the husband usually occupies the lapa of his principal wife and only pays visits to his other lapas. In a few cases the husbands are deceased.)

Lapas A3, B4, C3, F1, Ala2 and Albl in the parent kgôrô and all the lapas of the offshoots of the parent kgôrô, except D1=Dlbl, fall in this category.

125 Some lapas are occupied by a husband, his wife and her unmarried children together with a married son and his wife and her unmarried children. (In some cases the husbands are deceased.)

There are eight such lapas, all, except one, situated in the parent kgôrô. Each of these lapas has two numbers viz. that of the mother, written against the lapa, and that of the wife of the married son, written inside. In each of five of these lapas (A5 = A5bl, B3 = B3al, D1 = Dlbl, H2 = H2al, G2 = G2al) the mother

spends only short periods in her lapa as she has left to live with a married daughter, because her son's wife is not kin to her. In each of the other three lapas (A2 = A2a1, B2 = B2a1, G1 = G1a1) the son has married his mother's kin (for example her brother's daughter) and she therefore spends her remaining years in that lapa. As a rule a woman's youngest son inherits her lapa (he is called "mošala-lapeng", which means "he-who-remains-in-the-lapa"), and she continues to live in her lapa if her daughter-in-law is at the same time her brother's daughter or a member of her own lineage group, and if they are on good terms with one another. Otherwise she spends her old age with another son who has married a kinswoman of hers, or with a married daughter.

126 Some lapas are occupied by two women who are wives of the same man.

There are four such lapas in the parent kgôrô, viz. A4, B1, E1 and G3. They are occupied by two women each, for the following reasons:

- 127 A4: Sethume had no sons and her brother's daughter Mokgano was then married with the magadi-cattle received for her eldest daughter to bear sons for this lapa. Mokgano is called a ngwetši (daughter-in-law) and has no status of her own.
- 128 B1: Matshephole (B1a), only son of Motlakaro was supposed to marry Rangwato, the daughter of his mother's brother, and to live in this lapa. He married a Christian woman instead and left the dwelling unit to live in a western type of house. Motlakaro then took the cattle that would have been used to marry a wife for Matshephole and married Rangwato herself so as to look after her in her old age and to bear a child who would be named after her. Rangwato is called a ngwetši (daughter-in-law). (Matshephole addresses Rangwato with the same term as that for "younger brother's wife", because, had he had a younger brother, this younger brother would have married her.)
- 129 E1: This is Lekômê's lapa. Her sister Kwailê took up residence in this lapa after having been married to Lekômê's husband, Legare (E), and never built her own lapa although she has children of her own. (Kwailê was not married as an ancillary wife to Lekômê, as the latter has sons and daughters of her own.)
- 130 G3: Mmamapeng has no male issue and her brother's daughter Mmamakwape was married as a ngwetši to bear sons for this lapa. She has no status of her own.

131 Three lapas in the parent kgôrô are not occupied at present, for the following reasons:

A1: Mantê is deceased and her sons Ala and Alb have built their own lapas. Her youngest son (mošala-lapeng), who should have inherited the lapa, is deceased. As he lived until after he had been circumcised, a wife will still be married for him to live in this lapa and bear children to perpetuate his name.

A7: Mmamorake is deceased and her children are living with relatives.

A6 = A6a1: Maripanyane is deceased and her only son Tsêkê and his wife (A6a1) inherited this lapa. Both Tsêkê and his wife are deceased and their unmarried son is living with relatives.

132 Five lapas of the parent kgôrô became extinct for the following reasons:

C1: Mmudi died without male issue.

C2 = C2a1: Magetse died and her youngest son Kitiki (C2d) should have inherited this lapa, but established a new dwelling unit instead. Her eldest son Phasudi and his wife (C2a1) then lived here. They are both deceased and had no children. [Magetse's second son, Magedi, had no lapa as he died before his first wife, Mogaitšane (C2b2), was transferred to his place. She then went to live in levirate with Maboregane (C2c). After his death a second wife, Mankong (C2b2), was married for him by his family. This woman is now living in levirate with Kitiki (C2d).]

E2: Lewane died without male issue.

G4: Mmadume left this lapa because she quarrelled with the other women in the dwelling unit and built her lapa about half a mile away. She has no sons to inherit the lapa.

H1: Motsêtê's sons left the chief's kgôrô and joined Manaleng. [Her husband lived in this unit only because he was a kgôrô-servant of the chief. His offspring all went to Manaleng except one son (H2a) who assists the new kgôrô-servant.]

Conclusions:

133 A lapa usually comprises a man and his wife and their unmarried children, bearing in mind that a polygynist as the head of all his lapas is at home in each of them. When the children grow up and marry, an only son or youngest son (mošala-lapeng) remains in his mother's lapa whilst all other sons establish their own lapas. Married daughters go and live with their husbands. The mother continues to live in her lapa if the son who stays there has married her brother's daughter or somebody else from

her own people, otherwise she eventually leaves the lapa to spend her old age with either a married daughter, or with another son who has married a kinswoman of hers.

134 If an elderly woman has no male issue, she often arranges for a brother's daughter, or some other kinswoman, to be seconded to her lapa as a ngwetši to bear sons and to care for her in her old age¹⁾ (The hut of a ngwetši is supposed to be entered by a son of the husband of the woman who has no male issue or by a relative of the descending generation, but this custom is not strictly observed, and in the cases mentioned in paragraphs 127, 128 and 130 the husbands themselves entered the huts of the ngwetši's. Each of these ngwetši's is therefore regarded as a mohlatswa-dirope, which is the term used for a woman who has been seconded to the lapa of a sterile woman (mmôpa) to bear children for her lapa.²⁾ A mohlatswa-dirope is usually a sister or another kinswoman of the sterile woman and her hut is entered by the latter's husband.)

135 If a woman dies while her children are still young, they go and live with a relative, but her lapa or its space is reserved for its inheritor, i.e. her youngest son who will return to it only when he marries. Failing an inheritor, i.e. if she dies without male issue, her sister or another kinswoman may be married as a substitute (seantlo) to bear sons for her. Otherwise her lapa becomes extinct. [If a man dies, his widow (or widows) lives in levirate with his younger brother (or brothers). Children born by a widow are regarded as those of her late husband and derive their status from him.]

136 Two married women who occupy the same lapa must be kin: In lapas A4, B1 and G3 the one woman is an ancillary wife to the other. In lapa E1 two women, who are married to one man, live in the same lapa for no other reason than that they are sisters. In lapas A2=A2a1, B2=B2a1 and G1=G1a1 a mother lives in the same lapa as her daughter-in-law because the latter is her brother's daughter. In five lapas mothers have left their lapas because their daughters-in-law are not kin to them (cf. para.125).

137 The inmates of each of these lapas "eat from one pot", as is also the case in all other lapas.

1) The claim a woman has on her brother's daughter, is discussed by Krige, 1954, p.56.

2) The terms 'ngwetši', 'mohlatswa-dirope' and 'seantlo' are often applied carelessly.

KINSHIP

138 The kinship system needs little discussion because the essential features and most of the terms used correspond with those of other Sotho tribes which are fully described by van Warmelo (1931), Schapera (1950) and others.

139 A basic feature of the Sotho kinship system may, however, be briefly stressed here viz. siblings of the same sex distinguish between elder or senior and younger or junior among themselves, while the relative age of siblings of the opposite sex is disregarded as they belong to different spheres and the question of relative status seldom arises. This principle is extended to more remote relatives: ortho-relatives distinguish between senior and junior as determined by the relative status of the two connecting siblings while cross-relatives usually disregard relative status (but see para.118). This applies only to agnatic relatives because the relative status of maternal relatives, ortho or cross, seldom has much significance, although it is reflected in the terminology.

140 Half-siblings derive their status from the relative status of their mothers.

141 By extension of the foregoing principle, the children of an elder brother or higher-ranking half-brother, always rank higher than the children of a younger brother or lower-ranking half-brother. Likewise a man ranks higher than his father's younger brothers or lower-ranking half-brothers.

142 Distinction is made between genealogical rank and status. Genealogical rank is expressed by the qualification ka madi (according to blood i.e. descent in the male line) or ka kgati (according to the switch i.e. the order in which initiates are hit with a switch when they enroll for circumcision), while actual status is expressed by the qualification ka boêmo (according to status). For example, all the children of Mankopane I rank higher genealogically than the children of his uterine brother Letswalô (see table 2: genealogy of Mokhulwane), but according to actual status Letswalô's children are more important than children of Mankopane I born to some of his lesser wives. It is the relative rank of the wives' families that counts in this instance. In cases where chieftainship has departed from genealogical rank i.e. where a genealogically lower-ranking person has usurped

the chieftainship from a genealogically higher-ranking one, the latter retains his genealogical rank. Such a person is often referred to as kgoši ya lerôtse (pumpkin chief), for "he bites the pumpkin first" at the festival of the first fruit of the season (the go loma-feast).

143 Genealogical generation and age frequently cut across each other i.e. a man often has a son of the same age as his younger brother or half-brother (cf. table 6 and para. 157). In circumcision lodges etc. this son then takes precedence of his father's younger brother or lower-ranking half-brother. Hence the saying "Monna ke kgoši ya tatagwe" (a man is his father's chief), for his sons take precedence of his father's sons in all cases where genealogical rank functions.

144 We have seen that the nucleus of the tribe of Ntšhabeleng comprises a group of agnates which is divided into a number of lineage groups (kgôrôs) and that the tribe was joined by a number of foreign or immigrant lineage groups each of which likewise comprises a group of agnates. The people of Ntšhabeleng do not use the word "kgôrô" to mean the same as "leloko" (lineage group, family) because a kgôrô is a well-defined social and administrative unit of the tribe, whereas a leloko need not be so. The whole tribal nucleus may be seen as one leloko divided into fourteen kgôrôs, or each kgôrô itself may be seen as one separate leloko, one segment of the original leloko, or a few segments of it grouped together. In the same way a kgôrô comprises the maloko (plural of leloko) of its different founders. (In two cases unrelated maloko were also grouped together in the same kgôrô, viz. Sebei and Maredi, and Tebeila and Ramakwê.) After a number of generations, tradition about the actual founders of a kgôrô becomes vague and the kgôrô is then regarded as the leloko i.e. the descendants of its founder, co-founders being forgotten. The term lešika (literally: sinew or bloodvessel) is often used as synonymous with leloko but some people say that it denotes descent, descendants, lineage or genealogy whereas leloko denotes family i.e. not necessarily descendants.

145 We have also seen that if a man changes his residence to a dwelling unit occupied by members of a lineage group other than his own, it does not usually imply complete severance from his own, because he retains his common interests with it in all matters dealt with on a lineage basis. He does not become a full member of his lineage group of adoption and has no say in the lineage matters of his hosts.

146 As descent is patri-lineal, paternal relatives are remembered much further back than maternal relatives.

Genealogies of chiefs are also taught in circumcision lodges. Many initiated men know the genealogy of chief Mokhulwane of four generations ago in detail and can recite the approximately 500 descendants of Mokhulwane in the male line without difficulty, giving the names of his children first and thereafter the wives and children of every son, and after that the wives and children of the sons of the next generation, etc., always excluding the husbands and children of female descendants. Difficulty is only experienced with the names of the young children of the present generation, especially those not yet given their permanent names, which are only given at initiation. Many of the husbands and offspring of female descendants are also remembered, but they are not included in the recited genealogy. This detailed knowledge of paternal relatives is important, for all social institutions are based on it, and for a man the whole tribe consists of persons ranking higher or lower than himself. It is vital and of everyday importance. It forms part of the active social system and is not a mere tradition that might just as well be forgotten. Knowledge of genealogies prevents disagreement and disputes which otherwise would have to be settled in court by the old men of the tribe. The effect of this is that history and genealogy are brought into the sphere of everyday life and are therefore commonly known and remembered. From the relative status of a man, that of his ancestors can be determined, as can be seen in table 8.

147 The functioning of the principle of genealogical rank can be observed whenever a few men are together and a matter of interest is introduced: A man always addresses his immediate higher-ranking person first e.g. C addresses B who addresses A. Conversely A addresses B who addresses C.

148 Knowledge of this nature about lineage groups other than one's own, is less important. Only the status of one's own group in relation to other groups needs to be known. Higher-ranking lineage groups are regarded as ba ramogolo (descendants of an elder brother or higher-ranking half-brother of a male ancestor). Likewise lower-ranking lineage groups are regarded as ba rangwane. However, not all the members of a higher-ranking lineage group rank higher than all the members of a lower-ranking one. Table 3 shows, for example, that the male offspring of Mankopane's seventh- and ninth-ranking wives (A7 and A9) are in Tshweung, while those of higher-ranking wives (e.g. A2, A3 etc.) are in lower-ranking lineage groups. Therefore, if a lineage group comprises the lineages of more than one man as co-founders of the group, its relative status only reflects the relative status of the highest-ranking lineage in that group. The precise

position as to relative status of all members of the six higher-ranking lineage groups (kgôrôs) of the tribe can be seen in table 8. In circumcision lodges this exact genealogical order is applied.

149 A man's maternal relatives and relatives-in-law may belong to the same lineage group as he does himself or to other lineage groups or even to other tribes. There is no rule because there are no restrictions concerning endogamy or exogamy in either the lineage group or tribe.

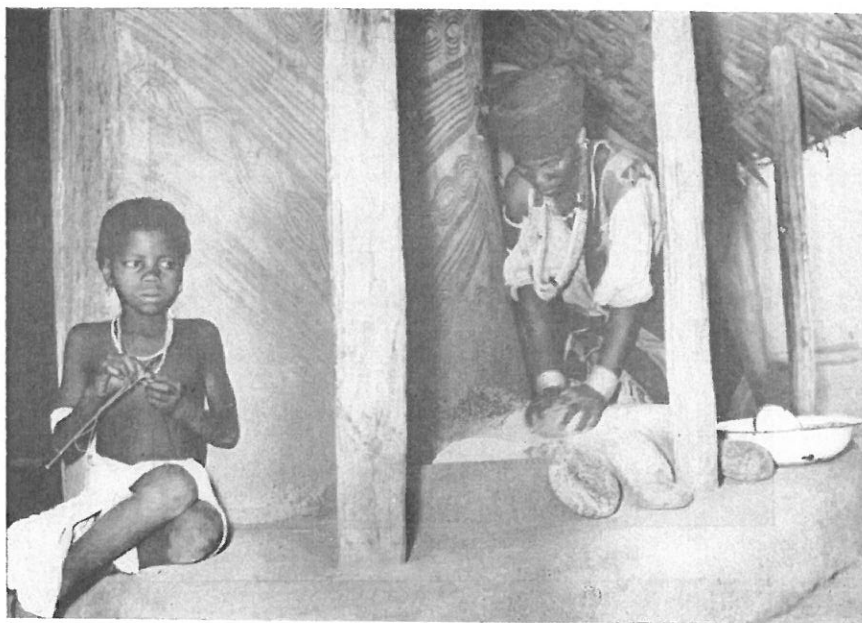
REGIMENTAL SYSTEM

150 At intervals of approximately seven years boys about the age of puberty simultaneously attend, under leadership of a boy of high rank, an initiation course (kôma, moroto, bodika) at a lodge (mphotô) built in the hills about one mile from the village settlement, and a year or two later a second course¹⁾ (bogwêra) in a secluded enclosure at the chief's dwelling unit. After this initiation into adulthood all the candidates are formed into one age group or regiment (mphotô), membership of which remains for life. Each mphotô is given a name, a plural noun of which the singular denotes one member, e.g. mphotô name: Matsepa, member: Letsepa. To discover a man's regiment, they ask: "O le'ng?" (What are you?) For each male regiment there is a corresponding female one, formed after the conclusion of the female initiation rites (bjale).

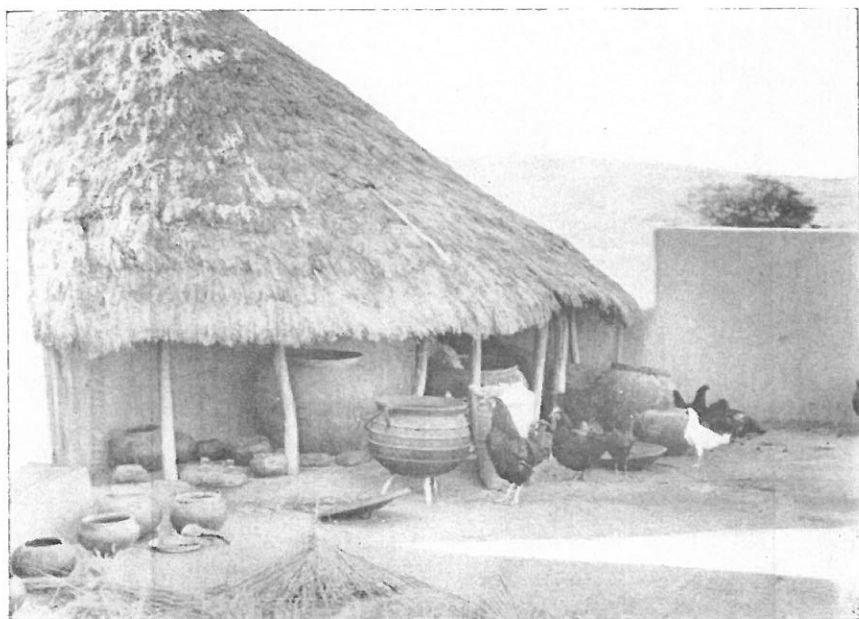
151 A circumcision regiment derives its name from the personal name of its leader. For example, if the name of the leader is Dinkwanyane, then the name of the regiment will be Matladi, the same as that of which a previous Dinkwanyane was the leader. If there had not been a previous regiment with a Dinkwanyane as leader in the history

1) Counting from the year following that of the bogwêra, the period that elapses between two initiation schools must not be seven years, because the numeral "seven" is identified with the index finger in the system of counting, and motho ga a šupiwe ka monwana (a person is not pointed at with the finger, as it is tantamount to an accusation of witchcraft to point at a person). The seventh year is therefore believed to bring misfortune. When a future chief is initiated, the bogwêra is held in the year following that of the kôma, otherwise a year elapses in between. Pitje, 1950, gives an account of male initiation in Pedi tribes.

PLATE 5



6 Woman grinding corn under eaves of hut



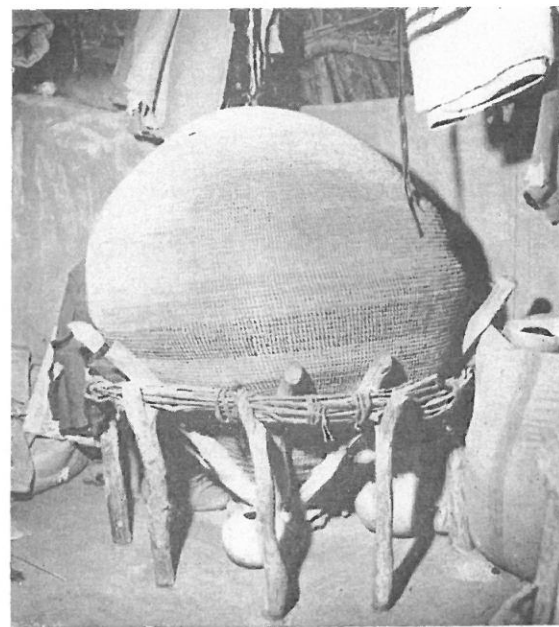
7 Utensils stored under eaves of hut

facing page 54

PLATE 6



8 Dinkwanyane sewing grain basket (*sešego*)



9 Grain basket in storage hut

of the Ntšhabeleng tribe, then the name of a regiment with a Dinkwanyane as leader will be taken from another tribe, or from a regiment of which a Dinkwanyane was an ordinary member. But because the system of giving personal names¹⁾ follows, to a certain extent, the principle of genealogical rank, certain names are reserved for certain lineage groups or for the highest-ranking persons in lineage groups and the leader of a regiment therefore seldom has the same name as ordinary members.

152 In olden days candidates for initiation were much older than they are today. They were often a few years past the age of puberty, whereas today the tendency is to send them to initiation a few years before they reach puberty. This is probably due to a desire to interfere as little as possible with the schooling of children, and to prevent them from running away to European areas before initiation, or from becoming Christians and thereby avoiding initiation.

153 Two uterine brothers may not attend the same initiation lodge although both may be of the right age, because the younger one may not "see the nakedness" of the elder one. The same applies to uterine sisters. The younger one usually has to wait for the next course, or is sent to another tribe for initiation.

154 A strong feeling of solidarity and mutual obligation exists amongst members of a regiment. Men of the same regiment regard each other as "brothers" and, as is also the case with real brothers, may not marry one another's daughters.

155 Regiments may be called upon to do work on behalf of the chief or of the tribe, each under its own leader, who is responsible for maintaining discipline and who imposes fines or punishment for disobedience or misbehaviour, usually a beast or goat, which is slaughtered and eaten by

1) Whereas children are named at the age of a few weeks, their permanent or adulthood names are given to them only at the closing of the second initiation course. The system of naming is very intricate, especially in the case of polygamous households: if a man is the highest-ranking son of his father, he names his highest-ranking son after his father, otherwise after his immediately elder brother. His second son is named after his younger brother or his father's younger brother. Daughters are named after their father's paternal aunts and their paternal grandmothers. Only after the first two sons and daughters have been named after paternal relatives, are the names of maternal relatives given to children. The system of naming requires further investigation, however.

REGIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP OF MEN OF SIX LINEAGE GROUPS
(Extracted from table 8, Genealogy of Mokhulwane, 1961)

Regiment	Leader	Year enrolled	Age of members in years in 1961	Number of members	Number of members per genealogical generation:				
					1st.	2nd.	3rd.	4th.	5th.
a Matsepa	Mankopane I	1830 ⁺	145-151	1*	0	1	0	0	0
b Magôlôpô	Letswalô	1839 ⁺	136-144	1*	0	1	0	0	0
c Manala	Ngwanammala	1848 ⁺	127-135	1*	0	1	0	0	0
d Matšedi	Nkhônê	1854	121-126	0*	0	0	0	0	0
e Madisa	Mageti	1861 ⁺	114-120	1*	0	0	1	0	0
f Makwa	Motšhumi	1870 ⁺	105-113	4*	0	0	4	0	0
g Mangana	Lekôkô	1880	95-104	1*	0	0	1	0	0
h Mantsho	Kômane II	1887 ⁺	88-94	5*	0	0	5	0	0
i Dithaga	Matshephole	1893	82-87	5	0	0	4	1	0
j Matladi	Dinkwanyane	1902	73-181	7	0	0	3	4	0
k Matlakana	Nkwêlê	1907	68-72	12	0	0	1	11	0
l Magasa	Phadimê	1914	61-67	9	0	0	0	9	0
m Matsepa	Mankopane II	1923	50-60	23	0	0	2	19	2
n Magôlôpô	Letswalô	1928	45-49	13	0	0	0	10	3
o Marutla	Phaswane	1937	36-44	27	0	0	0	12	15
p Mankwê	Serake	1945	28-35	26	0	0	0	9	17
q Matladi	Dinkwanyane	1952	21-27	40	0	0	0	10	30
r Madikwa	Kgolokô	1956	17-20	37	0	0	0	5	32
s Mantsho	Kômane III	1961	12-16	18	0	0	0	2	16
-	-	-	8-11	20	0	0	0	4	16

+ Approximate year.

* All members deceased.

the members of the regiment concerned.

156 Regiments as units are senior to one another in order of enrolment, but individuals rank according to genealogical status both within regiments and as between members of different regiments.

157 Table 8 shows the regimental membership of men of the six lineage groups covered by the table. Table 6, which is an extract from table 8, shows the number of men of these six lineage groups in each of the 19 regiments. Only members of the last eleven regiments are still living, the two youngest (Madikwa and Mantsho) having 312 and 193 members respectively in the tribe as a whole. The ages of the groups in table 6 are based on the assumption that boys in olden times were initiated between the ages of 14 and 20 years and in later years between the ages of 12 and 16. The youngest group (8-11 years) represents boys born in or before 1953 when the genealogy was obtained, but who have not yet been initiated. Boys born after 1953 have not been entered in the genealogy. Breaking down the totals for each age group into genealogical generations shows that genealogical generations (i.e. collaterals) and generations in time (contemporaries) overlap to the extent of approximately 30 years (viz. in the five age groups i to m) for the third and fourth generations, and 50 years and more (viz. in the age groups m to -) for the fourth and fifth generations. The third, fourth and fifth generations overlap in age group m. In other words it is a common phenomenon for a person to be in the same age group as his father's or even his grandfather's collaterals, and a son is often 50 years older than his classificatory father. The determination of rank in such instances is discussed in paragraph 143.

CHAPTER 4

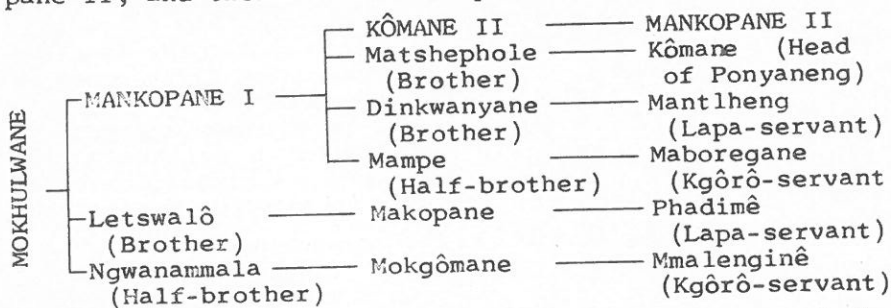
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

153 The central government of the tribe consists of 1) the chief, assisted by a few close relatives as his informal advisers, 2) a formal privy council, 3) a representative council, and 4) a tribal gathering which is only called to discuss matters of national importance.

1 The chief and his private advisers

159 This informal body is known as kgoši le bo-tatagwê (the chief and his fathers) and usually comprises the chief, his father's younger brothers, a son of one of the latter as his lapa-servant, and a half-brother of his own regiment as kgôrô-servant. These servants are often assisted by sons of servants of the previous generation. The following genealogical table shows the functionaries (names underlined> under the present (1961) chief, Mankopane II, and their relationship to him.



(Mampe, Makopane and Mokgômane were the servants of the previous chief, Kômane II.)

160 Dinkwanyane, the only living brother of the chief's father, is chief adviser. In his absence Kômane takes his place. Mašilo, a half-brother of the chief, should have been the kgôrô-servant, but he declined and Maboregane, son of the kgôrô-servant of the previous chief, took his place. He is assisted by Mmalenginê, whose father assisted the previous kgôrô-servant. Phadimê, son of the previous lapa-servant, is the present lapa-servant, but Dinkwanyane's son Mantlheng sometimes takes over from him and will in time become the lapa-servant. (See also paras. 79 and 80.)

161 These servants, as close relatives of the chief, are not mere servants (*bahlanka*) in the ordinary sense of the word, but people of high standing, for "*mohlanka wa kgoši ke kgoši*" (a servant of the chief is himself a chief). All the ordinary people in the tribe, especially the immigrants, are often referred to as "*bahlanka*" in contrast to "*bakgômana*" (men of high standing). But these special servants are actually *batseta* (delegates, mediators, messengers), besides having the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the chief's dwelling unit and his lapas. They themselves do not perform minor tasks. In these they are assisted by others, usually descendants of servants of previous generations (cf. para.80). The lapa-servant is responsible for receiving visitors to the chief's lapas, serving beer to guests in the great lapa, frying the liver when a beast is slaughtered, etc. The *kgôrô*-servant is responsible for meetings and court gatherings to be held in the public gathering place and is also the public prosecutor. He receives visitors to the dwelling unit and has beer served to them. When a beast is slaughtered, he sees to it that the *seledu* (lip) is cooked and served to all initiated men present. He is often referred to as *motseta yo mogolo* (*motseta* major), because his functions are very important and genealogically, as the chief's half-brother, he ranks higher than the other *batseta*, but this post is at present held by the lapa-servant *Phadimê*, because he is a member of the chief's regiment whilst the other servants are not. They are only substitutes for the persons who should have been servants. But the phrase *motseta yo mogolo* may also be used to refer to any important *mokgômana* (man of high rank), for example, *Dinkwanyane*, because the term *motseta* has a wide meaning. The verb stem *-tseta* means to represent, introduce, act as go-between, etc.

162 *Phadimê*, as the senior living representative of the lineage of *Letswalô*, uterine brother of the chief's grandfather *Mankopane I*, is often referred to as "the chief's father" despite the fact that he belongs to the same genealogical generation as the chief himself¹⁾ and also to the same regiment (age group). Some people say that his genealogical position is the correct one for a lapa-servant, because his lineage represents the lowest-ranking one in the royal lineage group (cf. table 8), and it is his duty to look after the interests of his superiors. The chief can thus rely on him not to pass on instructions to still lower-ranking persons as is done by higher-

1) There is a similarity between *Phadimê*'s position and that of the Zulu *isizinda*, who is often referred to as "father of the tribe", cf. Krige, 1936, p.41. (Zulu *-zinda* is the phonetic equivalent of Sotho *-tseta*.)

ranking servants. He is therefore the chief's right-hand man, who is always close to the chief and obviously the motseta to whom all major tasks are entrusted. When a beast is slaughtered, this official motseta is given the tongue and lower jaw¹⁾ because "he is the man who does the talking" (for example, as public prosecutor). The chief's rangwane is given lehlakošane (short rib) whereas the chief himself gets lehlakore (rib).

163 Apart from the chief, Dinkwanyane and Kômane have the highest authority in the government of the tribe. It is doubtful whether the chief would ever act against their wishes or advice. Dinkwanyane is an older man of the previous generation, and he is therefore more bound to tradition than the chief himself. He watches over the adherence to tribal custom and good government.

164 It is doubtful whether the chief will allow anyone to discuss tribal matters with him or even approach him on any matter, save in the presence of one of his batseta, or somebody else of high rank. He is always accompanied by one or more of them when going about in the tribe or when going on a trip. When a case has to be heard elsewhere, he sends one or more of them on his behalf, and they must report back to him.

165 The chief's brothers are only now beginning to take an active part in tribal administration. In his absence his brother Letswalô sometimes acts for him in co-operation with Dinkwanyane or Kômane.

166 The chief and the abovementioned advisers are the executive body of tribal administration and they form the nucleus of all other political authorities of the tribe.

The batseta system. (Kgoši le batseta.)

167 Apart from the motseta yo mogolo and the servants mentioned above, there is a whole hierarchy of go-betweens which forms the liaison between the people and the motseta yo mogolo at the mošate. That is because neither the heads nor the members of most lineage groups may approach the motseta yo mogolo unless accompanied by someone from another specific lineage group as a go-between (motseta.) In this way a certain lineage group is regarded as a motseta for another. In some instances, such a lineage group has in its turn again another lineage group to act

1) The tongue and lower jaw are referred to as hlôgô (head) whereas the upper part of the head is legata (skull).

as its motseta. For example, Ramaila (P) has Tšebana (Q) as its motseta which, in turn, has Manaleng (F) as its motseta, as shown in table 7. If the head of Ramaila cannot settle a case between two members of his own lineage group, or he wishes to approach the chief about anything, he has to approach Tšebana first. The head and elders of Tšebana then, in conjunction with the head and elders of Ramaila, try to settle the matter. If they cannot reach a decision, they go to Manaleng, where the procedure is repeated, and, if not successful, the head of Manaleng approaches the motseta yo mogolo, where the procedure is again repeated before the matter is reported to the chief. The matter may then be settled, or, if necessary, laid before an open court for which arrangements must be made by the motseta yo mogolo, who also notifies the parties concerned through their respective batseta. If a matter arises between members of two different lineage groups, each party has to approach its own motseta, who in turn has to approach his own, until a common motseta or the motseta yo mogolo is reached.

168 Batseta and heads of lineage groups are entitled to manganga hlaga (court fees, literally: fees for the tiring of the jaws) for all cases heard by them. They may hear the cases (sêka melato) and give a verdict (ahlola) as a result of which the guilty party pays damages to the other, but, with the exception of the heads of a few lineage groups (see later), they may not impose fines (go lefiša motho). But when the motseta yo mogolo is sent by the chief to hear a case, he may impose a fine, which goes to the chief.

169 Informants say that the system of batseta is based on "friendship only". Anybody chooses whom he likes as his motseta. This is obviously not all there is to it, for the system does not change from generation to generation. One lineage group remains a motseta for another for several generations, and will continue to do so until the mutual friendship is, for some reason, ended.

170 A comparison between the lineage groups which provide the batseta for other lineage groups (cf. table 7) and the batseta of previous chiefs (cf. para.80) shows that lineage groups founded by these batseta (or their descendants) today provide batseta for other lineage groups. Thus ancestors of the present Manaleng, Malatše and Tšebana were batseta of Mankopane I, whilst Tsêkê, the founder of Masweneng, was his rangwane and chief adviser. [The three groups Mokgopi, Ntswana and Marutla for which Masweneng (G) is motseta, also joined the tribe through the mediation of Tsêkê. Further, Masailaneng and Sebei which also have Masweneng as motseta, originated from Masweneng.]

171 Manganeng (Magwadi) K provides batseta for Lekgoro and Morwaswi, both of which accompanied Magwadi, founder of Manganeng (Magwadi), when he rejoined the tribe at Manogê (cf. para.41). He acted for them as a go-between then, and his lineage group has provided batseta for them ever since because the dwelling unit of Manganeng (Magwadi) always adjoins that of the chief (cf. para.60).

172 It is obvious that the reason why the abovementioned lineage groups provide batseta for other lineage groups, lies in the fact that their founders were the persons to receive visitors at the chief's dwelling unit, and this explains the origin of the "bonds of friendship" which informants stress as the basis of the system. They do, however, also say that the term 'batseta' refers to those bakgomana who live in the chief's kgôrô and are for this reason available as messengers or to receive visitors. The extension of this principle resulted in the lineage groups founded by such batseta supplying batseta for other lineage groups.

173 The foregoing accounts for all the lineage groups which supply batseta for other lineage groups except Ponyaneng (B) and Magaseng (D). In the case of Ponyaneng who is motseta for Malatše, there is a very special arrangement: Ponyaneng is motseta for, and also has jurisdiction over, Malatše because of the command of Mankopane I (c.f. paras. 69 and 70), but at the same time Malatše is also the motseta for Ponyaneng because of this same command, and Ponyaneng may not take any matter to higher authority without consulting Malatše first.

174 Magaseng (D) is motseta for Mailola (n) because the latter joined the tribe through Magaseng as go-between.

175 It is shown on the sketch map that the heads of ten dwelling units have become independent of the heads of their lineage groups. Five of these also have batseta of their own. The heads of these dwelling units and their batseta are not shown in table 7. They are the following:

176 Seruwe (C2) of Manganeng (Lekôkô). The head of Manganeng (Lekôkô) used to approach the chief, Kômane II, via the lapa-servant Makopane, but Seruwe's father (younger brother of the head) quarrelled with Makopane and wished to break off all relations with him. To do so he had to break away from the head of his own lineage group first. He subsequently chose Ponyaneng as motseta and his son Seruwe still approaches the chief via Ponyaneng.

177 Motodi (G7) of Masweneng. He broke away from the head of Masweneng and chose Makweng as his motseta.

- 178 Mogari (Q7) of Tšebana. The man who should have been head of Tšebana became a Christian and left the dwelling unit with his younger brother Mogari. Sampje (Q1) then became head of this lineage group. Mogari later reverted to paganism, but did not return to the dwelling unit because genealogically he ranks higher than Sampje and was not prepared to subject himself to Sampje. He chose Malatše as motseta.
- 179 Letšibogo (S1) of Lekgoro. He broke away from the head of the lineage group and chose Magaseng as motseta. (Kganathi, a man who lives at the cattle posts and whose dwelling unit is therefore not shown on the sketch map, also broke away from the head of this lineage group and chose Malatše as his motseta.)
- 180 Mpinê (V1) of Phahla-Morwaswi. He broke away from the head of the lineage group and chose Makweng as his motseta.

181 Besides the abovementioned sections which changed their batseta, the whole of the lineage group Phakwago changed from Masweneng to Manaleng with the exception of a group of Christians, which retained Masweneng.

182 According to my informants the choice of batseta in all these instances was based on "friendship only". I could find no other basis.

183 If a lineage group separates into two or more sections, and the chief does not recognize them as independent units, the head of the lineage group continues to have authority over them. They have to recognize him because they cannot approach the chief or the head of another lineage group unless accompanied by their own head as motseta. For the same reason a man who breaks the connection with his own lineage group cannot be adopted by another, even if he goes and lives with it, unless it is approved of by the chief. Likewise a lineage group, or a section of it, cannot lightly change its motseta.

184 Table 7 shows that seven lineage groups approach the motseta yo mogolo directly i.e. without other lineage groups as batseta. The reason for this is obvious for the lineage groups Manaleng (F), Masweneng (G) and Manganeng (Magwadi) (K). Nobody can be batseta for them because they themselves were the batseta at the mošate (chief's village) in the time of chief Mankopane I. The direct approach of the other four lineage groups to the motseta yo mogolo is explained as follows:

185 During the reign of Mankopane I, heads of all lineage groups reported to the kgôrô-servant, Nkareng, when visit-

ing the chief. After Nkareng left with Mankopane I to establish Ponyaneng, the heads of most lineage groups switched to Ngwanammala (later kgôrô Manaleng), but the heads of Manganeng (Lekôkô) (C), Tebeila (U) and Šaku (Motsomi) (d) switched to the lapa-servant Makopane, father of Phadimê, the present motseta yo mogolo. The head of Manganeng (Lekôkô) did so because he was a friend of Makopane's, of Tebeila because he had married Makopane's sister, and of Šaku (Motsomi) for no known reason.

186 The head of the lineage group Nkwêlê (e) has direct access to the motseta yo mogolo because this lineage group is regarded as part of Tšhweung (see para. 33).

187 The head of Makweng (E) does not report to the motseta yo mogolo, but to Dinkwanyane instead, because Dinkwanyane and the founder of Makweng were close friends. Dinkwanyane and Kômane, head of Ponyaneng, have direct access to the chief (cf. para. 60), although the latter has to consult Malatše as his motseta first (cf. para. 173).

188 It can be seen in table 7 that the system of batseta cuts across the rank of lineage groups. For example, Manaleng (F) is motseta for the higher-ranking Magaseng (D); and Tšebana (Q) for Ramaila (P) and Kga-phola (a).

189 All the lineage groups which provide batseta for other lineage groups, are represented on the Lekgotla la Batseta, one of the councils constituting the central government of the tribe (cf. para. 203).

190 In the same way as one lineage group has another as motseta through whom to approach the motseta yo mogolo and the chief, the Ntšhabeleng tribe has a motseta at the village of Sekhukhune, Paramount chief of the Bapedi of Sekhukhuneland.

Sebegô (tribute to the chief)

191 Regular contact between the mošate and the people is maintained through sending sebegô to the chief. Whenever beer is made, the owner sends a small pot to the chief as tribute. [This also serves the purpose of notifying him that there is beer in the lapa of the sender. This is a matter the chief has to be aware of, because any trouble that may arise at a beer gathering in that lapa, has eventually to be settled by him. His acceptance of the sebegô signifies his consent that a beer gathering may take place. If he does not receive sebegô, he takes up an indifferent attitude towards trouble arising from that beer gathering. The person who supplied the beer then has to take the responsibility, and may even be accused of

being the cause of the trouble.] When a beast is slaughtered, the owner has to send a rib to the chief as sebegô. A person who leaves the tribal area to go and work in town, reports to the chief before leaving. When he returns, he brings two rand (£1) to the chief as his sebegô.

192 Members of the following five lineage groups do not take sebegô to the chief, but to their heads instead:

Kgaphola (a)

Šaku (Molongwane) (b)

Ponyaneng (B) [who receives sebegô also from Malatše (L)]

Masweneng (G) [who receives sebegô also from Masailaneng (J), Sebei (M), Mokgophi (W), Ntswana (X), Marutla (Y) and the Christians of Phakwago (O)]

Tebeila (U)

193 Once a year, the heads of these five groups send a big pot of beer and a rib as sebegô to the chief. They are further differentiated from others in the following ways: They marry their principal wives at the mošate, and, when the great wife for the chief is married, each contributes one head of cattle whereas the heads of other lineage groups contribute a goat each. Except Ponyaneng, each of these lineage groups has its own instructor (rabadia) to teach genealogy in circumcision lodges, whilst Tebeila also builds a separate cairn (phiri) at the closing of a lodge. Further, the heads of Ponyaneng, Masweneng and Tebeila decide the cases of their followers and impose fines, a portion of which is their own, whereas the heads of other lineage groups only impose manganga-hlaga (court fees). In all other respects, however, they are treated in the same way as other lineage groups. They, like other lineage groups, have to assist with bothokgo (free labour as tribute to the chief), such as ploughing the chief's lands, weeding, reaping, etc. and their womenfolk also have to assist with work in connection with the great lapa.

194 The heads of these five lineage groups enjoy the privilege of receiving sebegô for the following reasons:

195 Kgaphola (a): The head of this lineage group, which is genealogically senior to Tšhweung, is allowed sebegô for the same reason as he takes precedence of his political superiors in circumcision lodges and in all ceremonies of a religious nature (cf. para. 34).

196 Šaku (Molongwane) (b): Besides being genealogically senior to Tšhweung, this lineage group, under leadership of Molongwane temporarily broke away from the tribe during the reign of Kômane II. Molongwane then received sebegô from the members of the group. When he returned

to the tribe, he appealed to the chief to be allowed to continue receiving sebegô from the members of his group on the ground that "he had to feed the daughter of the chief's brother". (He had married Kgathane, daughter of Matshephole, brother of Kômane II.)

197 Ponyaneng (B): The people of Ponyaneng and Malatše used to take their sebegô to Mankopane I when he lived in Ponyaneng shortly before his death (cf. para.69). After his death they continued to do so, for Kômane II would not take the privilege away from his brother Matshephole, and today the head of Ponyaneng still enjoys this privilege.

198 Masweneng (G): The head of this lineage group receives sebegô from his people and a few others for a reason similar to that in the case of Ponyaneng. When Tsêkê, founder of Masweneng, acted for Mankopane I, he received sebegô from the tribe and when he was succeeded by Mankopane I, he continued to receive sebegô from his own people and from his servants Mašišimalo and Sebei, founders of Masailaneng and Sebei, respectively. Mankopane I did not take this privilege away from him. When Mokgophi, Ntswana and Marutla joined the tribe, they did so through Tsêkê, who became a permanent motseta for them, and who also received sebegô from them. Masweneng had previously also been motseta for Phakwago, but is nowadays only motseta for some Christians of that lineage group and receives sebegô from them. [Recently the son of the head of Masweneng was given a sefoka (sceptre) by his father to carry at the closing of a circumcision lodge, a privilege reserved for the son of the chief as leader of the group of initiates. This was regarded as a serious infringement of the authority of the chief on the part of Masweneng whereby the latter demonstrated his contempt for the chief. For this he was deprived of the privilege of receiving sebegô.]

199 Tebeila (U): Informants do not know why the head of this lineage group receives sebegô from his people. Some say it is because he married Esibê, daughter of Letswalô, uterine brother of chief Mankopane I. This reason corresponds with that in the case of Šaku (Molongwane) above, but it cannot be the only reason, for the head of the lineage group who married Esibê's elder sister is not allowed this privilege. It is important to mention that when the initiation lodge Matlakana was held in 1908, Tebeila was allowed to have a separate small lodge for its candidates and to build a separate phiri, a practice which was followed in all succeeding lodges. It therefore seems as if this lineage at one time intended to break away from the tribe, but was conciliated by being allowed sebegô. (Recently this lineage group initiated negotiations to break away from the Ntšhabeleng tribe - a matter which is still pending.)

200 It can be seen on the sketch map of the village that none of these five lineage groups, either on its own or together with those under its jurisdiction, occupies a separate territorial ward of the village, although it might have been the case in earlier years.

2 The Privy Council (Lekgotla la Thopa)

201 This council consists of the heads and elders of the six most senior lineage groups (kgôrôs) of the tribe, namely Tšhweung (A), Ponyaneng (B), Manganeng (Lekôkô) (C), Magaseng (D), Makweng (E) and Manaleng (F) under the chairmanship of the chief. It also includes his private advisers. These six kgôrôs comprise the descendants of Mokhulwane, great grandfather of the chief, and may be regarded as the ruling nucleus of the tribe.

202 After discussion among themselves, the chief and his advisers may decide to lay matters of great importance, but of a confidential nature, before this council. For example, if the head of a lineage group exceeds his authority and infringes the authority of the chief, the matter may be discussed by this council and a penalty decided upon. The head of this lineage group may then be called to appear before the council where he is heard and reprimanded or fined in private. Only in the case of obstinacy on his part is the matter brought in the open e.g. before the following council, which is more public, or before a tribal gathering.

3 The Representative Council (Lekgotla la Batseta, or Lekgotla la Tikologô)

203 This council consists of the heads and elders of the following lineage groups:-

Tšhweung	A
Ponyaneng	B
Manganeng	
(Lekôkô)	C
Magaseng	D
Makweng	E
Manaleng	F
Masweneng	G
Manganeng	
(Magwadi)	K
Malatšê	L
Ratšhidi	N
Tšebana	Q

204 All lineage groups which are batseta for other lineage groups are represented on this council, and for this reason it is sometimes called 'Lekgotla la Batseta',

which is a misnomer in as much as some members are not batseta. The composition of this council cuts across the rank of lineage groups, because the system of batseta does. However, the first seven lineage groups are the highest-ranking in the tribe, while the three following them in the list also form part of the tribal nucleus. Only the last one, Tšebana (Q), is foreign, but is represented, as it is one of the batseta.

205 Of these lineage groups Manganeng (Lekôkô) (C) and Ratšhidi (N) are not batseta, whilst Makweng (E) is mo-tseta for sections of lineage groups only (cf. paras. 177 and 180). Manganeng (Lekôkô) and Makweng are represented because of their rank and because they are represented on the privy council, all members of which are represented on this council, but it is not clear why Ratšhidi (N) is represented while four other lineage groups of the tribal nucleus, viz. Makgaleng (H), Masailaneng (J), Sebei (M) and Phakwago (O), are excluded. The first three of these also rank higher than Ratšhidi. My informants could not explain this anomaly. The only possible explanation lies in the fact that Ratšhidi is still regarded as "people of Tšhweung" as shown earlier (cf. para.82) and that the founder of this lineage group may have functioned as a motseta during the long period he lived in Tšhweung. (In this connection cf. inter alia para.80,1,a.) On the other hand the above-mentioned Masailaneng (J) and Sebei (M) are represented on this council by Masweneng (G) who still has authority over them (cf. paras. 57 and 90). But then the omission of Makgaleng (H) and Phakwago (O) is inexplicable and so is the inclusion of Malatše (L) who is under the jurisdiction of Ponyaneng (B).

206 My informants maintain that the composition of this council is based on the proximity of the lineage groups concerned to the mošate, as shown by the name Lekgotla la Tikologô (Council of lineage groups, living in the area surrounding the mošate.) It can be seen from the sketch map, however, that this is not true for all lineage groups. Many lineage groups, of which the dwelling units are situated close to Tšhweung, are excluded from the council, while others that are much further away are represented. This applies also to Masweneng (G), which is represented, although the head and most members of the lineage group live far from Tšhweung, viz. north of the Mohwetse river, while Makgaleng (H), for example, is excluded though its dwelling units are not so far away. This particular example can be explained by taking into account that Masweneng was nearer to Tšhweung when the tribe was still settled north of the Mohwetse, but my informants stress the point that Masweneng is represented because the lineage group lives near Tšhweung and Makgaleng is excluded because "it lives far away," although Makgaleng (H) is in

fact much nearer than Masweneng. They quote two proverbs to show that the composition of the council is based on the proximity of the lineage groups to Tšhweung viz. "Molamo wa kgole ga o bolaye nōga" (A stick that is far away cannot kill a snake) and "Mollo o tuma ba ba gauswi" (The fire burns those that are close).

207 The two features characteristic of the composition of this council as expressed by the names Lekgotla la Batseta and Lekgotla la Tikologô coincide with one another to a certain extent: functionaries and men of high rank usually live close to the chief. They live close to the chief because they have certain functions, and not vice versa; and they still exercise those functions even if they should live far from the chief.

208 This council is called together to decide on matters referred to it by the privy council, or for any matter of importance which is not of a confidential nature and which falls outside the scope of the privy council.

4 The Tribal Gathering (Lekgotla la Banna or Pitšô)

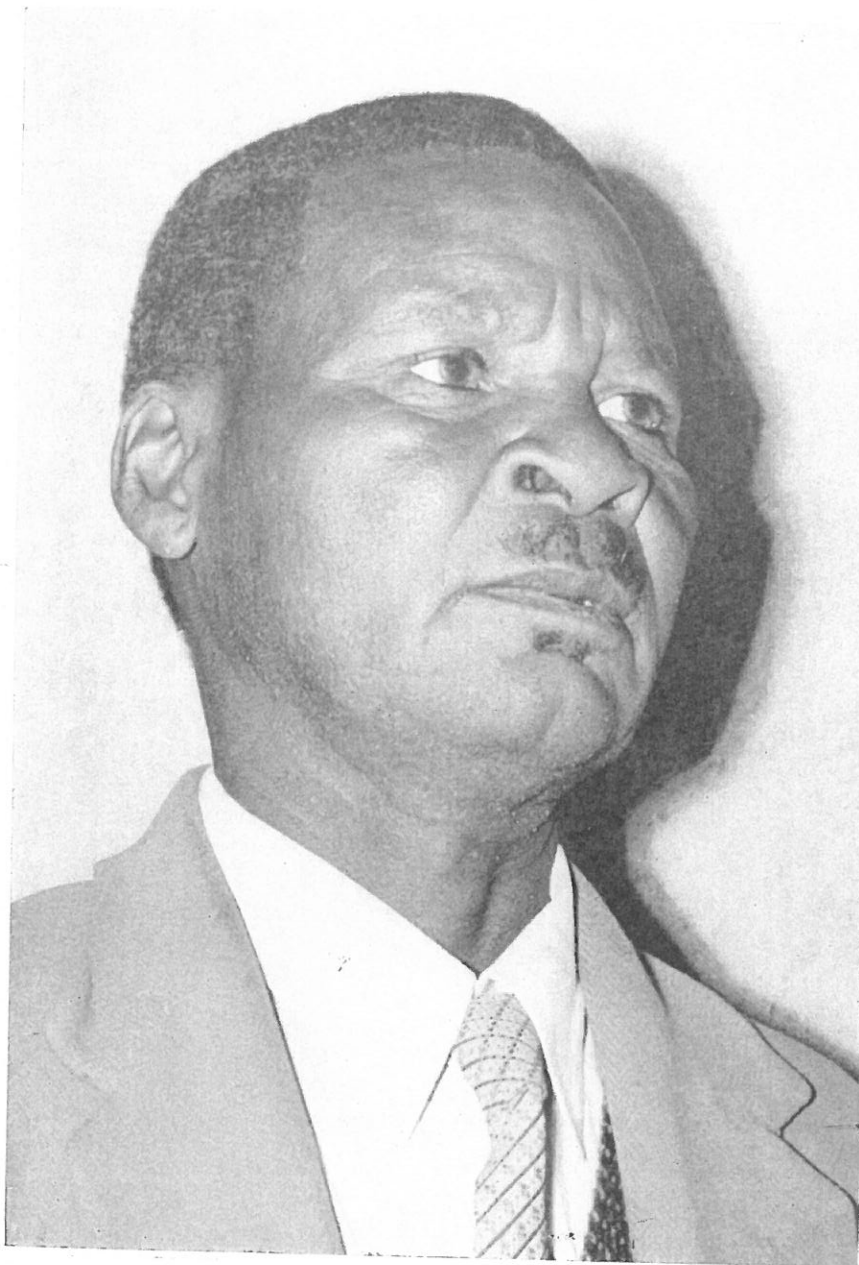
209 When matters of national importance have to be discussed, such as (in modern times) soil reclamation and development schemes, the initiated men of the tribe are summoned to a tribal gathering. All initiated men are entitled to attend, although it is meant to be a gathering of adult men only. Young boys, who are nowadays initiated at the early age of ten to twelve years, do not attend, although they are not prevented from doing so. There is a small difference between a lekgotla la banna (council of men) and a pitšô (a called gathering of men). Whereas attendance at the former is optional, attendance at the latter is compulsory.

210 The gathering at a tribal court, which may be attended by all and sundry, often resembles a tribal gathering when a large number of men are present. But the presence of many men in court is merely the result of special interest in a case.

THE EXERCISE OF CONTROL IN LINEAGE GROUPS AND DWELLING UNITS

211 Although the members of a lineage group may live scattered in several widely separated dwelling units, each group is regarded by the chief and the central government as one functional entity and administered as such by its head and elders, who represent the group on tribal councils and gatherings. They are responsible for collecting tribal levies etc., and are in all respects the link

PLATE 7



10 Chief *Mankopane II*
(reigned 1946-1961)

facing page 70

PLATE 8



11 Chief *Mankopane II* and followers

between the group and the central authority. All important matters are discussed and decided by them in the gathering place at the dwelling unit of the head of the group. They also hear and decide cases between members of the group, but, with the exception of the heads of the three lineage groups mentioned in para.193, may not impose fines from which they themselves will benefit. They are entitled to manganga-hlaga (court fees) only.

212 Each dwelling unit forms an integral part of the lineage group to which it belongs, but nevertheless has a distinctive character as a separate local unit, which is brought about by the living together of its inmates. Depending on its size and the distance from the unit of the head of the lineage group, such a sub-unit may have its own gathering place where its head, i.e. its highest-ranking male inmate, may, by way of arbitration, sêka melato (try cases) and ahlola (give a verdict) in matters concerning the inmates of his unit. He may even try cases of inmates who have closer relatives (such as brothers, sons and even husbands) living in other units, for he is expected to maintain peace and order in his unit. Such relatives must be notified, however.

213 A person granted residence in a dwelling unit of non-relatives, must acknowledge the authority of its head in all matters, except those concerning his own lineage group (cf. paras. 110 and 145), and which are dealt with on a lineage basis.

214 The headmanship of a dwelling unit is not permanent. A man may establish a dwelling unit of his own and exercise authority there for years, but any higher-ranking man joining him, automatically takes his place as head of the unit.

215 It is rare for a dwelling unit to separate from a lineage group and thereby gain independence from the authority of the head of that lineage group (cf. para.183). But if the head of a lineage group expels a person, even one of his own wives, from his dwelling unit, he ceases to have authority over such person. He and his successors will never again exercise authority over that expelled person and his or her descendants, for they may not be tried in a dwelling unit from which they were expelled. Any person so expelled, if not recognized by the chief as independent, must accept the authority of the head of some other dwelling unit, whether actually living with him or not. This relationship is perpetuated in succeeding generations. For example, Lekôkô, founder of Manganeng (Lekôkô), drove his son's widow and children out of the dwelling unit. She and her children established a separate unit and subsequently placed themselves under the

authority of the head of another unit. They will never return to their unit of origin, nor will they take any of their troubles there.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF LINEAGE GROUPS AS DISTINCT FROM GENEALOGICAL RANK

216 Apart from relative status as determined by rank (cf. table 1), the esteem in which a lineage group is held, usually due to its numerical strength, is reflected during circumcision rites in the following way: When the rites commence, a fire is ritually drilled in the dwelling unit of the chief. Embers of this fire are then taken by heads of the more important lineage groups to kindle fires in their own dwelling units which thereafter serve as centres where all activities concerning the care of their groups of initiates take place, such as the grinding of meal and cooking of porridge by the young girls of the initiates' corresponding age group, who gather daily for this purpose. Such a lineage group is regarded as having separate or independent status of a kind, which is expressed by the phrase "it has its own fireplace (sebešo)" or "it has its own cooking vessel (pitša)". It is said to have taken the first step towards independence, and if dissatisfied with the treatment received from the tribal government, its members may hint that they "have their own fireplaces". Most lineage groups do, however, have their own "fireplaces", although they have no intention to break away from the tribe, and only a few still cook at the royal lineage group Tšhweung.

217 The following five lineage groups cook at Tšhweung:

- Nkwêlê (e)
- Molefana (Z)
- Makweng (E)
- Manaleng (F)
- Manganeng (Magwadi) (K).

Nkwêlê and Molefana were servants in Tšhweung about a century ago and they are, in a way, still connected with Tšhweung as "servants of the servants". They now live far from Tšhweung but, when present, have to serve beer in the chief's dwelling unit and are often sent on errands. They went to live far away probably because they got tired of this treatment, but are otherwise still closely linked to Tšhweung. Makweng and Manaleng co-operate with Tšhweung, because they used to do so when they were still in that lineage group after the present parent dwelling unit of Tšhweung was established (cf. para.96). The dwelling unit of the head of Manganeng (Magwadi) adjoins the parent unit of Tšhweung (cf. para.60) and the people of Manganeng (Magwadi) insisted on co-operation with Tšhweung because,

as they said, they were so close together and the head of Manganeng (Magwadi) was so poor.

218 Malatšê cooks at Ponyaneng; and Masailaneng, Sebei, Mokgophi and Ntswana at Masweneng. [Ponyaneng and Masweneng have jurisdiction over these lineage groups and receive sebegô from them (cf. paras. 192 and 193). Marutla, which also falls under the jurisdiction of Masweneng, always sends its initiates to the Masemola tribe.]

219 Phahla-Morwaswi cooks at Kgaphola because these two lineage groups were in one group under leadership of Kgaphola when they joined the Ntshabeleng tribe. They settled close to each other and have co-operated ever since. But Kgaphola joined the tribe through the lapa-servant Tšebana as motseta and Phahla-Morwaswi through the kgôrô-servant Nkareng, father of Malatšê, and that is why they have different batseta.

Mailola, whose followers are too few in number to have a fireplace of their own, cooks at Lekgoro because the mother of the present head of Mailola was married at Lekgoro.

220 Two of the ten heads of dwelling units who broke away from the heads of their respective lineage groups and became independent (cf. sketch map) have their own fireplaces. They are Seruwe (C2) of Manganeng (Lekôkô) and Tshweu (M8) of Sebei. (The latter was also joined by the majority of the people of Sebei.) Motodi (G7) of Masweneng and Mogari (Q7) of Tšebana changed respectively to Makweng and Malatšê, who are also batseta for them, and who, in turn, cook at Tšhweung and Ponyaneng respectively. Letšibogo (S1) of Lekgoro changed to Matseba (Maila), from whom Lekgoro originally broke away. Five of the ten heads of dwelling units made no change.

221 In the dwelling unit of the head of Makgaleng (H2) there are two separate "fireplaces", viz. that of the head and that of Morepjê. After quarrelling with the head of Makgaleng, Morepjê's father refused to co-operate with him, but did not remove from the dwelling unit. His descendants, the senior of whom is Morepjê, still live there, and still have their own "fireplace".

222 The lineage groups Phakwago, Molefana, and Ramaila are at present in a state of disorganization: Owing to disagreement between members of Phakwago and its head, Pheganyane, none of them cooks in his dwelling unit and he himself cooks at Makgaleng. Some members cook at Molekê (O1), others at Lebôpô (O7) and one man at Tšhweung. The dwelling units of Molefana all cook at Tšhweung, while the dwelling units of Ramaila still have a common "fireplace", but no longer have a common head. The chief allows the

heads of all dwelling units of these three lineage groups to regard themselves as independent of the heads of the groups, and to take their cases directly to their respective *batseta*. These signs of disintegration are regarded as temporary because the persons who should be the heads of Molefana and Ramaila are still young and inexperienced, while it is expected that the son of the present head of Phakwago will gather his people together again when he succeeds his father.

223 The sketch map shows that the dwelling units of those lineage groups which have a common "fireplace", are not situated together to form a separate territorial ward although most of them are not too widely separated. These lineage groups have a common "fireplace" for historical or genealogical reasons and these are also the reasons why the dwelling units of certain lineage groups are situated close to each other. Descendants of former associates continue to co-operate as their ancestors did, and what started as a matter of convenience or friendship, has become a fixed tradition.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

224 Owing to recent developments in Sekhukhuneland the tribe of Ntšhabeleng is at present (1961) passing through a stage of reorganization as regards the relationship between the central government of the chief and the local administration of lineage groups. A tribal authority in terms of the Bantu Authorities Act, 1951, was established for the Ntšhabeleng tribe in 1959. This was against the wishes of Sekhukhune, paramount chief of Sekhukhuneland, and it also gave rise to discontent in a few lineage groups of the tribe itself. The heads and some members of these groups have since indicated that they want to break away from Ntšhabeleng, and this has resulted in the disorganization of these groups.

225 This opposition to the Bantu Authority system is due to the belief that *Boipušo* (self-government, the Sotho term for Bantu Authority) is merely another name for soil reclamation and agricultural planning, to which most people in Sekhukhuneland are strongly opposed. During the period of misunderstanding and chaos that followed the introduction of the Bantu Authority system into Sekhukhuneland, some people interpreted the term *Boipušo* as "each man governing himself", i.e. independently of the chiefs. This led the people to believe that the Bantu Authority system aimed at doing away with traditional chieftainship, exactly the opposite of the true purpose of the Act. Money was collected in the name of the paramount chief to oppose the Act and this fund was called "Sebata Kgomo", which is a royal salute. The impression was created that the

money was to be used to protect the interests of the paramount chief. The African National Congress political movement was introduced into Sekhukhuneland under the name "Feta Kgomo o Sware Motho" (pass by the cattle and go for the people), a Pedi slogan which is believed to have been responsible for the success of the Pedi in becoming a strong nation because they did not rob their enemies of cattle but subjected the people themselves to Pedi rule instead. In this way tradition was utilized to get the people to protest against what were regarded as interference with their traditional mode of life.

226 Chiefs who have established tribal authorities in terms of the Bantu Authorities Act are ridiculed with songs like this one:

Ntšhabeleng ke setlaela se ja kolobe,
se dumetše t.c., se lema mebôrôgô.

[Ntšhabeleng is a fool who has to eat pork because he agreed to the culling of his stock by officials of the South African Native trust. (Such stock is branded T.C.) He also has to plough "morgen", (i.e. he has to plough demarcated portions of land because he agreed to the agricultural planning of his area).]

227 Because of their discontent over the introduction of the Bantu Authority system, the heads and some members of the lineage groups Masweneng and Tebeila want to break away from chief Ntšhabeleng. They no longer pay homage to him, they do not give him sebegô and do not render bothokgo (free labour as tribute). They do not pay tribal levies, and in no way act as if they are still members of the tribe. They send their children to be initiated by other tribes and have changed the numbers on their identification documents to that allotted to chief Sekhukhune, but they nevertheless refuse to move from Ntšhabeleng's area. Chief Ntšhabeleng and his tribe are not able to remove them because they are not the real owners of the tribal land, the control of which vests in the government.

228 As a result of unrest among the Maroteng people of Sekhukhune, fourteen men and their families fled to Ntšhabeleng for protection in 1958. They were granted temporary residence, some of them occupying vacant lapas and others building houses of their own. They are still there (1961).

229 The tribal authority established for the Ntšhabeleng tribe in terms of the Bantu Authorities Act differs from any of the traditional councils of the tribe in that every lineage group is represented on this authority, either by its head or by a capable elder. Some lineage groups have more than one representative each, and in a few cases the representatives are elected members, these invariably being men of high standing.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

230 The foregoing analysis has shown that the tribe of Ntšhabeleng is divided into a number of kgôrôs (lineage groups or agnatic groups) each occupying one or more dwelling units (also called 'kgôrôs') which, in turn, consist of one or more lapas (households) each. The lineage groups are kinship units and not territorial units, i.e. the dwelling units occupied by any one lineage group are not situated together in a separate territorial ward excluding members of other lineage groups. Likewise, extended families or "family groups" as defined by Schapera¹⁾ cannot be distinguished as separate territorial units as they occupy neither separate dwelling units nor separate parts of dwelling units, i.e. the lapas occupied by any one extended family are not situated together in one territorial ward excluding other families. Therefore, the inmates of a dwelling unit do not form a sub-unit of the lineage group on a kinship basis. In other words, they do not constitute a kinship sub-unit. According to tribesmen, it was in olden times the practice for close relatives and for members of a lineage group to live together, i.e. kinship units were also local or territorial units. But the present separation of members of a lineage group in widely scattered dwelling units does not hamper the functioning of the social and political system, which now functions on a basis of kinship, regardless of territorial distribution. The inmates of each of the widely scattered dwelling units remain an integral part of the lineage group, which therefore remains one corporate body under a common leader. The political federation of a few lineage groups (cf. Ponyaneng and Masweneng with their subordinate lineage groups), and the grouping together of lineage groups under common batseta also do not have a territorial basis, but they form units for historical and/or genealogical reasons.

231 I thus found no territorial divisions of any kind in the Ntšhabeleng tribe, i.e. no groupings of social or political significance based solely or mainly on the living together of their members. Dwelling units, which are the only territorial units in the tribe, have little social or political significance, for their inmates often act independently in matters dealt with on a lineage or kinship basis.

1) Cf. Schapera, 1938 (1955), p. 17.

232 According to Schapera, Language and others an essential feature of the political organization of the Sotho tribes studied by them, is the division of a tribe into a number of administrative units on a territorial basis i.e. people are grouped together under a common leader in the first place because they live together in the same territorial "ward" and not because of kinship.¹⁾ These administrative units are, therefore, also territorial units. This is not so in the case of the Ntšhabeleng tribe, where kinship, not territory, is the essential feature in the formation of political units. The political units are based on the social units, and these are primarily kinship units. The members of these kinship units may or may not live together, but this is not important, and where they do live together, that is merely the territorial manifestation of already existing units.

233 A careful study of the literature on Sotho tribes shows, however, that the above differences between the Ntšhabeleng tribe and other Sotho tribes are not real. For example, Language (1943, p.91) stresses the assumption that the political units of the Tlhaping consist of territorial wards, but he also mentions that these wards have no clearly defined boundaries in that the members of one ward sometimes live among the members of another ward, so that even the head of the ward cannot point out the boundaries between the two wards. The "ward" is certainly not a territorial unit in such a case. Likewise, Schapera (1935, p.214) mentions in his analysis of a Ngwato ward that some men who were shown as ward members in the records of the administration, did not actually live there. In another publication [1938(1955), p.21] Schapera also mentions the fact that if a family group leaves a ward it may be recognized by the chief as a separate independent ward. If the chief does not recognize its independence, such a family group remains under the jurisdiction of the head of the ward from which it separated. In that case, also, that "ward" is no longer a territorial unit. (In the Ntšhabeleng tribe, members of a lineage group do also sometimes leave the group and establish a new dwelling unit which continues to form an integral part of the original group unless the chief recognizes it as an independent unit.) Further study of other tribes will probably reveal that where a tribe occupies a vast area and settlements are situated far apart, the different divisions or political units of the tribe are territorially clearly separated from each other and have well-defined boundaries, but where the population is dense, members of different units live intermingled and the territorial character of such units then tends to become vague. They

1) Cf. Schapera, 1938 (1955), pp. 17 and 19, and Language, 1943, pp. 2, 9, 161 and 162.

then lose their territorial character and function mainly on the basis of kinship.¹⁾

234 The exercise of authority over the tribe or over a political unit within the tribe is vested in its highest-ranking member assisted by advisers and councils, the composition of which has a genealogical basis. The readiness of members of the tribe and of political units to subject themselves to authority is based on the same principle as their readiness to subject themselves to paternal authority. Subjection to patriarchal power (which is based on kinship) becomes fused with common dependence on a leader, sc. the highest-ranking member of the group, who also has quasi-paternal authority over strangers who have joined him. In some cases, however, authority has been taken over from the genealogically higher-ranking members by lower-ranking members, but to appease the ancestor spirits the former are allowed the privilege of precedence in all ceremonies of a socio-religious nature such as initiation and first-fruit festivals.

235 Whilst genealogical rank is patrilineal, though affected by the rank of the wives of polygynists, the political importance of persons and of lineage groups is to a very great extent determined by the descent of women. All the children of an elder brother rank higher genealogically than those of a younger brother, but often the children of the principal wife of a younger brother are politically more important than the children of some of the lower-ranking wives of his elder brother. Likewise the heads of some lineage groups of low genealogical rank are politically more important than those outranking them because they have married women of high rank, such as daughters of chiefs, for which reason they are also allowed the privilege of receiving the sebegô of their subjects. Cutting across this system of genealogical and political rank based on blood ties and marriage, is the division of the tribe into regiments. Regimental ties often imply responsibilities opposed to interests brought about by blood ties. Circumstances will determine which will prevail.

236 The batseta system provides a democratic "escape" from the ties mentioned above. It cuts across rank and it is free for all to choose whom they like as their batseta

1) This is so in the case of the baMoletlane of Zebediela, a tribe which I studied recently. Outlying villages are territorial units under lineage heads governing all and sundry in their areas, whilst the densely populated area close to the chief's village is inhabited by four lineage groups living together and intermingled, but each constituting a separate political unit under its own head.

(representatives) although this choice has more often than not a genealogical or historical basis. The system has acquired a fixed pattern because what started as voluntary associations has become fixed tradition, but it nevertheless forms a democratic outlet for political dissatisfactions, and a means whereby commoners may achieve political status through being chosen as batseta by others, even by their political superiors and by those that rank higher genealogically than they themselves.

237 The implications of a general statement like, for example, "Motho ye ke yo mogolo go nna" (this man is my senior), require an intensive functional analysis, which would be a study in itself.

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I N D E X

S U B J E C T S

(T = table, M = sketch map)

- affinities of tribe 15
- age group, see initiation
- ancestor cult 8, 17, 142, 234
- ancillary wife 126-130, 134, 135
 - seantlo 22, 71, 135
 - ngwetši 22, 66, 127, 128, 130, 134
 - mohlatswa-dirope 134
- Bantu Authority 3, 224, 225
- batseta (representatives, delegates, mediators, messengers)
 - 79, 159-162, 203-208, 236
 - system 167-190, T7
- beer 191
 - ntšha legata 82 note
- burial
 - place 6, 7, 63
 - cattle 17
- cairn 8, 193, 199
- circumcision, see initiation
- circumcision regiment, see initiation
- clan 92
- court, see justice
- dikgôtôboriba, see initiation
- dwelling unit
 - definition 25
 - establishment 44-49, 93-112
 - exercise of control 33, 211-215
 - grouping of lapas (households) 44, 63-66, 98-119, T2, T5
 - relationship between - and lineage group 44-49, 94, 110, 145, 211-215, 220-222, 230
 - abandoned - used as burial place 63
 - pheko (doctored wand across entrance) 105
- European influence 7, 9, 10, 101, 152, 224-229
- extended family 109, 111, 230
- family 111, 123-137
- food supply 9
- genealogy T8
 - of chiefs 13, 20
 - importance of detailed knowledge of - 146
 - in everyday life 146, 147
 - taught in circumcision lodges 146

- generation
 - genealogical - cuts across age 143, 157
- household 25, 111, 123-137, see also under lapa
- inheritance, see also succession
 - of lapa 125, 135
- initiation 8, 150-157, 198, 209, 216, T6
 - boys 150-157
 - girls 21 note, 150, 153
 - site of lodge 8
 - influence of mission 7, 152
 - dikgôtôboriba (round stones placed in chief's kgôrô by girl initiates) 21 note
 - balobi (sacrifices of the lodge) 35
 - youths of one tribe initiated in another 16, 227
 - rank in circumcision lodges 27, 34, 156, 234, T1
 - lineage groups named after circumcision regiments 69, 84-90
 - servants of chief should be members of his regiment 57, 79, 80, 159
 - members of regiment may not marry each other's daughters 154
 - uterine brothers may not be initiated together 153
 - cooking of meat for circumcision rites 80
 - genealogy taught in circumcision lodges 146, 193
 - council of initiated men 209
 - posthumous marriage of circumcised man 131
 - regiments, 157, T6
 - exercise of control in regiments 155
 - naming of regiments 151
- justice, administration of 2, 161, 164, 168, 193, 210-212, 215
 - court fees 168, 211
 - litigation over rank prevented by detailed knowledge of genealogy 146
- kgôrô, definition 25, 44, 92
- kinship system 138-149, see also 'mother's brother' and 'motlogolo'
 - use of term "uterine" 19
 - sons of related wives regarded as uterine brothers 78, 91
- lapa
 - definition 25
 - grouping 44, 63-66, 98-119, T2, T5
 - grouping of lapas of a polygynist 113-119
 - composition 123-137
 - inheritance of 125, 135
- language 13
- leloko (lineage) 92, 144
- lineage group
 - definition 25, 92, 144
 - establishment 74-78, 81-83, 90-93, T3, T4

- rank of 26-35, 148, 216, T1
- interrelationship of lineage groups T1
- naming 84-90
- sub-division of - into dwelling units 93-112
- relationship between - and dwelling unit 44-49, 94, 110, 145, 183, 211-215, 220-222, 230
- breaking away from 110, 145, 183
- exercise of control in 183, 211-215
- marriage, see also ancillary wife
 - preferential 118-121
 - restrictions on choice of partner 119-120, 154
 - posthumous marriage 107, 131, 132
 - of chief 118 note, 193
 - magadi (marriage cattle) 127, 128, 193
 - polygyny 7, 113-122
 - endogamy and exogamy 149
 - goroša (transfer of wife to place of husband) 101, 107
 - ranking of wives of a polygynist 113-120
 - sororate 76, 120, 129, 134, 135
 - levirate 101, 107, 132, 135
- meat, division of 117, 162
- method of study 1
 - use of praises to obtain genealogy of chiefs 19
 - determining age of settlements 21 note
 - importance of genealogical tables 146
 - circumcision regiments as a chronology T6
- mother's brother 2, 118, 125, 128, 133, 134
- motlogolo (sister's child), custom relating to 60, 80(1)b, 101
- paternity 19 note
- population figures 4
- rainfall 5
- rank
 - underlying principles 53, 139-143, 146, 234-237
 - versus status 34, 142, 178, 195, 196, 216, 234-237
 - detailed knowledge of genealogical - 146
 - in everyday life 146, 147
 - in circumcision lodges 27, 34, 156, 234
 - in succession 13, 14, 33, 214, 234
 - of Ntšhabeleng tribe relative to other Tau tribes 14-16
 - ranking of lineage groups 26-35, 148, 216, T1
 - ranking of wives of a polygynist 67, 113-120
 - role of - in establishment of lineage groups 75, 78, 91
 - in composition of councils 201, 204, 205
 - in naming of persons 151
 - batseta system cuts across - 188
- regiment, see initiation
- religion
 - ancestor cult 8, 17, 234
 - tribe divided into Christians and pagans 7
 - Christianity 7, 152, 178

- isolation of Christians 7, 80(3)b, 103, 128, 178
- mission 7, 101, 152
- firstfruits festival 142, 234
- road distances 4
- servants
 - of chief 57, 79, 80, 158-162, 217
 - of great wife 66, 77
- settlement
 - mode of 43-50, 94, 200, 223, 230-233, M
 - role of mode of settlement in composition of council 206, 207
 - motse, use of term 43
- succession 13, 14, 22
- totem 12, 35, T1
- tribal councils 158, 201-210
- tribal wife 2, 22, 67, 71, 118 note, 193
- tribe, relative rank of 15, 16
- tribute
 - bothokgo 67, 193, 227
 - sebegô 191-200, 227, 235
- uterine
 - use of term 19
 - sons of related wives regarded as - brothers 78, 91
- witchcraft 104, 150 note

T R I B E S A N D G R O U P S

(T = table, M = Sketch map)

- | | |
|--|---|
| Hwaduba 37, 38 | Malatšê 70, 90, 170, 173, 187, 192, 203, 218, T1, T4, T7, M(L) |
| Kgaditsi 12, 28, 41 | Manaleng 72, 89, 96, 170, 201, 203, 217, T1, T3, T4, T7, T8, M(F) |
| Kgaga 42 | Manganeng T3 |
| Kgaphola 31, 34, 41, 192, 195, 219, T1, T7, M(a) | Manganeng (Lekôkô) 72, 82, 86, 92, 201, 203, T1, T4, T7, T8, M(C) |
| Koni 38, 40, 42 | Manganeng (Magwadi) 50, 60, 203, 217, T1, T4, T7, M(K) |
| baseLakeng (abasema-Langeni) 12 | ba Mankôtsane 2 |
| Langa section of Swazi 12 | Maoto T1 |
| Lekgoro 28, 219, T1, T7, M(S) | Maredi 28, 29, 40, 92, T1 |
| Magakala 53 | Marišane 15 |
| Magaseng 72, 87, 92, 174, 201, 203, T1, T3, T4, T7, T8, M(d) | Maroteng 2, 228 |
| Maila 37 | Marutla 28, 40, 170, 192, 218, T1, T7, M(Y) |
| Mailola 35, 42, 174, 219, T1, T7, M(n) | Masailaneng 57, 90, 192, 218, T1, T4, T7, M(J) |
| Makgaleng 54, 58, 221, 221, 222, T1, T4, T7, M(H) | Masemola 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 33, 55, 67, 218 |
| Makweng 72, 88, 96, 187, 201, 203, 217, T1, T3, T4, T7, T8, M(E) | |

- Masweneng 50, 57, 58, 90,
170, 192, 198, 203, 205,
218, 219, 227, T1,
T4, T7, M(G)
Matlala 40, 42
Mathabatha 42
Matseba 37-39
Matseba (Maila) 28, 37,
T1, T7, M(R)
Mogašwa 15
Mokalapa 33
Mokgophi 28, 42, 170,
192, 218, T1, T7, M(W)
Molefana 35, 40, 217, 222,
T1, T7, M(Z)
Moletlane 233
Mongatane 42
Moopong 15
Morwaswi 28, 37-39, T1,
T7, M(T)
Motodi 177
Mphahlêlê 42
Mphanama 15, 31, 41, 55,
60, 195, T4
Ndebele 37
Ngwato 233
Nkadimeng 15
Nkwêlê 33, 34, 186, 217,
T1, T7, M(e)
Northern Sotho 1
Ntswana 42, 170, 192, 218,
T1, T7, M(X)
Pedi 2, 24, 67, 225
Phahla 15
Phahla-Mohlaka 15
Phahla-Morwaswi 38, 39,
41, 219, T1, T7, M(V)
Phakwago 53, 58, 181, 192,
198, 222, T1, T4, T7, M(O)
Ponyaneng 25, 69, 70, 82,
85, 90, 92, 173, 185, 187,
192, 193, 197, 201, 203,
218, T1, T4, T7, T8, M(B)
Ramaila 28, 41, 222, T1,
T7, M(P)
Ramakwê 29, 42, T1
Raphiri 35, 42, T1, T7,
M(m)
Ratšhidi 72, 82, 90, 203,
T1, T4, T7, M(N)
Rôka 37
Šaku 23, 38
Šaku (Molongwane) 32, 34,
57, 192, 196, T1, T7, M(b)
Šaku (Motsomi) 32, 34, T1,
T7, M(d)
Sebei 29, 58, 90, 92, 192,
218, 220, T1, T4, T7, M(M)
Sotho 13, 139, 232, 233
Southern Sotho 1
Swazi 12
Tau 2, 11, 12, 17, 28, 30,
35, 37, 40
Tebeila 28, 29, 37, 38,
192, 193, 199, 227, T1,
T7, M(U)
Tlhaping 233
Tšebana 28, 38, 80, 170,
203, 204, T1, T7, M(Q)
Tšhweung 27, 35, 51-137,
148, 201, 203, 217, T1,
T3, T4, T8, M(A)
Tswana 1
Zulu 67, 162.

P E R S O N S

(T = table, M = sketch map. The number and letter after T8, e.g. T8(6b) denote the column and place in table 8. The letter and number after M, e.g. M(T6) denote lineage group and dwelling unit on sketch map)

- Bjatladi M(R6)
Bogaleng 33, T2, T3, T5,
T8(6b)
Bokomê T2, T8(6e)
Dinkwanyane 68, 98, 159,
160, 163, 165, 187, T3,
T5, T6, T7, T8(5d), M(A4)
Dinkwanyane T6, T8(9a)
Diphala T2, T5, T8(6a)
Diphala T5, T8(8a)
Esibê 199, T8(5w)
Hubalê T5, T8(6w)
Hunt 2, 24, 67,
Kanyane T5, T8(8t)

- Ketetši M(W1)
 Kgaditsi M(O3)
 Kgaditsi M(Q2)
 Kgalabothwane M(G3)
 Kganathi 179
 Kgaphola 41
 Kgathane 196, T8(7c)
 Kgedia M(U14)
 Kgolokô T6, T8(9a)
 Kgwana 108, T5, T8(7t)
 Khulong M(T6)
 Khulong M(d1)
 Khulwane M(b7)
 Kitiki 107, 109, 132, T5,
 T8(7t), M(A1)
 Kitlone T8(9L), M(C1)
 Kitlane T3, T8(4x)
 Kômane I 20, 21, 52, 53,
 T1, T4
 Kômane II 3, 20, 24, 68, 80,
 93, 95, 98, 114, 159, T1,
 T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T8(5a)
 Kômane III T6, T8(9a)
 Kômane 80, 159, 160, 163,
 165, 187, T8(9c), M(B3)
 Kômane 88, T1, T2, T3, T4,
 T8(5r)
 Kômane T8(9q), M(E1)
 Kômane T3, T8(5y)
 Kopi M(Z1)
 Krige 25, 162
 Kutumê M(U10)
 Kutumpane T2, T5, T8(6v)
 Kutumpane T2, T8(6r)
 Kwailê 129, T5, T8(6v)
 Lebôpô M(O7)
 Ledima M(b10)
 Lefalane 22, T8(2k)
 Legare 98, 129, T3, T5,
 T8(5u)
 Lejwane M(K7)
 Lejwane M(U15)
 Lekgoro 39
 Lekôkô 86, 101, 215, T2,
 T3, T6, T8(5k)
 Lekôkô M(d6)
 Lekômê 129, T5, T8(6u)
 Lešedi T5, T8(8e)
 Lesufi T5, T8(8t)
 Lethubê T5, T8(6t)
 Letodi T2, T8(6j)
 Letšibogo 179, M(S1)
 Letšibogo M(S2)
 Letswalô 56, 59, 159,
 162, 199, T2, T3, T6,
 T8(3w)
 Letswalô 102, 165, T5, T6,
 T8(7a)
 Letswalô T5, T8(7v)
 Lewane 132, T5, T8(6v)
 Maakatê M(H2)
 Mabalane 20, T1
 Mabale 19, 20
 Mabiletse M(d8)
 Mabôgô M(N5)
 Mabôkê M(J5)
 Maboregane 80, 104, 107,
 159, 160, T5, T8(7s)
 Madipitsi M(b8)
 Madipôrô T5, T8(6a)
 Magabê 39, 41, 52, 55,
 60, T1, T4
 Magabê M(K6)
 Magampane M(R3)
 Magedi 80, 104, 107, 132,
 T5, T8(7s)
 Mageti 80, 86, T1, T2,
 T3, T4, T6, T8(5e)
 Mageti T8(9e), M(C5)
 Magetse 132, T5, T8(6s)
 Magodi M(T11)
 Magomê T2, T8(6-o)
 Magwadi 41, 60, 171, T1,
 T4
 Mahlabê M(S3)
 Mahlabê M(d7)
 Mahlakedi M(L7)
 Mahlong M(L2)
 Maile M(G12)
 Majadihlôgô M(M7)
 Makgatê M(V4)
 Makgatlollê M(T1),
 M(T2), M(T3)
 Makgatlollê M(T12)
 Makhinê M(Z2)
 Makôkwane T5, T8(8b)
 Makopane 77, 80, 98,
 100, 159, 176, 185,
 T2, T3, T5, T8(5w)
 Makopane M(P3)
 Malatê M(L4)
 Malatšê 70, 219, T1,
 T2, T4
 Malatšê M(Q5)

- Malesê T3, T8(5x)
 Mamadimo M(d11)
 Mamahlodi M(G11)
 Mamokgagê M(Q8)
 Mamonyaku M(b2)
 Mamonyane M(M2)
 Mampau T2
 Mampe 77, 80, 81, 98, 159,
 T2, T3, T5, T8(5s)
 Manaile M(d10)
 Mankopane I 20, 22-24, 56,
 57, 62, 64, 67, 69-72, 74,
 77, 80, 92, 106, 142, 148,
 170, 197, T1, T2, T3, T4,
 T6, T8(3L)
 Mankopane II 3, 20, 24, 93,
 97, 102, 104, 115, 159,
 T5, T6, T8(7a), M(A3)
 Mantê 98, 131, T5, T8(6a)
 Mantlheng 80, 159, 160, T5,
 T8(7d)
 Maoto 52, 56, 59, 62, T1,
 T4
 Maoto 20, 21, 54, T1
 Maoto T2
 Maoto M(O6)
 Maoto M(O14)
 Maoto M(d4)
 Mapelane M(U16)
 Mapitsi T2
 Marei M(S4)
 Mareketle 102, 104, T5,
 T8(8a)
 Maripanyane 131, T5,
 T8(6b)
 Marome M(J2)
 Marotholodi M(G9)
 Maruthu T5, T8(8t)
 Marutlwe 95, 108, T3, T5,
 T8(5t)
 Masailane 56, T1, T4
 Masemola 13-15, 19-21, 24,
 39
 Mašilo 80, 106, 116, 160,
 T5, T8(7b), M(A5)
 Mašilo M(G10)
 Mašišimalo 52, 56, 57,
 198, T1, T4
 Matatsi M(n1)
 Mathunye M(V2)
 Matiase M(R7)
 Matlalê M(U20)
 Matlebjane I 13
 Matlebjane II 13-15, 19,
 20
 Matlebo 13-15
 Matlou T2
 Matshephole 68, 69, 71,
 78, 85, 92, 159, 196,
 197, T1, T4, T6, T8(5c)
 Matshephole 80, 128, T5,
 T8(7c)
 Matšheng M(K4)
 Matšhiri M(U8)
 Matšhiri M(d3)
 Matšîê M(b3)
 Matšîê M(b5)
 Maušê M(X2)
 Mmabowane M(O5)
 Mmabowane M(O8)
 Mmaditlhodi T2, T3,
 T8(4j)
 Mmadume 100, 132, T5,
 T8(6w)
 Mmagoathana T5, T8(8w)
 Mmagoje T5, T8(8d)
 Mmagomarothi T5, T8(8a)
 Mmagommallenginê T5,
 T8(6x)
 Mmahlageng 67, T2, T3,
 T8(4r)
 Mmakamêlê 99, T5, T8(6v)
 Mmakgabutle T2, T8(4y)
 Mmakgantšaka 59, T2
 Mmakodi T5, T8(8a)
 Mmalenginê 80, 96, 159,
 160, T5, T8(7x)
 Mmalerotho M(U6)
 Mmalwalane M(O12)
 Mmamagasê M(H1)
 Mmamagasê M(M4)
 Mmamakgale M(U4, U5)
 Mmamakwape 130, T5,
 T8(6w)
 Mmamaropeng 130, T2, T5,
 T8(6w)
 Mmamamtime T5, T8(8t)
 Mmamantšane T2, T8(4v)
 Mmamorake 131, T5, T8(6b)
 Mmamotaudi T2
 Mmampholô T5, T8(8x)
 Mmankgodi T5, T8(8v)
 Mmankong 132, T2, T5,
 T8(6g)
 Mmantlatle T2, T8(6n)
 Mmapapo 22, 67, 69, 71, T8(4a)

- Mmaphale T2
 Mmaphêkwê M(H3)
 Mmaremekê T5, T8(8s)
 Mmaserišane T5, T8(8a)
 Mmatau T5, T8(8u)
 Mmathake T2, T3, T8(4s)
 Mmatlaupane T2
 Mmatlolobe 67, 82, T2, T3, T8(4f)
 Mmatsêkê 69, 71, 82, T8(6c)
 Mmatsêkê T5, T8(8b)
 Mmatshêgane 22, T5, T8(8a)
 Mmatshêgane 22, T3, T8(2x)
 Mmatshêgane T5, T8(8b)
 Mmatshelane M(J6)
 Mmatshelane M(a3)
 Mmatshidinyane 77, T2, T3
 Mmatshipi T2
 Mmatshipi M(N1)
 Mmatshwaane M(Y1)
 Mmatsoku T2, T8(4v)
 Mmetwane M(K1)
 Mmudi 132, T2, T5, T8(6s)
 Mmududu T2, T3, T8(4u)
 Modibê 95, 108, T5, T8(7t), M(A2)
 Modibê M(F3)
 Modingwane 20
 Modingwane M(N3)
 Mofêlê M(J1)
 Mogafu 104, 110, T8(7h)
 Mogaitšane 132, T5, T8(8s)
 Mogaletlwa T8(7-o), M(D1, D2)
 Mogari 178, M(Q7)
 Mogari M(L3)
 Mogaswa 13-15
 Mogolongwane M(L9)
 Mogômo M(O13)
 Moifô M(K5)
 Mokalapa M(N2)
 Mokalê M(O11)
 Mokgano 127, T5, T8(6b)
 Mokgekgedi M(L1)
 Mokgohlwe T5, T8(8e)
 Mokgômane 72, 77, 78, 80, 96, 159, T1, T3, T5, T8(5x)
 Mokgômane T8(7x), M(F4)
 Mokgômane M(G5)
 Mokgophi 198
 Mokgophi M(G2)
 Mokhulwane 20-22, 142, 201, T1, T3, T4, T8(1s)
 Mokhulwane T5, T8(7a)
 Mokwêna 13
 Mokwene 52, 84, T1, T4
 Molangwane M(O4)
 Molefana 40, 217
 Molefê M(T9)
 Molefê M(d5)
 Molekê M(O1)
 Molongwane 23, 196, T1
 Mookê M(U9)
 Mopoki M(Z3)
 Morepjê 221
 Morepjê T8(7j), M(C3)
 Morodi M(L5)
 Morwamajane 98, 99, T3, T5, T8(5v)
 Morwamajane M(N4)
 Morwapê 87, T3, T8(5u)
 Mosô M(Q6)
 Mošweu M(d9)
 Mošweu M(d12)
 Motladi M(T7)
 Motlakaro 128, T5, T8(6d)
 Motodi 177, M(G7)
 Motsepe M(U19)
 Motsêtê 132, T5, T8(6x)
 Motšhumi 86, 88, T2, T3, T6, T8(5g)
 Motsomi 23, T1
 Mpe M(M1)
 Mpe M(a2)
 Mpinê 180, M(V1, V3, V5)
 Mpinê M(b6)
 Mpjatšhweu M(F5)
 Nakedi T2, T8(6L)
 Ngwanaduwane T2
 Ngwanamagasa M(Q4)
 Ngwanammala 22, 59, 62, 72, 80, 89, 159, 185, T1, T2, T3, T4, T6, T8(3x)
 Ngwanammaphahla M(P2)
 Ngwanammaphahla M(M9)
 Ngwati M(d2)
 Ngwati M(d19)
 Ngwato 13
 Nkareng 56, 59, 62, 64, 69, 70, 80, 185, 219, T1, T2, T4
 Nkgagaripe T2, T3, T8(4y)

- Nkgape M(K3)
 Nkgatho M(U2)
 Nkgatho M(U7)
 Nkgau M(G4)
 Nkhônê T6
 Nkhônê M(G6)
 Nkopa M(R1)
 Nkôtsane 20, 21, 27, 32,
 37, 38, 52, 92, T1, T4
 Nkwagae M(P1)
 Nkwane M(M11)
 Nkwêlê 33, 217
 Nkwêlê T6, T8(7e), M(C6)
 Nonyane 80
 Nonyane 87, T3, T8(5u)
 Nokana 21, 37
 Ntepane T5, T8(8a)
 Ntladi T2, T3, T8(5h)
 Ntladi T8(7-o), M(D3)
 Ntlôtšeng T5, T8(6d)
 Ntoneng M(O2)
 Ntsedi M(T5)
 Ntshênêkane T2, T3, T8(4w)
 Ntsiditsane T2, T8(6h)
 Ntšile M(R5)
 Ntswana 198
 Ntweng M(R8)
 Pêkwê M(R4)
 Phadimê 80, 159-162, 185,
 T5, T8(7w)
 Phadimê T6, T8(7c), M(B1)
 Phadimê T3, T8(5x), M(F1)
 Phadimê M(G1)
 Phadimê M(G8)
 Phahla 13-15
 Phakale M(T10)
 Phakwago 52, 53, 82, T1, T4
 Pharana M(X1)
 Phašê T8(7y), M(F2)
 Phašê M(M3)
 Phašê M(M6)
 Phasudi 132, T5, T8(7s)
 Phasudi M(U13)
 Phaswane T6, T8(7a)
 Pheêganyane 222, M(O9),
 M(O10)
 Phôtô 13-15
 Pinyê T2, T3, T8(4n)
 Pitšadi T8(7c), M(B2)
 Pôô 19-21
 Potgieter 67
 Potlake T5, T8(7b)
 Puwane 87, T1, T2, T3,
 T4, T8(5n)
 Ramatladi M(M5)
 Ramatlakane 20
 Ramogototwane M(K2)
 Rangwato 128, T5, T8(6d)
 Rankwane M(U17)
 Ratšhidi 52, 53, 56, 59,
 62, 64, 72, 80, 82, T1,
 T2, T4
 Šaku 20, 21, 23, 27, 32,
 38, 52, T1
 Sampje 80, 178, M(Q1)
 Sebei 52, 56, 57, 198,
 T1, T4
 Sefahle M(d14, d16, d20)
 Segajwê T5, T8(6t)
 Segane M(m2)
 Sekgolê M(L6)
 Sekhukhune 2, 190, 228
 Sekopjane M(e1)
 Sekwati 24, 67
 Selwane 13-15
 Sentšhê M(d13)
 Seônô 19-21, 54, T1
 Separitlê M(T8)
 Sepôrô 87, T3, T8(5p)
 Sepôrô T8(9k), M(C4)
 Serake T6, T8(7a)
 Serôrôkê T5, T8(6v)
 Seruwe 176, T8(7g),
 M(C2)
 Sethume 127, T5, T8(6a)
 Sethulwê M(b1)
 Setodi M(d17)
 Setšhabane M(Q3)
 Setwabane M(a1)
 Seutlane 20, 22, 24, 37,
 56, T8(3z)
 Siimelele M(d21)
 Šikwane M(d18)
 Teko T5, T8(6d)
 Thanyêlê M(M10)
 Thêbê 20, 21, 52, 55
 Thêbjane 20, 21, 52, 55
 Theêtša T2, M(L8)
 Thobišê M(U1)
 Thomane M(R2)
 Thomane M(R9)
 Thongwane M(U18)
 Tlabane T5, T8(6d)
 Tladi M(U3)
 Tlakalê 67, 68, 82, 98,
 114, 117, T2, T3, T8(4b)
 Tlhabane M(m1)
 Tsetsewe T2

Tsêkê 20, 22, 23, 52, 56,	Tshweu M(M8)
57, 78, 80, 170, 198, T1,	Tšhwikeke M(T4)
T4	Tsôgwane T2, T3, T8(4-o)
Tsêkê 131, T5, T8(7b)	Tsokodi M(b9)
Tsêkê T5, T8(7d)	Tsotsorê M(J4)
Tšhêgane M(U12)	Tšuwane T2
Tšhididi T2, T8(4v)	Tudume M(J3)
Tšhwêtêkê M(d15)	Tumuga M(U11)

P L A C E S

(M = Sketch map)

Apél 4	Magotwaneng 6, M	Nebo 15
Crocodile river 13	Makgopong 15	Olifants river 4
Dšate 24	Makhurwaneng 6, M	Phiring 15
Grobblersdal 4	Manganeng 15	Pietersburg 4
Lake Chrissie 13	Manôgê 15, 24	Schoonoord 4
Leolo mountains 4, M	Marišane 15	Sego 37
Lepellane river 5	Maropeng 6, M	Sekhukhuneland 1
Letapo hill 6, M	Marulaneng 40	Sesesehu 15, 52
Lobethal 15	Masweneng 6, M	Sethakadu river 5
Lydenburg 2	Matadi hill 6, M	Steelpoort river 38
Mabotšeng hill 6, M	Mogwêtê 21	Thabampje 21
Mafatê 38	Mohwetse river 5, M	Thetyane 21
Magnet Heights 15	Mothopong 1, M	Tšhwenispoort 37
Magokobo hill 6, M	Mphanama 15	Zebediela 15

ALPHETICAL INDEX OF NAMES
IN GENEALOGY

(Numbers and letters denote column and place in table 8)

Alebina 6u	Kgomo 9m, 9s	Letseke 7v
Aubuti 9q	Kgwahle 9k	Letswalô 3w, 7a,
Bogaleng 2p, 5k,	Kgwana 7t	7r, 7v, 9k, 9q, 9r
6b, 7w, 8s, 9a,	Khôrwane 9j	Lewane 6v
9b, 9j	Khudu 9a	Maakatê 7e, 9k
Bokomê 6e, 9e	Kirimane 9L	Mabêkê 7y
Botšhabane 8e	Kitlane 4x, 5y,	Mabiletše 7h
Dafita 7u	6o, 9h, 9x, 9y	Maboregane 7s, 9t
Difedile 8m	Kitiki 7t	Mabusane 9n
Dihubane 9d	Kitione 9L	Mabutšwe 5w, 7c,
Dikaki 9s	Kokome 9c	7d, 7h, 7n, 8k, 9o
Dikgababe 9d	Kômane II 5a	Madiganeng 7t
Dikolwana 9a	Kômane 5r, 5y,	Madimetše 6p, 7p,
Dinašaneng 9t	7c, 7p, 9a,	7w, 9r
Dinkwanyane 5d,	9c, 9q, 9r,	Madipôrô 6a
9a, 9c, 9d	9x, 9y, 9y	Madirê 7r
Dipeê 7c	Koruwakae 8q	Maditi 7d, 9o
Diphala 6a, 7a,	Kujwane 6o	Maditsi 7p
8a	Kurutlane 9k	Magabê 9k, 9k, 9r
Diphôrôkwana 9d	Kutumpane 6r,	Magabela 8f
Dithageng 7e	6v, 7r, 8j, 9w	Magabjane 6y, 9j,
Elesi 9f	Kwailê 6v, 7w,	9m, 9y, 9y
Esibê 5w	8g	Magalane 5v, 7s,
Fisasa 9m	Lea 8f	8k, 8n
Florina 7u	Lefalane 2k,	Magašakwane 5p
Gafare 7p	5r, 5y, 7b,	Magedi 7s, 9s
Gošetšeng 8q	7p, 7x, 9h,	Mageti 5e, 7f, 9e,
Hendrik 9g	9L, 9q, 9w	9f, 9g
Hlahlariële 7f,	Legare 5u, 7v,	Magetse 6s, 9s
7x, 9f, 9v	9k	Magolego 9r
Hubalê 6w, 7h,	Lekgwana 5w	Magomê 6o
8r, 9j, 9w	Lekôkô 5k, 9a,	Mahlôgwane 3k
Jack 7u	9k, 9L	Makaleng 9d
James 9g	Lekômê 6u, 7v	Makanike 9p
Kanyane 8t, 9f,	Leotšane 7w	Makgwethe 7m, 9n
9j, 9j, 9m	Lešedi 5x, 8e,	Makhaue 9w
Kgabalo 8d, 9h,	8r, 9x	Makitlane 7L
9k	Lesibê 8y	Makôkwane 8b
Kgathane 3w, 7c,	Lesetše 7v, 9k	Makopane 5w, 7v,
7w, 9c	Lesufi 8t	9r, 9v
Kgogo 9x	Lethubê 6t	Makopong 9j
Kgolane 7a	Letia 8g	Malapane 7g, 9h
Kgolokô 9a	Letodi 6j, 7c,	Malatane 9x
Kgomanoka 7r, 9s	8m	Malepise 9r

Malesê 5x, 7u, 9x, 9y	Mathabathe 6m, 7u, 8f, 9n	Mmakodi 8a
Malesêlê 7v, 8c, 8k	Matheba 9y	Mmakôkôbêlê 8L
Malêtêrê 9n	Mathulwe 7L	Mmakotelê 9e
Malope 7e	Matipane 9t	Mmalakê 7x
Mamafolo 5u	Matlabukele 7t	Mmalebôgô 8g
Mampe 5s, 9q	Matlale 7b	Mmalegaeng 7y
Mampheletšane 7u	Matlopi 9m	Mmalenginê 7x, 9x
Mampudi 9g	Matšhabe 9t	Mmaletheê 7t
Manama 9t, 7b	Matshephole 5c, 7a, 7c, 9b, 9m	Mmaleušu 6x
Manankele 7h	Matsikêlê 7r	Mmamajane 9h
Manêgê 5v, 9x	Matwale 9g	Mmamakôkôlê 7d
Mankopane 9a, 9h	Mmabatho 7v	Mmamakwape 6w, 7w
Mankopane I 3L	Mmabowane 7f	Mmamannye 9s
Mankopane II 7a	Mmabuke 3j, 5a, 7a, 7o, 8b, 8c, 8y	Mmamantšane 4v
Mankutukutu 9f	Mmadikgwane 9g	Mmamaropeng 6w, 8n
Manopi 9L	Mmadinalê 3x, 7q, 7x, 7y, 8e	Mmamasegare 8r
Mantatise 9o	Mmadinôgê 8f, 9f	Mmamateê 7r, 9r, 9r
Mantê 6a, 7b, 8r, 9c, 9o	Mmadipapane 9m	Mmamatime 8t
Manthepe 8q	Mmadithamê 2z, 7f,	Mmamogwaša 9t
Mantlheng 7d	Mmaditlhodi 3x, 4j, 5y, 7d, 7g, 8c, 9f, 9h	Mmamohlake 5o, 7o, 7p, 8y
Manyakong 9h	Mmadume 6w	Mmamokgadi 8r
Manyane 9f	Mmagoathana 8w	Mmamoomong 7t
Mapankole 9L	Mmagodipêrê 5v, 8x	Mmamorake 6b
Mapolesana 7b	Mmagojê 8d	Mmamošiane 7a, 8q
Maporata 7b	Mmagokhulwane 8d	Mmamoswanyane 9p
Marei 9o	Mmagomarothi 8a	Mmamotšhabo 8j
Mareketle 8a	Mmagomatidi 7k	Mmamotshwane 7v
Marethana 9a	Mmagomatšhaba 9q	Mmamotsitsila 8o
Maripanyane 5x, 6b, 7y	Mmagomina 7u	Mmamoungwane 5s, 7t
Mariri 7x, 9b, 9x, 9x	Mmagommallenginê 6x	Mmamphekgo 7r
Marisane 9h	Mmagomokiritile 6x	Mmampholô 8x
Marutlwe 5t, 7t, 9s, 9t, 9t	Mmagopeni 9m	Mmamphule 5v
Maruthu 8t	Mmagopheta 5v	Mmampiti 9g
Masabi 9h	Mmagothaweni 9o	Mmaneê 7d
Masadika 9p	Mmagowane 5w, 7w	Mmanêpô 9p
Masailane 9b	Mmahlageng 4r, 7r	Mmangakane 9k
Masantase 9a	Mmakabea 9m	Mmankgodi 8v
Masebišana 9b	Mmakamêlê 6v	Mmankong 6g, 7w, 8o, 8s, 9g
Mašego 8f	Mmakatê 9c	Mmantlatle 6n, 8n, 9n
Masenyê 7p	Mmakgabutle 4y, 6k, 8x, 9L	Mmantlhome 7w, 8p,
Mašiananyane 6y, 9h, 9x	Mmakgoko 7g	Mmapakolane 6r
Mašilo 7b, 9b	Mmakgoleng 9L	Mmapapo 4a, 7y
Masogana 9k	Mmakhupe 7x, 8h	Mmaphadimê 7o, 8y, 9p
Mašupje 7r, 9r	Mmakibane 7d	Mnaphale 7y
Matane 7p		Mmaphopho 8z
Mataraišê 9L		Mmaphošane 5s, 8q

- Mmapule 9t
 Mmasegwai 5v
 Mmasekômane 6j
 Mmaserišane 8a
 Mmaseroto 7x
 Mmasetšhai 5y, 9z
 Mmaseyi 7r
 Mmašikwane 8z
 Mmaremêkê 8s
 Mmatau 6c, 7j, 8m, 8u, 9d
 Mmatawane 9w
 Mmathakê 7s, 4s
 Mmatlake 8y
 Mmatlolobe 4f, 7e, 7f, 9e, 9f, 9g
 Mmatshadi 5o, 6p
 Mmatsêkê 6c, 7a, 8b, 8k, 9b
 Mmatshêgane 8a
 Mmatšhêgane 2x, 5x, 7b, 7L, 7x, 8b, 8h, 9j, 9r
 Mmatšhidinyane 4u, 7u
 Mmatšhipo 8p
 Mmatsoku 4v, 9y
 Mmudi 6s, 7t
 Mmududu 4u, 7d, 7u, 8y, 9w
 Modibê 7t, 9b, 9t, 9t
 Modingwane 7x, 9h, 9o
 Moeng 9a
 Mogafu 7h
 Mogalatšane 9d
 Mogaletlwa 7o
 Mogaile 7h, 7u, 9d, 9j, 9m, 9q, 9x
 Mogaitšane 8s
 Mogari 7p, 9n
 Mogašwe 5y
 Mohube 7o
 Mohwêlasagwê 7a, 9m
 Moifô 9w
 Mokapa 9p
 Mokgano 6b
 Mokganyetši 8g
 Mokgohlwê 7x, 8e
 Mokgômane 5x, 7x, 9f, 9w
 Mokhudugi 8f
 Mokhulwane 1s, 5a, 7a, 9b
 Molato 7v
 Molebogeng 7u
 Molefê 7j
 Moleke 7k, 9j, 9u, 9w
 Mongatane 6x, 8x
 Morepjê 7j, 9i
 Moretšiši 9o
 Moriane 7k, 9L
 Morwamajane 5v
 Morwapê 5u, 7v, 9o, 9y
 Morwê 8z
 Moše 7q
 Mosêkabore 7t
 Moses 9g
 Mošiane 7a, 8q, 9r
 Mošitanya 7h, 9h
 Motite 9o
 Motlakaro 6d, 9d
 Motodi 9p
 Motšatši 7g, 9g
 Motseng 6u
 Motsêtê 6x
 Motšhumi 5g, 9e
 Motšipedi 7w
 Motswaledi 7k
 Mpakana 9s
 Mpjatsšhweu 9o
 Mpono 5r, 7j, 7r, 8o
 Mpôpôlôgê 7a, 8h
 Mpulatana 9w
 Nakedi 6L
 Nelwane 9j
 Ngwanalekhina 8d, 9c
 Ngwanammala 3x, 7o, 7x, 7y, 9m, 9y
 Ngwanamma-thafšane 8w
 Ngwanammatlôpô 8h, 9w
 Ngwanammêlê 6c, 9c
 Ngwanamothunye 7L
 Ngwanaphala 9o
 Ngwanatsomane 7d
 Nkadimeng 8x
 Nkatane 3l, 5o, 7b, 7L, 7p, 7t, 8d, 8n
 Nkekane 8j, 9x
 Nketi 9L, 9s
 Nkgagaripe 4y, 7y, 8j
 Nkgaphê 7y
 Nkgatinyane 7d
 Nkhônê 9b
 Nkopodi 7d
 Nkotla 9c
 Nkwêlê 7e
 Nonwane 9m
 Nonyane 5u, 7o, 9p
 Ntaisi 9e
 Ntalane 9q
 Ntantana 9e
 Ntapota 9e
 Ntau 9p
 Ntatokge 5u
 Nthoke 9s
 Ntekane 9n
 Nteke 9j
 Ntepane 8a
 Ntese 9L
 Ntipaneng 9j
 Ntladi 5h, 7k, 7o, 9d, 9m
 Ntlhau 3x, 5y, 7b, 7y
 Ntlotšeng 6d
 Ntšatši 9t
 Ntshênêkane 4w, 7v, 8n
 Ntsiditsane 6h
 Ntsimotsane 7q
 Ntsopana 9a
 Ntwalane 9a
 Ntwane 7m
 Papanana 9s
 Paulege 6f
 Pelane 7d
 Phadimê 5x, 7c, 7w, 7y, 9n, 9y, 9z
 Phanko 9t
 Phašê 7y
 Phasudi 7s, 9s

Phaswane 7a	Selemagae 7L	Thorometšane 7b
Pelwane 8L	Semakane 8m	Tlabane 6d, 7c
Phenyabutši 5u	Sepjaile 7j, 9g,	Tlakalê 4b, 7a,
Pinyê 4n, 7n	9j	7d, 8s, 9c, 9r
Pitšadi 7c, 7w,	Sepofane 9p	Tlhapedi 3L, 5a,
9d	Sepôrô 5p, 9k,	7b, 7c, 8L, 9a,
Potlake 7b	9n, 9p, 9r	9c, 9d
Pudigadi 7m	Serabaraba 9L	Tlhotša 7m
Puwane 5n	Seraki 7a	Tsamanana 9p
Raisibe 6p, 8q	Serampampa 9p	Tsêkê 5a, 7b, 7d,
Ramadimetše 8p	Serôrôkê 6v	7n, 7r, 9b, 9b,
Ramogôhlô 8h, 8x	Seruwe 7g, 7w	9k, 9o, 9o, 9q,
Ramphagane 7c	Sešego 7k	9s
Ramphelane 9c	Sesile 8z	Tsôgwane 4o, 5y,
Rangwato 6d	Seswai 9x	7o
Raseekele 8r	Setebateba 8q	Tšhatšhu 9e
Roripong 9q	Setêfêla 9m	Tshêbêsêbê 6r
Sanalegodu 9b	Sethume 6a	Tshêgane 7u
Satšhoma 7v	Setšekane 5x, 7x,	Tshêsana 7v
Sebobana 9f	8L	Tšhididi 4v
Segajwê 6t	Setšwamadibeng 6x	Tšinôrô 9n
Segolane 9n	Seutlane 3z	Tšhipane 5v
Sehleng 6y, 7w	Susane 9f	Tshwaane 7y
Sekgômê 7g, 7g	Teko 6d	Tsheswane 8o
Sekgothe 9n	Terese 9f	Tšhwêtêkê 9e, 9g
Selemabothokgo 8e	Thaogile 5v	

1 This genealogy covers the descendants of Mokhulwane (excluding the descendants of his son Seutlane who originated a separate tribe) over five generations in the male line, he himself and his wives being the first generation. Fourteen men of the fifth generation are married and their children are the sixth generation but to limit the size of the table these children and their mothers are not shown. The descendants of Mokhulwane today comprise the six lineage groups (dikgōrō) Tshweng, Panyaneng, Mangeneng (Lekōkō), Magaseng, Makweng and Manaleng.

2 Triangles (Δ) denote males, and circles (●) females.

3 Numbers after the names of males denote marriage to wives with the same number before their names, separately numbered for each generation. Wives of a polygynist are connected by a vertical line and are shown in order of rank, e.g. MANKOPANE I (1) married (1) Mmapapo besides the twelve wives connected to her by a vertical line.

4 Children of each woman are listed in order of birth and connected by a vertical line, e.g. Tlakalā, second wife of MANKOPANE I, is the mother of Mmapapo, Tlapedi, KOMANE II, Matshephole and Dinkwanyane.

5 Letters before names of males denote their respective circumcisions, as listed in table 6, and therefore their relative age, i.e. collaterals, and not coevals. A circle around a letter, e.g. ①, denotes the leader of the regiment concerned. If no letter appears before the name of a male, it signifies that that male is either an uninitiated youth or a Christian.

6 With few exceptions the names of children who died before initiation do not appear in the table.

7 Children who had not yet been given names when the genealogy was obtained are indicated by question marks (?), as are children whose names were not known to informants. Such children are those whose mothers still live in other tribes and have not yet joined their husbands.

8 The genealogy was obtained in 1953 but data on the regiments of males initiated in 1950 and 1961 were added in 1961.

9 For the purposes of the alphabetical index (page 91) the columns are numbered 1-9 and names are positioned along the right hand margin by the letters a-z.

