



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

- No. 10 The Ba Letswalô or Banarene
No. 11 The Bathlabine of Moxobôya
No. 12 The Bakoni ba Maake
No. 13 The Banarene of Sekôrôrô
No. 14 The Banarene of Mmutlana
No. 15 The Bakoni of Mametša
No. 16 The Batubatse of Mašišimale

PRINTED IN S.A.

by N. J. van Warmelo
Government Ethnologist

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 No. 10

The Ba Letswalô or Banarene

by N. J. van Warmelo
 Government Ethnologist
 1944

- 1 **District:** Tzaneen, Transvaal.
- 2 **Numbers and distribution:** In reserve 577 taxpayers, on European owned land 422 taxpayers, total 999 taxpayers.
- 3 **Names of tribe:** *Ba Letswalô*, *Banarene* or *Balaodi*.
- 4 **Totem:** They *bina* (have as totem) *nare* "buffalo" or *kxomo* "bovine"¹⁾. The *serêtô* or praise²⁾ of the royal family is:—

*Mafêra a Letswalô, fêfêra o mphê lesêlô,
 Bana ba letše le tala maleng.*

"Winnower of *Letswalô*, winnow and give me the basket,
 The children havè gone to bed hungry."

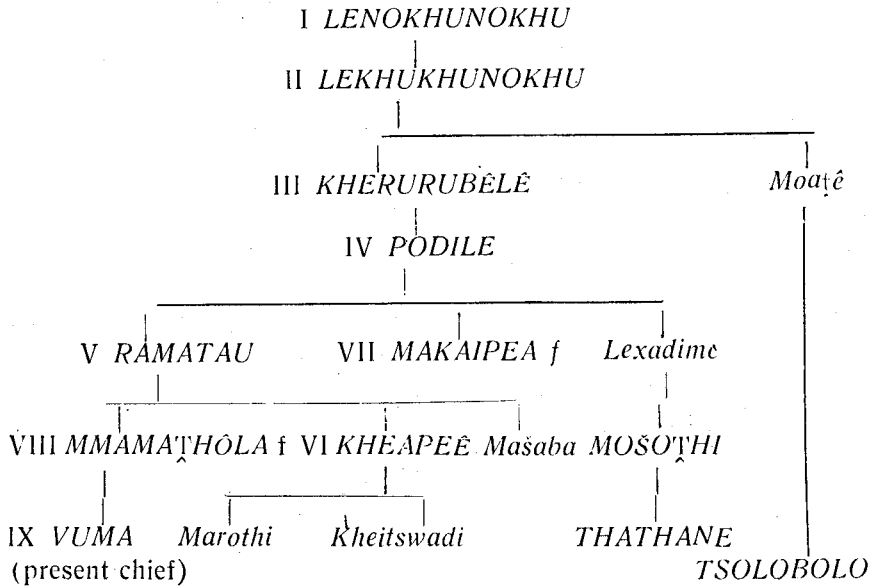
- 5 Early maps and writings usually refer to this tribe as Mafefer, which shows this name was better known then than it is nowadays.
- 6 **Language:** This is a dialect of Sotho much akin to *Lobedu*, and only spoken in these parts. It is not used in writing. Texts are to be found in Krüger, Ueberlieferungen. The present-day generation learn ordinary Sotho in the schools and the old language is falling into disuse.
- 7 **Chief:** RAMATAU @ VUMA, age-grade *Matau*, born perhaps 1888.

¹⁾ *Ba xa Letswalô ke babina-nare, ba e dya; ba ila setšêšê, ke nonyana e nyenyana. Ba re ke se-ila-Bothswako, e lexo naxa e bo-rrabo-moxolo ba tšwilexo xôna. Yo a ka dyaxo sôna, o tla babya ke mahlô.* Hoffmann, Sotho-Texte ZfES vol. 21 p. 99.

Ba xa Letswalô ba bina kxomo le nare, byaloka xe ba bitšwa Banareng. Xomme kaxobane kxomo le nare e le diphôôfôlô tše dikxolo, sebakeng sa xo ila tšôna xo di dya, ba ila setšêšê. Ke yôna kxomo xoba nare ya bôna. Eupya ba ila kxomo ya xo ripya dinaka. Hoffmann, Sotho-Texte ZfES vol. 21 p. 112.

²⁾ In a MS in my office (8/63 399 p. 49) these *dirêtô* are given: *Ke rena,bo-Letswalô; Letswalô la Mmatau a Monareng; Re Dikxomo, Banareng; Banareng ba Semenyane.* See also those in Krüger, Ueberlieferungen p. 180.

8 Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:



Capitals denote chiefs, figures the order in which they ruled.

History, and genealogy of royal family:

9 Tradition has it that originally these people lived in a country called *Bolaodi*, that is, the country of the *Balaodi*, which is supposed by them to be around the present town of Sabie. The first chief³⁾ still remembered, *I LENOKHUNOKHU*, lived and died there. The next chief remembered was *II LEKHUKHUNOKHU*. Though my informants thought that both he and his son *III KHERURUBÊLÊ* lived and died in *Bolaodi*, and that *PODILE* was the chief who migrated, I am inclined to accept the most common version according to which *LEKHUKHUNOKHU* led his tribe from *Bolaodi* to the area around the Wolkberg above New Agatha where it has lived for the past century. According to my informants there was an invasion of *Makhêma*, a cannibal tribe from the south⁴⁾, and the tribe fled north from *Bolaodi* before them. They found a safe place to hide in temporarily at *Lebyeni* or *Lewa la maxodi*, which is in the mountains overlooking the *Lepelle* (Olifant) and two miles from it, due east from Mametša's Location.

³⁾ the names of *Kxomoyalewate* and *Letebutebu* are remembered, but it is unknown whether they were ancient chiefs or not.

⁴⁾ possibly a confusion with later events.

10 They did not stay here however, but moved along the foot of the mountains in a westerly direction, past *Khexôrwane* (at the present store on Lorraine 183), where *Timamoxolo*, a man of standing with a large following, got eye-trouble and stayed behind, thus founding the *Ba Mahlô* (Eyes) tribe of *SEKÔRÔRÔ*, still living there today⁵). The *Letswalô* people moved on and settled, true to their mountain-bred nature, at *Mabêlêkê*, within the present location but a little further west from the present *mosata*. They found the *Modiba* and *Makwêla* and some other clans in occupation under the *Ba xa Mphelô* at *Xa Makwêla* or *Moritiding*, these latter being viceroys for the *Lobedu* rulers. The *Letswalô* invaders attacked them and the *Mphelô* overlords fled back to *Modjadji* whilst the *Letswalô* took possession of all the neighbouring mountain country.

11 *LEKHUKHUNOKHU* was succeeded by his son *III KHERURU-BÊLÊ* who was murdered by his younger brother *Moatê* or *Moyatê*. But *KHERURUBÊLÊ*, by his wife *Ngwana-Maponya*, a member of the tribe, had begotten a son *IV PODILE* who avenged the murder of his father by strangling *Moatê*. Some informants say that *Moatê* first worsted *PODILE* who fled to *Molêpô*'s tribe, where he had married his maternal uncle's daughter. The *Molêpô* people helped him against *Moatê* in a fight on Forest Hill 392, and drove him out, whereupon he settled with his adherents at *Kxônname*, the hills overlooking *Duivelskloof*. From him *Tsolobolo* is descended. *PODILE* became chief of the tribe which remained at *Mabêlêkê*. He apparently ruled for a long time and attained a great age. To him is attributed the prophecy: *Thšošî iše dikhubidu di a tla, di tla senya tefase* "Red ants will come and spoil the country", which was believed to refer to the Europeans⁶). Though *PODILE* is said to have had a number of wives, almost nothing is remembered about them⁷) except:

12 *IV PODILE*'s wife and issue:

1 *Mmamolôpê* da. of one of the *Ba xa Mathatše*, a *mminakolobe* of *Molêpô*'s tribe and a maternal uncle of *PODILE*.

a *V RAMATAU* m

b *MMAKAIPEA* f married at *Xa Sekokotla*

c *Lexadime* m

13 *Lexadime* was killed in an attack on the robber chieftain *Mamphšê* who lived near *Duivelskloof*, which is named after him for his ferocity. His grandson was *Maupa*.

⁵) cf. the account which the *Seckôrôrô* people themselves give of this matter.

⁶) Hoffmann, *Sotho-Texte ZfES* vol. 19 p. 287.

⁷) a wife from *Mamabolô*'s is mentioned in Hoffmann, *Sotho-Texte ZfES* vol. 24 p. 301.

14 As *PODILE* got older and older, his son *RAMATAU* became impatient to succeed him and ordered the royal wives no longer to supply him with food, hoping thereby to hasten his demise. But his sister *MMAKAIPEA* secretly continued to bring him food and the old man taught her the secrets of rainmaking in return⁸⁾.

15 Eventually *PODILE* died and his son V *RAMATAU* became chief. He built himself a *mosata* a little to the west of the present one. According to one source he only ruled for two years, for the Swazi (*Makôtsê-thšweu* "white-shields") raided the country. They came skirting the foothills until they reached *Letswalô* territory. They inflicted great damage on the tribe and killed the chief *RAMATAU* himself where he was in hiding in the dense forest at *Bolyangaka*, a place in the present Forestry Reserve, west of *Serala* mountain, on the boundary between the farms Wolkberg 404 and Acre 2635.

16 V *RAMATAU*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

1 *MmaMolôpê* a da. of *Ngwana-Matopya* of the *Ba xa Ma-thatše Dikolobe*

a VIII *MMAMATHÔLA* f

b *Mmaphela* f md *Polaki wa xa Makôkxa*

c *Moloi* f md *Tekudi* of *Makxoba's* tribe.

d *Malefaxatsana* f md *Modupi wa xa Letswalô*

2 *Ngwana-Khenona*, of the *Khenona* section of the tribe
a VI *KHEAPEÊ* m

3 *Mothšêfê* da. of *Phatane* of the *Ba xa Modiba*

a *Mašaba* m died in prison in Pretoria with *Mošoṭhi*

b *Maleê @ Pompi* m

c *Molôngwane* f md *Kxobise wa xa Modiba*

d *Mmampana* f md *Vola wa xa Letswalô*

Other wives and issue are not remembered.

17. When the tribe reassembled again after the Swazi massacre, *RAMATAU's* son VI *KHEAPEÊ* became chief. He did not rule long however. His first wife was a daughter of *Matêbyane* of the commoner *Tau* people by whom he had a son *Marothi*. When the latter was already grown up, *KHEAPEÊ* took his tribal wife *Mmamakiri*, who was it seems a daughter of his uncle *Lexadime*. *Marothi*, who had hitherto considered himself the future chief, felt himself displaced and left for *Mamabolô's*, on bad terms with his father, but subse-

⁸⁾ the history of other tribes also records cases of chiefs who, for one reason or another, taught the kingly secret to someone other than the proper heir. *Mantšana* of *Sekôrôrô's* for example was the only wife who would nurse her leprous husband, and obtained the rain medicines that way. Here it may be a tale invented later to strengthen *MMAKAIPEA's* position.

quently returned after an apparent reconciliation effected through the mediation of *Mamabolô*. As soon as opportunity offered, *Marothi* murdered his father *KHEAPEÊ* returning from his bath in the *Moḡhalaleni* spruit, with the help of his maternal uncle's people. The death of *KHEAPEÊ* was apparently foretold by a seer⁹⁾.

18 *Marothi* was not allowed to become chief, however, as there was a strong feeling against him. It was believed that his aunt *MMAKAIPEA* had urged him to the deed to further her own ambitions, so to clear herself she now demanded from the deceased's brother *Mašaba* that the parricide be killed, or at least that his followers be wiped out. *Marothi* had to flee to *Mothiba's* and was pursued. The *Letswalô* envoys bribed *Mothiba*¹⁰⁾ to withdraw his protection and *Marothi's* few adherents were treacherously slain, whilst he himself was bound and led back towards home, but on the way he was murdered, on the orders of *Mašaba*, perhaps at *Sethoka* on Forest Hill 392, but this is not certain.

19 It seems that *MMAKAIPEA* had not intended that *Marothi* should be killed because she hoped to rule through him, but *Mašaba*, who had tasted the sweets of office, forestalled her by having him put out of the way. *MMAKAIPEA* now bethought herself of her brother *Lexadime's* son *Mošoṭhi*, who was a warrior of repute, having distinguished himself by avenging his father's death at the hands of *Mamphšê* by burning the latter's village, whence he was nicknamed *Šefenya* "victor"¹¹⁾. He had gone to work amongst Europeans to earn himself a gun; but now returned home. *MMAKAIPEA* tried to set him and *Mašaba* at loggerheads but nothing much came of it.

20 *Mošoṭhi* pretended to espouse the cause of his young nephew *Kheitswadi*, the son of his sister who had been the deceased *KHEAPEÊ's* tribal wife. His name, which means "self-begetter" i.e. one without a father, shows that he was posthumous. *Mošoṭhi* however was working for himself and circumstances favoured him.

21 *Sekhukhune* had at intervals in the past raised tribute from the tribes of this area and now made fresh demands. The *Letswalô* people refused and were attacked by the *Pedi*¹²⁾. Whilst *MMAKAIPEA* and *Mašaba* sought safety in concealment, *Mošoṭhi* with the aid of a con-

⁹⁾Hoffmann, Sotho-Texte ZfES vol. 19 p. 290.

¹⁰⁾Hoffmann, Sotho-Texte ZfES vol. 24 p. 295.

¹¹⁾it seems *Mošoṭhi* was also a nickname, being short for *Mošoṭhi a mašaša*, which name he obtained fighting the *Kxaxa*, and that he was actually *Marothi* or *Ramatau*. Krüger Ueberlieferungen p. 179.

¹²⁾ probably 1869. It may be that this trouble was caused by *Mampa's* people having stolen the cattle of *Maxakata's* and brought them to *Letswalô*. Hoffmann Sotho-Texte ZfES vol. 28 p. 195.

tingent from *Mamabolô* inflicted a signal defeat on the *Pedi*. His reputation was greatly enhanced thereby so that soon after he could make himself independent and henceforth he and *MMAKAIPEA* ruled their respective portions of the tribe independently of one another. *Mašaba* had receded into the background somewhat¹³).

22 *MMAKAIPEA*, whose name also suggests that it is a praise-name of later origin (as it means "Mrs-I-appointed-myself") by now had acquired considerable standing. She built her headkraal at *Modikone*, a hill north-east of the location, having the corner beacon of Brook 343, Coombebank 345 and Tubbs Hill 344.

23 At some time prior to these events the Swazi made another raid but were beaten off. They made a third raid whilst *MMAKAIPEA* was living at *Modikone* and this time the *Pedi* were also called in. This was obviously before enmity arose between them as described above. With the help of the *Pedi* they massacred the Swazi at the confluence of the *Salate* and *Lepelle* (Olifant), but there may be some error in this as to place.

24 Afterwards *MMAKAIPEA* moved to *Badimone*, an area on the farm Monavein 478 (corrupted from *Monarene*). She was still alive when the missionary Reuter founded Medingen in 1881, but was already dead when the attack of *Nthôšaye* (= *Cetshwayo*, Capt. Schiel's native name) upon *Modjadji* took place. Her age-grade was *Mathunya*. She died¹⁴) some time after the murder of *Sekhukhune*, which took place in 1882.

25 As she had no children, the succession reverted to the male line, viz. to the house of her elder brother *RAMATAU*, whose eldest daughter VIII *MMAMATHÔLA* succeeded¹⁵). She already had two

¹³) another version is that *Mašaba* refused to rear the young *Kheitwadi*, the rightful heir, who was then left with his uncle *Mošoŋhi*. But he demanded the cattle of the estate, and these *Mašaba* would not hand over. *MMAKAIPEA*, glad of this opportunity, advised him to use force and hostilities followed.

¹⁴) in a MS in my office it is said that she was visited by a European who was left alone for a while before being allowed to see her and, having nothing to sit on, made himself comfortable on one of the sacred *dikômana* drums. When the chieftainess came and found him thus she was very angry and broke out into a lugubrious song, the burden of which was the prophecy that red ants would come and take all the country, see §10. In Raddatz, H.: "Das Kaffernland des Untern Olifant" (Petermanns Mitt. 32 1886 p. 53) it says "Von Baroka sind besonders zu erwähnen Secororo, Mafefere (Königin Magaepi, kürzlich†), Motyatyi und Palaboroa."

children by this time. She never had a husband. According to some sources, cattle had been given for her by *MMAKAIPEA*, who allotted her to someone she liked, intending that a son born to her would succeed. This actually happened, as will be seen below.

26 *MMAMATHŌLA* continued to reside at *Badimone*. She sided with her half-brother *Mašaba* against *Mošoṭhi*, and the feud between the two sections continued until *Mošoṭhi* worsted *Mašaba* in a fight and he had to flee for a time. The feud was kept alive in a desultory fashion until in 1894 the war between *Makxoba* and the Boers broke out. *MMAMATHŌLA*'s people joined in, as did *Tsolobolo* and *Mošoṭhi*. The *Ľetswalō* people believed they would be aided by the spirits of *MMAKAIPEA* or *Mmadinōxa*, an old chief of the tribe, not mentioned elsewhere¹⁶). The war was soon over however and upon surrender, *MMAMATHŌLA*, *Tsolobolo*, *Mašaba*, *Mošoṭhi* and their principal men were lodged in gaol in Pretoria, whilst a portion of the tribe was indentured around *Xa Mosēllha* in the Hamanskraal district. *Mošoṭhi* and *Mašaba* died in prison; *MMAMATHŌLA* was only released during the Anglo-Boer war upon the British occupation of Pretoria. She returned home and reassembled the tribe in the present location.

27 *MMAMATHŌLA* had the following issue:

- a *Podile* m died
- b *Mokokobale* f died
- c IX *RAMATAU* @ *VUMA* m the present chief
- d *Lexadime* @ *Mmašila* m

28 After *MMAMATHŌLA*'s death¹⁷) in 1905 (?) she was succeeded by her son IX *RAMATAU* @ *VUMA* the present chief.

Miscellaneous data:

29 It remains to add a few items of information that are still remembered.

¹⁵) at the ceremony of "opening the door" of *MMAKAIPEA*'s hut, by which the successor is determined amongst these people, none of the candidates succeeded, and especially *Mošoṭhi* to his chagrin found himself unable to open it. The great men were nonplussed and at a loss what to do, until it occurred to them to let *MMAMATHŌLA* try. She had to be fetched from *Moxobōya*'s whither she had fled. She came and opened the door without difficulty, and it was therefore plain that the ancestor spirits desired her to become the chieftainess.

¹⁶) Hoffmann, Sotho Texte ZfES vol. 23 p. 68.

¹⁷) as she could also make rain, she has apparently already joined the *badimo* to whom supplication is made for rain, as "the son of *MMAMATHŌLA*, if he wants to make rain, prays to his grandmother *MMAKAIPEA* or his mother *MMAMATHŌLA*", see Hoffmann, Sotho-Texte ZfES vol. 23 p. 65.

In pre-European times there were some recognised landmarks that constituted part of the tribal boundaries, viz. *Modiôkô* hill near Haenertsburg, *Xa Kxopa* at *Serala* mountain and the *Moḥwamore* river, *Mexakong* on Ararat 2636, the *Ṭhabine* river to the confluence of the *Lethšitêlê* and *Leḥaba* rivers, and, in the north, the *Mphoditsi* river.

30 The first European official to levy tax from the tribe was an Englishman remembered as *Ramošweu*. They paid tax to him at Haenertsburg once only. After that came the Republican officials known as *Sexwataxwatane* and *Alebene*, to whom they paid tax several times at New Agatha. After the war of *Makxoba*, there was another Boer official called *Melale*. Hemsworth who was at Haenertsburg for a time they know as *Papanana*.

31 Circumcision regiments:

<i>Mophato</i>	<i>Bodikana</i>	<i>Boxweera</i>	Leader
<i>Matau</i>			RAMATAU
<i>Mathunya</i>			(MMAKAIPEA)
<i>Mathamaxa</i>			
<i>Mangana</i>			
<i>Mathokwana</i>			
<i>Madingwana</i>			
<i>Madikwa</i>			
<i>Mapulana</i>			(MMAMAṬHÔLA)
<i>Matadi</i>			<i>Pompi</i>
<i>Mathwana</i>	1877	1879	<i>Mawaše</i>
<i>Mathšoši</i>			<i>Mangôpê</i>
<i>Matau</i>	1894		VUMA
<i>Mathunya</i>			<i>Lexadime</i> @ <i>Mmasila</i>
<i>Mathamaxa</i>			<i>Maroḥi</i>
<i>Mangana</i>	1917	1919	<i>Mathatha</i>
<i>Mathokwana</i>			<i>Lexadime</i>
<i>Mapulana</i>			<i>Mmampipi</i>
<i>Madikwe</i>	1938		<i>Phutiane</i>

32 **Tribal organisation:** The present location is divided up into six defined areas, each of which is controlled by a headman, as follows:

- 1 *Mosata* or *Morôbêla* controlled from the *mosata* itself.
- 2 *Mabêlêkê* controlled by Moses *Rakôma*.
- 3 *Narene* controlled by *Seliki* @ *Nkatse Letswalô*.
- 4 *Pompi* controlled by Salomon *Letswalô*.
- 5 *Seralene* controlled by *Malesêlê Mašila*.
- 6 *Mabene* controlled by Benjamin *Letswalô*.

33 The common boundaries of these areas are largely formed by the rivers *Lethšitêlê* and *Mořoutšane*, which flow through the location.

34 The population consists almost exclusively of original members of the tribe and other Sotho-speaking folk. There are less than ten *Tsonga* in the Reserve, but there are more on the adjoining European-owned farms. Intermarriage with them is still tabu, but wives are often taken from the tribes of *Maake*, *Moxobôya*, *Mamabolô* and even occasionally a Lepa woman. But it is illustrative of present-day movements of natives that the very first old woman I saw pottering around a kraal and questioned as to where she came from replied that she was from Basutoland, though her husband was a member of the *Letswalô* tribe by birth.

35 **Sources of information:** (1) Most of the above information was obtained in June 1944 at the *mosata* from Moses *Rakôma* and *Phutiana Letswalô*, both fairly old men, the chief *Vuma* himself, Titus *Nkxapêlê*, *Seboko Xafane*, Johannes *Ramollô* and others.

(2) a typescript of one page, of unknown origin, in official papers. (3) one typescript page of notes on history taken down in 1942 by T. D. Ramsay, Addtl Native Commissioner, (4) a page and a half of typescript entitled "Historical Notes on Mamathola's tribe" by Adv. J. D. Krige, being information obtained in June 1937. (5) a typescript of 8 pages by U. N. S. Ragoboya entitled "*Sethšaba sa xa Letswalô la Mmatau a Maxaše*" in my office (No. 8/26 307). (6) a short history in MS in my office (8/63 399). (7) J. D. Krige "Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal" in *Bantu Studies* vol. XI 342-4. (8) F. Krüger "Ueberlieferungen der Letsoalo" in *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin* vol. XXXIX 176-183. (9) C. Hoffmann "Am Hofe der Büffel, Schilderungen aus dem Leben einer afrikanischen Fürstenfamilie in Transvaal" Berlin 1909. (10) C. Hoffmann "Sotho-Texte aus dem Holzbuschgebirge in Transvaal" in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen passim* in vols. 18 to 28, as indicated in footnotes above. (11) H. Raddatz, "Das Kafferland des Untern Olifant" *Petermann's Geo. Mitt.* 32 1886 pp. 52-55.

36 I have not attempted to utilise every item of information mentioned in these sources. The reconstruction of past movements and events from oral traditions is a thorny task. An array of versions like the above, collected at considerable intervals, complicates it in many ways. The time for the further collection of dependable statements will soon be past.

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ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS
No. 11

The Bathlabine of Moxobôya

by N. J. van Warmelo
Government Ethnologist
1944

- 1 **District:** Tzaneen, Transvaal.
- 2 **Numbers and distribution:** In reserve 1,338 taxpayers, on Trust land in Leydsdorp area 118 taxpayers, total 1,456 taxpayers.
- 3 **Names of tribe:** *Baṅṅabine* or *Bathlabine*, *Ba xa Moxobôya*, or *Vhabeli (Bapedi)*, whence a chief is honoured by addressing him as *Morêna Mbeli!*
- 4 **Totem:** They *bina* (have as totem) *noko* "porcupine", which they do not eat. They are therefore sometimes referred to as *Dinoko* porcupines.
- 5 **Language:** A localised dialect of Sotho, now being influenced by contacts and education. They call it *Thetḥabine*. It is similar to the speech of the other tribes living along the foothills right down to *Phalaborwa*, and is characterised, among other things, by *ḥe* as equivalent for *se* of Sotho.
- 6 **Chief:** WILLIAM MOTATO appointed 30th Sept. 1930 as regent, see § 21.
- 7 **Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:**



History and genealogies of chiefs:

8 The first chief still remembered was *THERURUBÊLÊ* or *SERURUBÊLÊ*, whose *serêto* is:

Serurubêlê sa lešakô
Ke foja le mabala a-ka

“Butterfly of the country,
I fly with my variegated colours”

He originally came from a country called *Dzware*, whence a chief may still be praised with the honorific *Modzware*. This country had a large mountain in it, but otherwise they remember nothing about it, not even the direction in which it lies.

9 Migrating from this country, *SERURUBÊLÊ* first settled at *Molabone*, on the slope across the valley, opposite the present head kraal. He found the *Ba xa Sebela* already in occupation on the *Ngwabitsi*, as an independent tribe. That river became the boundary between them. They are now under *Maake*. From *Molabone* *SERURUBÊLÊ* moved to *Therare* or *Serare*, which is now in *Maake*'s Location, and there he died. He left a daughter *MOKXADIALÔTÊ* and a son *Peu*. As he had favoured the former and given her the rain-making medicines and paraphernalia, they fell out and *Peu* was beaten and had to flee. *MOKXADIALÔTÊ* became the chieftainess. Nothing is known about her successor III *SEFELELE* except that his mother was a *Ngwana-Phalane*, i.e. a daughter of that clan. His wife was a *Ngwana-Ramodike*, and bore him his successor IV *SEKXÔBÊ*, who, like his predecessors, lived at *Therare*. His tribal wife was a *Ngwana-Phalane* who bore him a son *LETSOLO*, and probably by other wives, he also begat *Ramatladi*, *Thibolle*, and *Mathlôlô*.

10 A member of the chief's family killed a *Venda* man who was living with the *Ba xa Masoma*, who were tributary to *Moxobôya*. When the *Masoma* people got no satisfaction from the chief, they appealed to *Maxakala* and together with men from the latter tribe killed *SEKXÔBÊ*. He was succeeded by his son V *LETSOLO*, who was subsequently killed by these same enemies of his father.

11 *LETSOLO*, wife and issue:

1 *Ngwana-Ramodike*, da. of a member of the *Ramodike* clan,
from which it was permissible for the chief to get a tribal
wife, if there was no suitable girl amongst the *Phalane*.

a *LESETŠA* m

b some sisters, not remembered

12 *LETSOLO* was succeeded by his son VII *LESETŠA*, under whom part of the tribe fled from the danger and settled at *Mphanama* in

Sekukuniland for two or three years. Then they returned and settled at *Kwatapane* in the territory of the *Letswalô* chief *Podile*, who summoned help from *Mamabolô* to help *LESETŠA* and his people to drive out the *Ba xa Masoma* so that they could re-occupy their old home under *Mamotswiri* mountain.

13 *LESETŠA* established himself at *Dzhade (Tšate)*, some distance west from the present *mosata*, but according to more reliable authority at *Sexabeng*, and subsequently at *Mesorong*. Here *LESETŠA* was killed by Swazi raiders. These were mistaken for Shangaans who meant no harm and so were allowed to approach. They found the men all drunk and killed many people. Subsequently the men of *Moxobôya* took part, together with numerous other Lowveld tribes, in the waylaying and massacre of the Swazi who had gone up to *Zoutpansberg* and were on their way back through the flat country.

14 *LESETŠA*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

- 1 *M a h u m e* @ *Ngwana-Ramodike* i.e. a da. of the *Ramodike* clan of the tribe
 - a *RAMÔBA* m
 - b *Tau* m
 - c *Mmaṭou* f md one of the *Ba xa Ntwampe*
 - d *Mmakoto* f md ibidem
- 2 *Ngwana - Sekôkôta*, a clan of the tribe
 - a *Sepodyana* f md *Tsêkê* a local commoner
 - b *Mathaa* f md *Mathupathapana* a tribesman
 - c *Phontši* m
 - d *Maṭala* f md *Modupi*, a local headman
- 3 *M a r i s a n e* da. of the *Molemane* clan of the tribe
 - a *Sedyabaledi* f md *Moswêlé* a local commoner
 - b *Mokhidipi* f md *Kudumêla* a petty headman in the tribe
- 4 *M m a n k h a d e n e* da. of *Mathêxêrê*, a member of the royal family
 - a *Mogômê* f md *Mosekaleme*, a local commoner
- 5 *M m a p i t s i* @ *Ngwana-Manamêta*, a clan of the tribe
 - a *Moxobôya* m
 - b *Ngaka* f md *Ntsakane*, a local commoner
 - c *Moṭhaxô* f md *Makokodêta* a local commoner
 - d *Seletša* f md *Moxoru*, a commoner of the clan *Ba xa Sellane*.

15 *LESETŠA* was succeeded by his son VII *RAMÔBA*. It was during his reign that the *Nkuna* Shangaans came and settled in these parts at *Dzhikone* near the dip, or *Thšaxone* beyond. They passed on and settled further north, then returned and lived at *TSOLOBOLO*'s, and finally settled where they are now, in *Muhlava*'s location. *RAMÔBA* is also said to have introduced the *dikômana* sacred drums from *Phalaborwa*. Those being used at present were carved by one *Manake*.

16 *RAMÔBA* lived all his life at *Dzhade*, where his ancestors had lived before him, and died there, after the Boer War and shortly before the great rain that washed down the mountain slopes.

17 *RAMÔBA*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

- 1 no details remembered
- 2 *Makheoloni* da. of *Moxale*, a local headman
 - a *Mosike* f md *Setêmêrê* of the *Sekôkôta* clan of commoners, later she was taken by his father
 - b *Gonyole* m
 - c *Mamothamane* f md a member of *Peu* clan of headmen
- 3 *Borôkô* da. of the *Phalane* clan which traditionally provides the tribal wife
 - a *MALESELE* m
 - b *Mmutê* m
 - c *Bodile* m died young
 - d *Mokhoko* @ *Matšikinyane* m
 - e *MOTATO* @ *WILLIAM* m present regent. (At the enquiry of 29/4/30 it emerged that this man is actually the son of *Dau* who acted as regent for *MALESELA*.)
- 4 *Mmasôgô* da. of headman *Masibêla*
 - a *Thati* m
 - b *Mamphaxo* f md *Jeremiah Sebele* a local commoner
 - c *Mangakane* f md *Isaac Botôpêla*, a local commoner
 - d *Mašabane* f md *Moṭadi* of the *Peu* clan
- 5 *Molê m ê* da. of *Diala*, a headman
 - a *Mathukwane* f died unmarried
- 6 *Mmasôma* da. of *Xafana*, a headman
 - a *Mamokêbê* m
 - b *Mmakôlê* f md *Thabe Mathšedêla*; a clan of commoners
 - c *Mošikô* m
 - d *Mafêjê* m
- 7 *Morongwê* da. of *Mokwane* a *mokxômana* of *MAFÊFÊ*'s
 - a *Mantšana* f md *Sekhwabêla*, a local commoner
 - b *Mankêlê* m
 - c *Sekhaiê* m

18 *RAMÔBA* had had a girl betrothed to him, named *Masalathabeng*, the daughter of *Nakedi*, a commoner of *xa Rakxwale*. However, *RAMÔBA* died before he could marry her. This girl was seduced whilst still with her father, and the culprit was fined. Then she was brought to be married, and her child was born here. This happened during the rule of *Dau*, who acted as regent for *MALESELA* for five years or more. *Masalathabeng* was given no hut of her own until some years after the birth of her first child, the result of her seduction.

This child was named Charles Solomon. All this needs to be detailed here because in 1930, after the death of *MALESÉLA*, Charles Solomon claimed the regency on the grounds that he was a son, according to law, of *RAMÓBA*.

19 After the death of *RAMÓBA*, his younger brother *Tau* acted for his minor son for a number of years. When *MALESÉLA* became chief, he moved to immediately below the present *mosata*, but later built a little higher up, first at *Mosoroni*, then at *xa Masipêla*, both a little above the present head kraal. At the latter place *MALESÉLA* died on 30/3/1930.

20 *MALESÉLA*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

- 1 *M m a m a k i r i* da. of *Sape*, a sub-headman
 - a *Lesike* f md a commoner of the *Botôpêla* clan
 - b *Mmakoto* f md *Sedzwia Mangêna*, a commoner
- 2 *M o t h a l a* da. of *Thôgwe*, formerly a sub-headman
 - a *Manyathe* f md *Mašile Ramaile*, who are now under *MAAKE*
 - b *Mangwedi* f md *William Mašilwane*
 - c *Moḥathêxô* f md *Mnaphata*, a headman
 - d *Motsane* f md *Khalakase Moxale*, local headmen
 - e *Godosane* m
- 3 *M m a t h ô k a* da. of *Masipêla*, a local headman
 - a *Moxôṭô* m
 - b *Matapa* f md died unmarried
 - c ? f died young
- 4 *M m a k ô m a* da. of *Rakhwale* clan of commoners
 - a James @ *Ledikwa* m
 - b *Ramape* m
- 5 *M m a d i k h ô l ê* da. of *Lesailane*, local commoners
 - a *Lethšôna* m
- 6 *M m a p u l a* da. of *Rakxwale*, a commoner
 - a *Mmagôlê* f md *Masopha*, a local headman
 - b *Belabela* m
- 7 *M m a m o k h o d a* da. of *Rakhwale*, a local commoner
 - a *Maeê* f ran away with a Blantyre native because her mother had gone away in 1932 when Charles Solomon left the tribe.
 - b *Maruṭa* m

21 At the time of *MALESÉLA*'s death in 1930, a girl named *Matsape*, daughter of *Sefapi Phalane*, a *malome* of the royal family, was betrothed to be the tribal candle of *MALESÉLA*, but she had not yet been *beka*'d (brought to her husband). No one disputed the fact that she, as tribal candle, should become the mother of the future chief, but there were two factions which differed over the matter of the regency. After several departmental enquiries the claims of Charles

Solomon, already alluded to, were dismissed, and in 1930 William *Motato* was recognised as regent and proper person to cohabit with *Matsape* in order to raise up an heir to the deceased *MALESÊLA*¹). This regent, *Motato*, built his own village, which is now the head kraal. Charles Solomon and some adherents left the tribe.

Circumcision regiments:

22 The age-grades (*mephato*) and their leaders are remembered as follows:

Mathamaxa

Manala

Mapulana

Dau son of *LESETŠA*

Matadi

Maphapha, son of *Nthapene*

Matêbêlê

Thakisi, son of *LESETŠA*

Mašwene

MALESÊLA

Melau before Boer War

Mmutê, son of *RAMÔBA*

Mannkwê 1906

Mašikinyane, son of *RAMÔBA*

Mangana 1911

WILLIAM MOTATO, son of *RAMÔBA*

Manala

Charles Solomon, son of *RAMÔBA*'s wife

Madikwa

James @ *Ledikwa*

Mapulana 1939

Damane, son of regent *WILLIAM*

MOTATO

Matadi 1942

Dau, son of regent *WILLIAM MOTATO*

Miscellaneous:

23 The chiefs have not been in the habit of marrying the daughters of other chiefs, nor of giving their daughters to other chiefs. Commoners on the other hand intermarry especially with their neighbours, *Maake*'s people and with *Letswalô* and other Sotho, but not with the *Nkuna* or other Tsonga, because they find their customs too dissimilar.

24 A famine known as *hala ya Makatikêlê* is still remembered amongst them, it was perhaps that of 1882. It is so called after a place near Marabastad where supplies were obtained at the time.

25 **Sources of information:** The above information was largely obtained at the *mosata* from the regent and his old men in July 1942. Some items apparently forgotten by the present generation were taken from a MS in my office, written by a member of the tribe (No. 8/51 181). This tribe is also referred to in J. D. Krige "Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal" *Bantu Studies* XI 4 344-5.

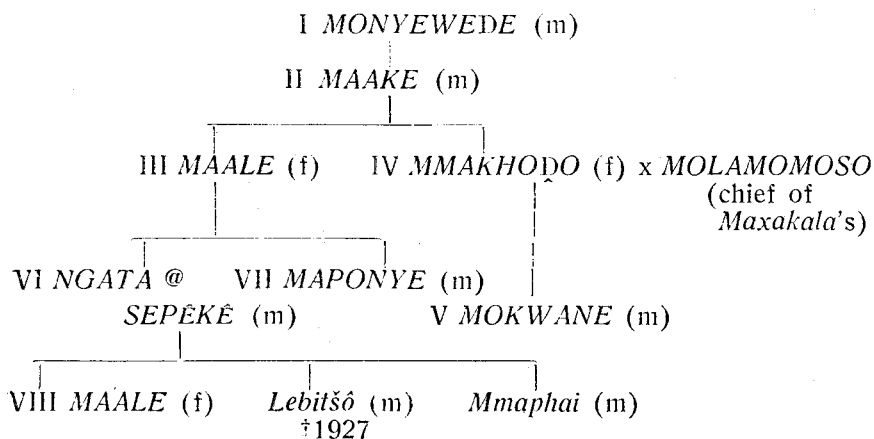
¹) an heir named *Ramôba*, was born, but died at the age of eight on 11th Dec. 1939.

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The Bakoni ba Maake

by N. J. van Warmelo
 Government Ethnologist
 1944

- 1 District: Tzaneen, Transvaal.
- 2 Numbers and distribution: In reserve 774 taxpayers, on Trust land in Leydsdorp area 518 taxpayers, on European owned land in Leydsdorp area 377 taxpayers, total 1,669 taxpayers.
- 3 Names of tribe: *Bakhaha*, *Bakoni*, or *Ba xa Maake*.
- 4 Totem: They *bina* (have as totem) *phuthi* the duiker. Some informants say *khaha* means *kxabo* "monkey" and that this is also their totem. Other informants seem doubtful. In most Sotho dialects *kxaxa* is of course synonymous with *kxwara* "armadillo".
- 5 Language: a local variant of Sotho, peculiar to this part of the Low veld and shared with the neighbouring tribes further east. It is characterised, amongst other features, by *the* for Sotho *se*.
- 6 Chieftainess: *MAALE*, known at home as *THEBOYE*, appointed 28 Oct. 1931.
- 7 Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:



Capitals denote chiefs or chieftainesses. The roman figures indicate the order in which they ruled.

History and genealogy of chiefs:

8 The origin of these people is in *Bokoni*, which is believed by them to be Swaziland. A genealogy recorded in unprinted official paper-ments, as the first three chiefs, *MOKONI*, *MAMPURU* and *MABOAKUDISA*, none of which are even remembered by my informants. The fourth is given as *MALÔBÊ*, which they recognise as the name of an early chief, because it occurs in the ancient *dirêtô* praise poems.

9 The first chief remembered by the informants was I *MONYEWEDE*. It is not known where he was born. Under his leadership they seem to have trekked through Sekukuniland, because they encountered the *Ba xa Sejaphala*, a people who knew no fire, on the Leolo mountains but near the *Lepelle* (Olifant). These folk they overcame with fire.

10 When still near the Olifant, a section of the tribe broke off, for no known reason, and migrated to near Chunespoort, becoming in course of time the *Bakxaxa* of *Mphahlêlê*. No details are remembered.

11 From the Olifant the tribe moved to *Seribane*, a hill held sacred to the ancestor spirits, on the banks of the *Molade*, a tributary of the *Salade*, on Rooiwater 276, west of Cottondale. There they found *Babirwa*, who had come from the North, in occupation and subjected them¹).

12 *MONYEWEDE* died at *Theribane*, and was succeeded by his son II *MAAKE* who also lived and died there. He is believed to have fought raiding Swazis.

13 According to the official source already mentioned, the *Pedi* chief *SEKWATI* was accompanied by *MAAKE* on his flight to the North, leaving his three brothers *Kxako*, *Maboalala* and *Malaxodi* in charge of the tribe. On his return *Kxako* refused to hand over the chieftainship and a battle ensued in which *MAAKE* was defeated. He fled to *LEXADIMANE* chief of the *Mafêfê* tribe, and with his aid defeated *Kxako*, who was killed together with his brother *Maboalala*, whilst *Malaxodi* escaped to *Modjadi*'s. *MAAKE* thus regained the chieftainship, and gave his daughter *MMAKHODO* to *LEXADIMANE* in token

¹) According to an informant claiming to be of these people, the *Babirwa*, whose chief was *Ngwakô*, gave a girl to the invading chief in token of submission and her son became the next chief. This information, when tendered, was rudely rejected by the informants of the royal family, as might be expected. There is no means of testing its accuracy. The name *Ngwakô* was unknown except to this *Mmirwa* informant. It occurs however, in an incorrect spelling, in the genealogy referred to above.

of homage. She bore him *MOKWANE @ RAMOŠABA*. The information contained in this paragraph was quite unknown to my informants. Having been collected many years ago, it probably is substantially correct, but I have no means of testing the truth of it.

14 This is also the place to quote the following passage:—

Les Ba-Kaha ont surtout gardé le souvenir d'une horde d'anthropophages appelés Ma-Khema qui, il y a environ soixantedix ans, répandirent la terreur dans le pays. Ceux-ci habitaient dans les montagnes du district de Lydenburg, non loin de l'Olifant. Quoique cinq ou six fois plus nombreux que leurs adversaires, les Ba-Kaha n'essayèrent pas même de leur résister; saisis de crainte, ils prirent la fuite et allèrent chercher un refuge sur les rives du Limpopo, à quatre ou cinq cents kilomètres de distance. Ils furent bien accueillis par les Ba-Nkouna qui les nourrirent pendant deux ans et ne les laissèrent manquer de rien. On parle encore des quantités énormes de nourriture qu'on leur servait. Apprenant que les Ma-Khema étaient partis, les Ba-Kaha revinrent dans leur pays qu'ils trouvèrent dévasté et inculte. (E. Thomas "Le Bokaha etc." Bulletin de la Soc. neuchateloise de Géographie VIII p. 160.)

15 *MAAKE*'s wives and issue are not remembered except:

a III *MAALE* f

b IV *MMAKHODO* f md *MOLAMQOSO* chief of *Maxakala*

16 *MAAKE* was succeeded by his daughter III *MAALE* for no reason that can be ascertained, except that perhaps there were no male heirs. *MAALE* continued to live at *Seribane* until attacked by raiding Swazi. She fled to *Thôbôlô*, an area on or around Worcester 233 north-east of *Modjadji*'s location. After a short sojourn at *Thôbôlô*, the tribe moved to *Therare* or *Serare*, a little hill in the east of the present location on the farm *Marobonye* (Marabona 250).

17 They found the *Bathabine* of *Moxobôya* in occupation and lived on good terms with them, which probably means that they acknowledged them as more than their equals, because they presented *Mmakhodo*, a girl of the royal family, to them. Afterwards *MAALE* and her tribe moved away again to the *Moxabe*, a spruit below the kop in the east of their present location. Very few dated events of the past century are known to these people and chronology is difficult. The oldest informants are sure that *MAALE* reigned at the time of the war of *Pôrôbôrô* i.e. President Burger's campaign against *SEKHUKHUNE* in 1876. *MAALE* died at her *mosata* last named. As a chieftainess she had no recognised husband. She had a daughter named *Mmamalo* who died as a child. She had wives of course, but I was only told the following names:

Molabosane, chief wife of *MAALE*, her issue:

a VI *NGATA* @ *SEPÊKÊ* m

b *Piti* m

c VII *MAPONYE* m

18 The history of *Sekôrôrô*'s tribe records that their chief *TIMAMOXOLO*'s wife No. 4 named *Moḥaxô* was a daughter of *MAALE*, but at *Maake*'s she is not remembered, though the possibility is not denied.

19 After *MAALE*'s demise, the tribe approached *MOLAMOMOSO*, the chief of *Mafêfê*'s tribe and husband of *MAALE*'s younger sister *MMAKHODO*, to allow the latter to come back and act as regent for *NGATA*. He acceded to this request, and so *MMAKHODO* became chieftainess. She brought with her her only son *MOKWANE* who actually ruled for her. Chieftainess IV *MMAKHODO* ruled at *Mafaleni*, an area south of the high mountain on Tours 162. She ruled for many years, or her son did, for apparently V *MOKWANE* continued to rule on behalf of his young maternal uncle *NGATA* even after his mother's death. It was during his reign that men of *MAAKE*'s tribe joined the tribes of *Maxakala*²⁾, *Molêpô* and others in a combined onslaught on the Ndebele chieftainess *MMATHŠIPI* at Marabastad and were repulsed with spectacular losses, several chiefs being killed. Only after *MOKWANE*'s death was the chieftainship assumed in 1890-1 by VI *NGATA* or *SEPÊKÊ*³⁾. He also built himself a *mošate* under *Marobonye* mountain on Sedan 157.

20 *NGATA* @ *SEPÊKÊ*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:
1 *Mmataपाला* da. of *Mokhokoni wa xa Maxôrô*, of the *Letswalô* tribe and his wife *Mmaphete*. *Mmatapala* was a cross-cousin of her husband.

a *Mmakhoḍo* f md *Ameko wa xa Sekhwêla* a tribesman

b *Šaphule* f dd unmarried

c *Mmatšîe* f md *Mmatsileng wa xa Mmakhôba*, a branch of the royal family

d *Ani* f md *Ngate* @ *Thepudi* of the royal family

²⁾ like most of the neighbouring tribes, the *Khaha* were in awe of the *Maxakala* people and recognised *Sekhukhune* because they could not resist his periodic depredations.

Sécoucouini était, jusqu'en 1880, un de leurs plus grands chefs (sc. of the *Pedi*). Son autorité s'exerçait jusqu'au Bokaha et même plus au Nord. Il envoyait de temps en temps une troupe de guerriers lever le tribut qui consistait surtout en bétail. C'était plutôt une bande de pillards que des percepteurs d'impôt. (E. Thomas "Le Bokaha etc." Bull. Soc. neuchateloise de Géographie VIII p. 159.)

³⁾ He was thought to be forty years old when the Locations Commission saw him on 4 Oct. 1906.

- 2 *Mmalatha* da. of *Manyaxanyaxa wa xa Maxôrô*, of same family under 1 but the fathers were not closely related. This woman was the principal wife.
- a *THEBOYE @ MAALE* f
 - b *Lebitšô @ Popolo* m died Mar. 1927
 - c *Thebôbô* or *Sepôpô* f md Alfred *Maake*, a son of *Khage*, of the royal family
 - d *Seaṭhudi @ Sebatahane @ Mmaphai* m, a young man twelve years old in 1927
- 3 *Mokhatšane* da. of *Lebidike wa xa Mokhômôlê* of the royal family
- a *Ngaka* f md *Nṭetetsi wa xa Mmôla*, whom she left for *Mapanta wa xa Malatši*, a tribesman
 - b *Rabonama* m
 - c *Phereṭha* m
 - d *Makhaphole* m dead
 - e *Nthšakhe* f md *Mankwana wa xa Matlala*, a tribesman
- 4 *Sepôpô* da. of *Makhapene Popole wa xa Maake* and sister of William *Maake*. She was married with cattle received for daughters of *MOKWANE*, and was not, therefore, strictly speaking, *NGATA*'s wife
- a *Mokebisi* m
 - b *Lekhale* f md *Mantsebê wa xa Sai*, of this tribe
 - c *Mmathwai* m
 - d *Mmakheši* f md *Khašane Malatši*, a tribesman living elsewhere.
 - e *Popoṭane* f md *Makhanakaḥôna wa xa Monyêla*, a tribesman
 - f *Mmapula* f still unmarried
- 5 *Mantô* da. of *Marapo wa xa Mangêna*, a tribesman
- a *Masekela* m
 - b *Mmaselekudi* f md *Jane wa xa Majokwana*, a tribesman
 - c *Mmabora* f md *Jane Matemane*, a tribesman
 - d *Mmakhodô* f md *Bethuel wa xa Matlala*, a tribesman
 - e *Ledikwa* m
- 6 *Mmaḍêbê* da. of *Sebaraboi wa xa Serodo*, a tribesman
- a *Thaxo* f md *Morôkôlô wa xa Moaxe*, a tribesman
 - b *Makhwatšô* f unmarried
- 7 *Mmabôdô* da. of ? *wa xa Maitole*, a tribesman
- a *Morata* f md *Mosaba wa xa Mampa*, a tribesman
- 21 After the death of VI *NGATA* on 12 December, 1911, his younger brother VII *MAPONYE* was made a regent for the deceased's son (*Lebitšô*⁴) who was a minor, and died whilst still at school at *Mamabolô*'s in 1927.

⁴) named as his successor by *NGATA* on his death bed, in the presence of the *Nkuna* chief *MUHLAVA* and a number of prominent men of the tribe.

22 The fact that *Lebitšō* was considered the heir apparent, though his elder sister was the first child of the tribal wife, shows that this tribe does not regard female chiefs with any special favour. The presence of a preponderance of male chiefs in the genealogy points in the same direction. It is more likely that females are only accepted when no males are available, but that perhaps the prestige of the queen *Modjadji* further north helped to overcome the common prejudice against female chiefs. After the death of the heir apparent, *MAPONYE* continued to rule until his demise on 14th January, 1928.

23 It is alleged that William *Maake*, brother of *NGATA*'s wife No. 4 *Sepôpô*, managed to get himself appointed as regent by means I prefer not to describe, without the knowledge or approval of the tribe. He was appointed on 17th January, 1928. On 30th August, 1928, at an enormous gathering attended by over a thousand natives, *NGATA*'s daughter VIII *MAALE* or *THEBOYE* was pointed out to the Native Commissioner as being the proper person to succeed. But she protested, "I am not the chieftainess. I do not want to be chieftainess. The chief is *Mmaphai* (her younger full brother, then a boy of about nine, sitting next to her). I have a husband already⁵). When I have children they will fight with *Mmaphai*". The tribe decided *MAALE* was to act as regent until *Mmaphai* became of age. Chieftainess *MAALE* was appointed 28th October, 1931. As her *mphato* is *Manala*, she was probably born about 1900. She still rules today, though it seems she is not much more than a figurehead.

24 **Circumcision regiments:** These recur in a cycle of nine names, as follows. I have not been able to ascertain even approximate dates for earlier circumcision lodges.

<i>Mphato</i>	<i>Bodika</i>	<i>Boxwera</i>	<i>Kxorakxolo</i>
<i>Makwa</i>	1877?		<i>NGATA</i>
<i>Madima</i>	1883?		<i>MAPONYE</i>
<i>Matêbêlê</i>	1890?		
<i>Melau</i>	ca.1897		
<i>Maṭalerwa</i>	1905	1906	<i>Maṭhōkwê</i> son of <i>Mabuše</i> , a headman
<i>Manala</i>	1911	1913	<i>Rabonama</i> son 3b of <i>NGATA</i>

⁵) quoted from official record of the proceedings. Fourteen years later all the informants of the royal family, not excluding the chieftainess herself, strenuously denied that she had ever been married. Such is the deception or selfdeception practised in matters of this kind. The text in C. Hoffmann's "Sotho-Texte aus dem Holzbuschgebirge in Transvaal" (ZfES 28 2 132 1938) also concerns the present chieftainess, but not all the facts are correct.

<i>Mathamaxa</i>	1918	1920	<i>Lebitšô</i> son 2b of <i>NGATA</i>
<i>Madikwa</i>	1925	1927	<i>Seathudi</i> son 2d of <i>NGATA</i>
<i>Dithamaxa</i>	1929	1930	<i>Mikia</i> son of <i>MAPONYE</i>
<i>Makwa</i>	1934	1935	<i>Ledikwa</i> son 5e of <i>NGATA</i>
<i>Madima</i>	1942	1944	<i>Mašakhêla</i> son of <i>MAPONYE</i>

25 Sources of information: The above information was almost all given me in June, 1944, by great men of the tribe and old men and women convened for the purpose. The people were still smarting from the close attention given them by the police some months previously for the murder of a constable in the location, and this may have had some effect on the information supplied. But quite obviously the time for getting information about the earlier history of this tribe is past. No persons of any considerable age are left. A paper by a well known investigator in *Bantu Studies* 8, 4 contains data not reproduced here and well worth close study. Other sources are C. Hoffmann "Sotho-Texte aus dem Holzbuschgebirge in Transvaal" *ZfES* 1938 28 2 133; Transvaal Native Affairs Department "Short history of the native tribes of the Transvaal" Pretoria 1905; H. A. Junod "La seconde cote de circoncision chez les Ba-Khaha du nord du Transvaal" *JRAI* 59, 1929; J. D. Krige "Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal" *Bantu Studies* 11 4 1937; E. Thomas "Le Bokaha etc." *Bull. Soc. neuchateloise de Géographie* VIII; and some official correspondence.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

No. 13

The Banarene of Sekôrôro

by N. J. van Warmelo

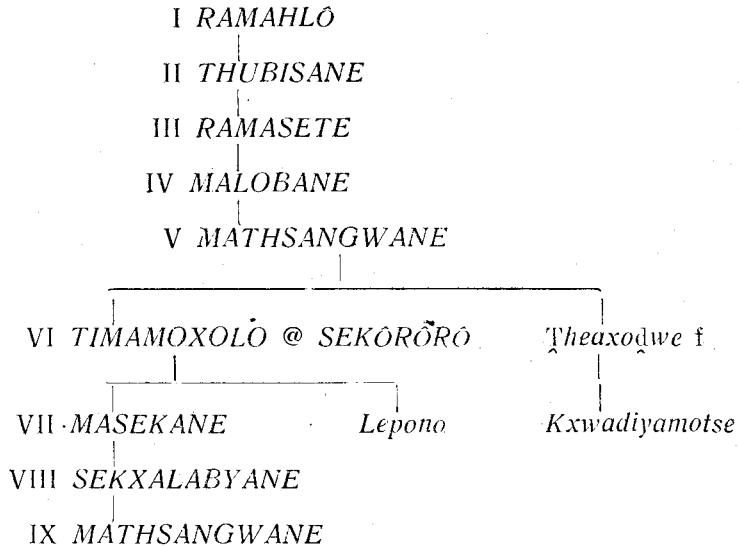
Government Ethnologist

1944

- 1 **District:** Leydsdorp, Transvaal.
- 2 **Numbers and distribution:** in reserve 922 taxpayers, on European owned land 816 taxpayers, total 1,738 taxpayers.
- 3 **Names of tribe:** *Banarene*, *Ba Mahlô*, *Ba xa Sekôrôro*.
- 4 **Totem:** they *bina* (have as totem) *nare* buffalo or *kxomo* bovine. Their *moanô* (oath) is *Maripêla*.
- 5 **Language:** They speak a form of Sotho only found in this part of the Lowveld, and not used in writing. Sotho who live elsewhere refer to it somewhat contemptuously as *Serôka*, the language of the *Barôka* "people of the East", which includes all the tribes in the vicinity right up to *Phalaborwa*¹).
- 6 **Chief:** *MATHSANGWANE @ SEKÔRÔRÔ*, born 1920, appointed 8th January, 1943.

¹) besides having dentals for laterals, as is common in most of the Sotho dialects of the extreme north, this speech also has *the* for ordinary Sotho *se*, e.g. *thelô* "thing", which is as interesting to find in South Africa as is the *khe* of *Lobedu*, showing how the palatal qualities of *i* can turn a velar into an interdental. There is a little about this dialect in Tucker, A. N. "Some little known dialects of Sepedi" Mitt. Sêm. orient. Spr. Berlin, vol. 35 1932 p. 133.

7 Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:



History and genealogies of chiefs:

8 Originally the tribe came to its present haunts from the direction of *Bokone*, i.e. the south-east, but they are not themselves of *Kone* origin. It is useful to hear what others have to say on this point. The account of old *Mmutlana*, petty chief on Putney in the East Leole area, Sekukuniland, whom I interviewed in 1938 when he was between 95 and 97, is probably more to be relied on, as he was a whole generation older than any other informant I ever had, and besides a very clear-headed old man. His account is to be found in No. 14 of this series.

9 After migrating from the direction of *Bokone*, the tribe first settled at *Thukatse*, a hill on the Selati Ranch. Their first chief I *RAMAHLŌ* lived and probably died there. He was succeeded by II *THUBISANE*, who is declared by the majority of informants to have been his son, but by some others to have been a woman. Considering the likelihood of such a fact being forgotten, the presumption is that it is correct. This chief or chieftainess lived on the *Sedutšwana* River, on Alsace 187 and Carlsruhe 334, and died there. The next chief was III *RAMASETE* who lived on the *Serôxwê* River, on Toul 181 and partly on Lorraine 183, until he died. His successor was IV *MALOBANE*, who continued to live there, and was succeeded by V *MATHSANGWANE*, who lived at *Lephatši*, a hill

carrying the corner beacon of Toul 181, Balloon 186, and Lorraine 183. He died there.

10 Nothing is known about chiefs' wives and issue until: *MATHSANGWANE*, whose wives and issue were:

?1 *Ngwana-Tapa*, da. of a member of the royal family

?a VI *TIMAMOXOLO* @ *SEKORORŌ* m

?2 ? not remembered

?a *Theaxodwe* or *Seaxotlwe* f md *Leruma*, and bore him a daughter *Moalekxomo*, who was the mother of *Kxwadiyamotse*, an important man in the tribe in the time of VII *MASEKANE*.

11 Nothing is known about events in *MATHSANGWANE*'s reign. After his death he was succeeded by his son VI *TIMAMOXOLO* who ruled at *Mohlapudi*, the valley of the *Moswaswa* spruit on Balloon 186. Whilst living there they were raided by the Swazi, but as they had the high mountains immediately behind them, they found safe sanctuary there, and did not suffer much. *TIMAMOXOLO* had already been chief for a number of years when this happened. Afterwards he left there and settled on the *Sexorwana*, a spruit on Balloon 186, and a tributary of the *Makhujwi* or *Makhutšwi*, and arising on the west side of the crest of *Maxokolo* mountain which carries the beacon common to Madeira 2655, Balloon 186 and Moltke 185. After a long reign, *TIMAMOXOLO* eventually died there, shortly after the Anglo-Boer war.

12 During the winter of 1900, *MAFĒFĒ*, chief of the *Ba xa Maxakala*, was attacked by *SEKHUKHUNE*, at the instigation of his aunt *Ngwana-Mohuba*, who claimed the chieftainship for her son *NTWAMPE*. *MAFĒFĒ* fled to *MAAKE* and *MUHLAVA*, who gave him protection. *TIMAMOXOLO* was persuaded to join *Ngwana-Mohuba*'s men in an attack on *MAFĒFĒ*, first at *Mahlarwe*, a hill on Keulen 324, and then at *MAAKE*'s but these attacks were repulsed and led to nothing.

13 *TIMAMOXOLO*, wives (in order of marriage), and issue. All wives were married after he had become chief.

1 *MaaThšidi* da. of ? *wa xa Moriti*, not a tribesman
a *Pulane* f md ? *wa xa Sebela*, commoners of the tribe

2 *Lefaladi* da. of *Moaxi*, a member of the chief's family
a *MaaMatime* f md *MAOKENG*, the chief of *Kxautšwana*

3 *MaaDišexo* da. of *Monakedi wa xa Thôbêjane*, of
MAXAKALA's tribe
a VII *MASEKANE* m

- 4 *Moḥaxo* da. of *MMALE*, chieftainess of the *Bakḥaxa* (*MAAKE*'s), her father being of course not known²)
- a *Sešexo* m
 - b *Kxakabašabi* m
 - c *Mapiti* m
- 5 *Mokhurane* da. of *Mmutle* (*Mmutē*) *wa xa Nkwana*, originally from *xa Phaša*, but now members of the tribe
- a *Ngwana-Makhutšwe* f md *Mokxatla*, a commoner of *MAXAKALA*'s.
 - b *Setaxwa* or *Setahwa* (*Sedawa* in some official correspondence) m deceased
 - c *Raḥala* m not the oldest, but the best informant
 - d *Moḥaxo* f md *Manḥetše* a commoner of the tribe
- 6 *Ngwana Kxari* da. of *Mokafofa wa xa Moxale*, a family of *bakxōmana*, members of royalty of the tribe
- a *Mokxobedi* f md *Mapili*, a commoner from *xa Šai* who settled here
 - b *Mathuhu* f md *Khekheti wa xa Mangena*, a commoner family now on Schelem 161 under *MAAKE*.
 - c *Mpyafe* f md *Setlalebarwa* of the family of *MOLETÉLÉ*, the *Pulana* chief who lived on Glen Lyden 371, Mariepskop
 - d *Lepono* m acted for a while for his half-brother's grandson *MATHSANGWANE*
- 7 *Mponyane* da. of ? *wa xa Moaxi*, who are *bakxōmana* of the tribe
- a *Maathšwene* f md *Botyane wa xa Mathole*, a commoner of the tribe
 - b *Maakhwêlé* f md *Sejanoko*, a commoner of unknown family, of *MAXAKALA*'s
 - c *Mathabe* m
 - d *Ṭheḥwaxae* f md *Masete wa xa Moaxi*; she therefore married her maternal cross-cousin
- 8 *Malatši* da. of *LEPATO*, chief of the *BaPhalaborwa* at *MAKHUŠANE*'s
- a *Mankutu* m
 - b *Mokhurane* f md *Kobetše wa xa Madike*, who are *bakxōmana* of the tribe
 - c *Malemeku* f md *Moḥaḥa wa xa Sôḥkōma*, local commoners
 - d *Matatampe* m
- 9 *Maangwako* da. of *Samphya wa xa Sodi*, a commoner of the tribe
- a *Lekwapa* f md *Leḥadi*, a *motloxolo* of the chief's family

²) the family of the chieftainess *MAAKE*, questioned in 1944, knew nothing about this.

- b *Maeyana* m
 - c *MaaMabôxô* f md by *Nthšake*, a woman, *wa xa Mangêna*, local commoners, and *batloxolo* of chief's family but now under **MAAKE**
 - d *Monyaku* f md *Matongwana wa xa Mašai*, commoners of the tribe
- 10 *MaaMoko* da. of *Matšeke*, a commoner of the tribe
- a *Bafedile* f md *Sethudi Molêlê*, a commoner of the tribe
 - b *Sodi* m
 - c *Morape* m
 - d *Kwalo* m relatively young man, who supplied names for this hut
 - e *Ntšala* m
 - f *Marupene* m
 - g *Mokxadi* m
- 14 After **TIMAMOXOLO's** death shortly after the Anglo-Boer war, he was succeeded by his son VII **MASEKANE**, who continued to live where his father had lived before him, and died there on 20th January, 1922.
- 15 **MASEKANE**, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:
- 1 *Mantepe* da. of *Mokwane* from *xa Maxakala*. (From **MAAKE's** acc. to a letter on the file.) She was married before her husband's accession
- a *Madijômpôrô* m He predeceased his father
 - b *Sekhorô* m
 - c *Madubô* m
 - d *Sešane* f md *Malefofane* a son of the chief of *Kxautšwana*
 - e *Mantsopi* m
- 2 *Se k ô l ô* da. of *Tsôxwane* a *mokxômana* of the tribe. She was married before her husband's accession.
- a *Mabêkane* m died as a young man, predeceasing his father
 - b *MaaMorêka* f died unmarried
 - c **SEKXALABYANA @ JOHANNES** m
- 3 *MaaSodi* da. of *Maphampha*, a *mokxômana* of the tribe
- a *Mokxotho* m
- 4 *MaaKxedi* da. of *Bqritše wa xa Mohlabe*, formerly independent chiefs. She was married after her husband's accession.
- a *Ntšile* f md *Mošwêšwê*, a commoner of the tribe
 - b *Pheku* m
- 5 *MaaNtšana* da. of *Makxadiamole*, a commoner of the tribe (but acc. to *MaaNtšana* in 1924, a follower of **MAAKE**)
- a *Moxobôya* f not md
 - b *Thšete* f not md. Only a and b are daughters of **MASEKANE**
 - c *Mmapula* f not md
 - d *Madišexo* f not md

16 When *MASEKANE* died on 20/1/22, the tribe was still on the *Sexôrwana* on Balloon. He was immediately succeeded by his son *SEKXALABYANA*, who was mentally somewhat less than normal. He continued to live there, but his troubles over the succession made him remove to *Seraxadingwê*, as the hill is called which overlooks the present *mošate* on Moltke 185.

17 When *SEKXALABYANE* was still a boy, his father was apparently urged by the Native Commissioner of the time to have him educated, and he accordingly went to school in 1917 and became a Christian. Now his father *MASEKANE* was a leper and it seems that his 5th wife *MaaNtšana* nursed him during the last period of his life, for the original tribal wife *Mantepa* had died long ago and none of the other wives would attend on him. After the chief's death, *MaaNtšana* claimed that during his last illness he had given her the sacred rain-making horns and small pot and had taught her how to make rain and therefore she should rule the tribe.

18 A substantial portion of the tribe accepted her statement, probably also because they were dubious about the rain-making ability of the proper heir *SEKXALABYANE* who was a Christian and had said that he could only pray to God for rain but not to his ancestors. The headman *Kxwadiyamotse* (father's cross-cousin to *SEKXALABYANE*, see §10), however tried to reassure them by stating that *SEKXALABYANE* had been given the rain medicines and four sacred elephant tusks and could make rain, but a considerable number nevertheless wanted *MaaNtšana* to rule the tribe. In spite of *SEKXALABYANE*'s being recognised by the government, *MaaNtšana* acted defiantly and collected money from her adherents. Several enquiries were held into this matter in September 1923, in 1924 when she had 202 adherents at a meeting, and again in 1934.

19 In February 1928, the government decided to recognise *MaaNtšana* as a petty chieftainess if her followers purchased half of the farm Balloon 186, as they had resolved to do. Most of her people were already on this land which they had leased. Lack of money prevented purchase. On 1/5/34 the division of the tribe into *SEKÔRÔRÔ*'s section and that under *MaaNtšana* as a petty chieftainess was officially recognised. Being unable to pay off the outstanding amount, *MaaNtšana*'s people finally agreed on 29/1/42 to the purchase by the Trust of 1100 morgen of their portion of Balloon.

20 *MaaNtšana* claimed the chieftainship also on the ground that she had been the chief wife, a claim that had no foundation whatever. She further claimed that the deceased before his death had told her he wished her to rule, which was an absurd statement on her part to

make. Then the issue was confused by dragging in the sons of *SEKXALABYANE*'s elder half-brother *Madijômpôrô*, who would have become chief if he had not pre-deceased his father. The claims of these sons were investigated and found to be quite invalid. So finally *SEKXALABYANE* was allowed to enjoy his chieftainship in peace, and he died on 25/6/36 according to the records, and on 24/6/36 according to native informants.

21 *SEKXALABYANA*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

1 *Nkherethene* da. of *Kxopane*, a *motloxolo* of the royal family, and a tribesman. She was married before her husband's accession.

- a IX *MATHSANGWANE* m born 1920
- b *Modimo* m
- c *Thubisane* m
- d *MaaMorêka* f
- e *Moṭôlatsoku* @ John m

2 *MaaKôma* da. of Lazarus, son of *Mokomate*, a commoner of the tribe. She was married before her husband's accession.

- a *Makhwathene* m
- b *Motsakwe* f not md

3 *Nkhuletene* da. of *Kokobetša*, a commoner of the tribe

- a *Mabêkane* m
- b *Masalaaedya* f infant

22 Some weeks prior to his death on 25/6/36, *SEKXALABYANA* had written to the Native Commissioner, Leydsdorp, to say that his rightful heir was his son *MATHSANGWANE*. This was subsequently found to be so, but as this lad was born in 1920, and still at school in Pietersburg, his grandfather's half-brother *Lepono* was appointed to act for him during his minority. This he did until 8th January 1943, when he handed over control to *MATHSANGWANE*.

Circumcision regiments:

23 This tribe has a fairly long interval between circumcisions. Some of the dates are still remembered or deducible from other facts.

Name	Year of <i>bodikana</i>	Leader
1 <i>Makxau</i>		
2 <i>Makwa</i>		
3 <i>Manala</i>		<i>Matšawêla</i> son of <i>Leruma</i> , a <i>mokxômana</i>
4 <i>Madikwa</i>		<i>Poi</i> , son of <i>TIMAMOXOLO</i>
5 <i>Makxola</i>		<i>MASEKANE</i> , son of <i>TIMAMOXOLO</i>
6 <i>Makwa</i>		<i>Setaxwa</i> , son of <i>TIMAMOXOLO</i>

7	<i>Makxalwa</i>	1879 ³	<i>Ra(ala Makxôpô⁴)</i> , son of <i>TIMAMOXOLO</i>
8	<i>Mannkwe</i>	1885?	<i>Madijômpôrô</i> , son of <i>MASEKANE</i>
9	<i>Melau</i>	1891?	<i>Sekxoro</i> , son of <i>MASEKANE</i>
10	<i>Matuba</i>	1897	<i>Mabêkane</i> , son of <i>MASEKANE</i>
11	<i>Mangana</i>	1905?	<i>Mantsopi</i> , son of <i>MASEKANE</i>
12	<i>Makxau</i>	1914	<i>SEKXALABYANA</i>
13	<i>Maxasa</i>	1920	<i>Mapampa</i> , son of <i>Madijômpôrô</i>
14	<i>Maṅala</i>	1930	<i>Mosesile</i> , son of <i>SEKXALABYANA</i>
15	<i>Madikwa</i>	1937	<i>MATHSANGWANE</i> , son of <i>SEKXALABYANA</i>

Miscellaneous data:

24 The comet of 1883 is remembered by a few old men as *Mathapolane*, but as that year was not marked by any extraordinary event, it has no significance in history and seems almost forgotten.

25 The marriage of cross-cousins is rigidly adhered to where possible, both by chiefs and commoners. A commoner is expected to give twelve head of cattle, but not necessarily before marriage. Many men take a long time before completing payment. The payment of a part in sheep or goats is permissible, these being reckoned at 5-6 and 8-10 to a beast respectively.

26 It is apparent that a chief's great wife is likely to be other than his first wife. Chiefs have in the past several times taken wives from *Maxakala*'s, but there is no rule that these should be the tribal wives. The daughters of other chiefs e.g. from *Phalaborwa*, the *Mapulana*, and *Maake*'s, are also found amongst the royal wives. The fertility of the royal wives at *Sekôrôrô*'s seems to me above the average.

27 After having taken down many similar details of chiefs' families in various parts of the country, I am left with some impressions perhaps worth recording, viz. (a) that the wives of big chiefs have less issue than those of small ones, (b) that chiefs' wives in the early days had less issue than in more recent times, (c) that the greater a tribe's tribulations, the less the issue of royal wives, and finally (d) that even amongst non-Christians, the restraints on frequent births seem to have lost their force. One now finds women with large families. Natives say that in the olden days a woman was not supposed to have an infant until the previous one was about five, when it could run by itself if flight from the enemy was necessary. This, if adhered to, must have limited the births per woman very much and the oldest

³) this *bodikana* was just over when *Sekhukhune* was taken prisoner in November 1879.

⁴) one of the oldest and best informants.

genealogies bear it out. What would an oldtimer have said of women with seven or more living children? Such a thing was unheard-of in the good old days.

28 There can be little doubt that the commoners multiplied their numbers as the royal families did, and from these genealogies one sees the truth of the statement, made by old natives and Europeans alike, that in pre-European days the tribes were small, and the few inhabitants hardly noticeable in the vast space of bush, through which only narrow footpaths marked the ancient routes of commerce and travel.

29 That such travel even to comparatively distant tribes did take place, though by all accounts not without hazard, is also evident from the family names and tribes of the persons named. The very names of some of these people are intriguing, and it is interesting to note e.g. *Kxakabašabi* which is ordinarily the name of a bead which is supposed to "confuse the wandering pedlars", and even *Modimo*, which must be quite a rare name to give to an ordinary young man.

30 The tribe of *Sekôrôrô* at present has incorporated with it the *Mohlabe* people, who were an independent tribe till recent times. They are originally from *Bokone* and of Nguni extraction. Having migrated to *Mphanama* in Sekukuniland, they then settled on the Steelpoort, and called themselves *Ba Tubatse* in consequence. Then they moved to *Sexodikane* (Penge Mine) and from there to *Ntswaneng* where they still live today i.e. in the eastern part of *Sekôrôrô*'s location and on the farms adjoining. I cannot relate their history here, which is a long story. Suffice to say that when the first Republican officials who taxed these people arrived, the *Mohlabe* were reluctant to come forward and make themselves known as independent. The flogging administered to the *Mametša* chief probably helped to put them in this frame of mind. The result was that they were considered part of *Sekôrôrô*'s tribe and have so remained to this day. They still have their own hereditary headmen and are, in a way, a foreign body within the tribe.

31 **Sources of information:** Most of the above data were obtained at the *mosata* from the regent *Lepono* and various old men in July 1942, those about the *Mohlabe* from MSS in my office, written by the headman *Mohlabe*.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

No. 14

The Banarene of Mmutlana

by N. J. van Warmelo

Government Ethnologist

1944

1 These are a small group of people living on farms in the East Leolo' area of Sekukuniland under their petty chief *Mmutlana* whose residence is on Putney 290. I interviewed this man in May 1938, when he was between 95 and 97 years of age, and was, in the opinion of everybody and especially of himself, by far the oldest living member of his family and the best qualified to speak about their origins. As the information obtainable from *Sekôrôrô's* people, from whom these are an offshoot, is meagre¹) owing to a lack of really old men, a certain interest attaches to what *Mmutlana* had to say, also for that reason.

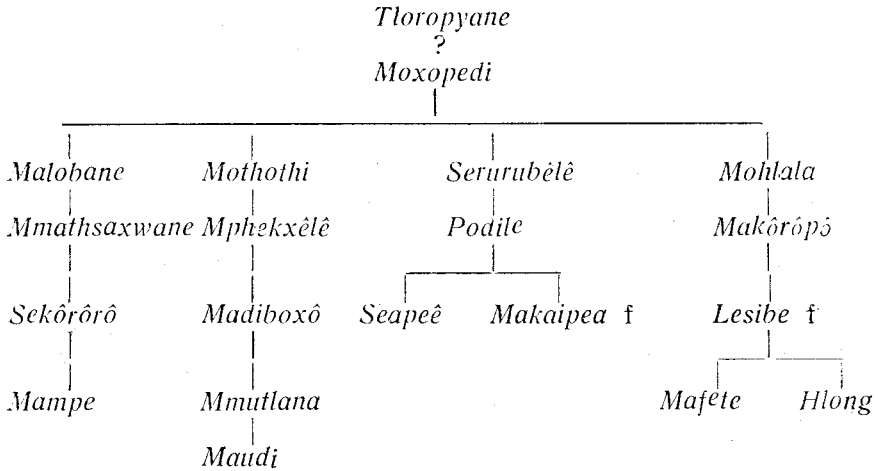
2 According to him then, they are *Barôka* (a term not used on the other side of the mountains where these *Barôka* actually live), *Ba Makhutšwe* or *Ba Makôrôrô*, but more accurately *Banarene*, because their totem is *nare* buffalo or *kxomo* bovine.

3 Originally they came from the north-west, from a place unknown, and settled at *Khwadubene*, west of the *Odi* (Crocodile or Limpopo), in what they call *Bokxalaka*²). It is not known where *Khwadubene* is, and nothing is remembered about events prior to their settling there. The first chief still remembered, and who lived at *Khwadubene*, was *Tloropyane*.

4 The chiefs of the various *Narene* branches are named by *Mmutlana* as follows:

¹) See No. 13 of this series.

²) This latter term is often used in Sekukuniland for the country beyond the Chunespoort mountains. In this case, as it is said to be north of the *Odi*, Bechuanaland seems indicated. The only place I know that is called *Khwadubene* is the present location of the *Bahwaduba* in Hamanskraal district.



5 *Moxopedi* was born at *Khwadubene* and left with part of the tribe. Nothing is known about the section that remained behind. *Moxopedi* led his people to *Moxodumô* (Chunespoort) and there he died. After his death the tribe split up into four sections each led by one of the abovenamed sons.

6 *Malobane* went to settle on the *Makhutšwe* river in the present location of *Sekôrôrô*, and his successors in the direct line have remained there to this day.

7 *Mothothi* moved to *Lekodiko*, which is on the *Tlhabine* river in *Moxobôya's* country and subjected himself to *Moxobôya*. His son *Mphekxêlê* ruled over his own people subject to *Moxobôya*. His son *Madiboxô* predeceased him, leaving a son, the present informant *Mmutlana*, who was born in *Moxobôya's* country. Whilst still a young man and unmarried, *Mmutlana* left with many of his people, because he could not live in peace with *Moxobôya*. He trekked to *Sekhukhune's* country at the time when that chief was living at *Mosêxô*, some years after *Sekwati's* death (1861). He settled at *Thapale* on Forest Hill 342. When the Boers under *Pôrôpôrô* (President Burgers) attacked *Sekhukhune* in 1876, *Mmutlana* and his people moved to *Malokêla* on Putney, where they still live today.

8 The third son of *Moxopedi* was *Serurubêlê*, who went with his son people to *Narene*³). He remained independent and was succeeded by his son *Podile*, who also lived and died at *Narene*. His son *Seapeê* did not become chief as he was murdered by his sister *Makaipea*, who then ruled the tribe. She was succeeded by another chieftainess viz.

³) by this he means the *Letswaô* country above New Agatha, Tzaneen district.

Mamahlôla, and the present chief is *Molalatladi*. It is interesting to compare this abridged history of the *Letswalô* branch with their own version as given in No. 10 of this series.

9 The fourth son of *Moxopedi* was *Mohlala*, who led his section of the tribe to *Selale*, a hill on Elandsfontein 167 which is generally known as *Matibidi*. *Mohlala* died there and was succeeded by his son *Makôrôpô* who also died there. Under his daughter *Lesibe* the tribe moved to *Diphale* on Driekop 170 where they were under *Sekhukhune's* protection. The chieftainess died there, and the succession passed, not to her eldest son *Mafete*, but to his younger brother *Hlong*. Subsequently *Hlong* returned to *Selale* with some of the people, the rest remaining where they are now on Driekop, but under men of no rank at all, viz. the present petty chief *Malemâne's* father and himself.

10 The informant *Mmutlana* names the sequence of *meroto* or *mephato* (circumcision regiments) known to him, with their respective leaders, as follows. His own is No. 10 *Makxola* which I calculate should be dated about 1854.

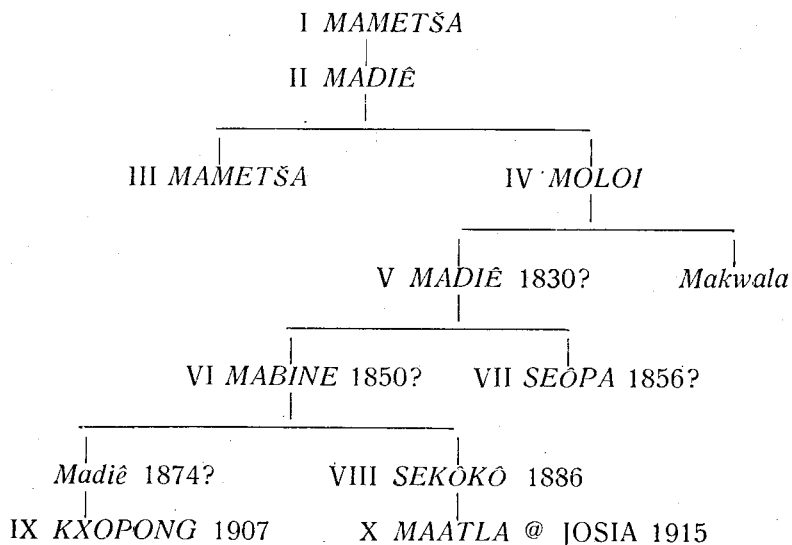
1 <i>Mangana</i>	<i>Thulare</i>
2 <i>Dithšwene</i>	<i>Malekutu</i>
3 <i>Mabyana</i>	<i>Sekwati</i>
4 <i>Mankwê</i>	<i>Seraki</i>
5 <i>Dithaxa</i>	<i>Ramokxadi</i>
6 <i>Makhukhune</i>	<i>Sekhukhune</i>
7 <i>Maxôlopô</i>	<i>Sepadi</i>
8 <i>Manala</i>	<i>Mampuru</i>
9 <i>Madikwa</i>	<i>Kxolokô</i>
10 <i>Makxola</i>	<i>Kxaxodi</i>
11 <i>Madisa</i>	<i>Mahlaxaume</i>
12 <i>Makwa</i>	<i>Morwamothšê</i>
13 <i>Makxalwa</i>	<i>Bokxobêlô</i>
14 <i>Mankwê</i>	<i>Kxobalale</i>
15 <i>Matuba</i>	<i>Sekhukhune</i>
16 <i>Mangana</i>	<i>Phatodi</i>
17 <i>Makxola</i>	<i>Kxaxodi</i>
18 <i>Mangana</i>	<i>Thulare</i>
19 <i>Mabyana</i>	<i>Sekwati</i>
20 <i>Masêxa</i>	<i>Motodi</i>

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
 DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS
 ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS
 No. 15

The Bakoni of Mametša

by N. J. van Warmelo
 Government Ethnologist
 1944

- 1 **District:** Leydsdorp, Transvaal.
- 2 **Numbers and distribution:** in reserve 360 taxpayers, on European owned land 185 taxpayers, total 545 taxpayers.
- 3 **Names of tribe:** *Bakoni*, or *Ba xa Mametša* or sometimes *Balaudi* which is, however, merely a praise name.
- 4 **Totem:** they *bina* (have as totem) *phuthi* "duiker".
- 5 **Language:** a form of Sotho only slightly different from the Pedi of *Maxakala's* and *Sekukuniland*, and differing considerably from the *Rôka* speech of their neighbours.
- 6 **Chief:** MAATLA @ JOSIA MAMETŠA, who assumed the regency on 30 Aug. 1927.
- 7 **Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:**



The dates are those when they were circumcised in the *bodika*, at an age of 12-16 years. See § 29 on age-grades at end of this paper. The earlier and doubtful dates are calculated from an average interval of 6 to 7 years between the holding of circumcision lodges.

History of tribe and genealogy of chiefs:

8 The tribe originally came from *Bokoni*, that is, from the Nguni-speaking South-east, and according to some informants, more specifically from a place called *Mafakaleng* beyond Sabie. The tribal *serêtô* or praise runs as follows:

*Re tšwa Mmamaxukubye bokama Tsakwê,
Bokoni bya manakane bya phuthi phula-paka-malôbane,
Mosexare e hlwa e robetše morithing.*

“We come from *Mmamaxukubye* hill overlooking the *Ba xa Mohlala*,
From *Bokoni* of the horns of the duiker that grazes at midnight,
At midday resting asleep in the shade.”

9 They left *Bokoni* owing to wars, and under *MAMETŠA*, the first chief to be remembered, settled at *Maepa* or *Xa Ratsela*, an area just west of Ohrigstad. *MAMETŠA* died there and was succeeded by his son II *MADIË*, who also lived and died there. Nothing is remembered about his wives and issue except that he had three sons, viz.

- a III *MAMETŠA* m
- b *Moloi* m
- c *Rukê* m

10 After II *MADIË*'s death, III *MAMETŠA* became chief. He led the tribe on a fresh migration and settled on the *Lepelle* (Olifant) at *Tswenyane*, a hill on Anlage 491. From here he sent his younger brother *Moloi* north of the mountains to scout for a country to live in.

11 He discovered what is now Strassburg 167 and reported that this seemed a good place to settle in. The tribe wished to go there, but the chief refused to go just yet, because he had lost some of the *tloo-marapô* (jugo beans), that were sacred heirlooms, from the net-like bag in which they were carried. They had fallen into the grass somewhere and he wanted to wait until they had grown, so that he could find them and reap them. He told *Moloi* to go to Strassburg and settle, promising to follow when he had reaped the jugo beans.

12 So *Moloi* and the bulk of the tribe left and settled on the *Lerapame*, a little stream on Strassburg. This country was unoccupied when they arrived. That summer the old chief found to his satisfaction that the jugo beans had grown, and promised to come the following winter after he had reaped them. That winter the tribe on Strassburg wanted to hold a circumcision lodge. The chief refused to come

himself to perform the rites but gave permission for it to be held without him. When the lodge was ready, *Moloi* came again to ask him to come. So *MAMETŠA* came to *Lerapame* and allowed it (*fetolêla*) to begin. After a month they *aloša'd* and the *kôma* was over. *MAMETŠA* now returned to *Tswenyane* on *Anlage* to reap his *jugo* beans. Next winter the second part of the circumcision rites (*boxwera*) had to be held, and at their invitation *MAMETŠA* came to *Strassburg*, but returned to *Tswenyane* again.

13 Some years later the *Strassburg* section under *Moloi* held a circumcision lodge without first getting *MAMETŠA*'s permission. When he arrived he found it just over. He was very angry and declared they wanted to kill him. They tried to pacify him but he would have nothing further to do with them and returned to *Tswenyane*. Next time *Moloi* wanted to hold a lodge, he came to his elder brother with gifts to obtain his consent and mend the breach between them. But the old man replied that they had now severed themselves from him. "*Ke nna wa llôkwa lexolo la moraba,*" he said, "I am the owner of the big net used as bag (for the sacred heirlooms)." From this originates the name of the tribe he founded (*Ba xa Moraba*); henceforth they were two separate tribes. The *Ba xa Moraba* live in *Pilgrimsrest* district on *Nooitgedacht 20*, adjoining *Anlage*, and on neighbouring farms.

14 After the break with III *MAMETŠA* as described, IV *MOLOI* became chief of the tribe that had settled on the *Lerapame*. He lived there until his death. Nothing is remembered about his wives and their issue, except that he had, by different wives, three sons, thus:

- 1 a V *MADIË* m
- 2 a *Pulê* m
- 3 a *Makwala* m

15 After the death of IV *MOLOI*, V *MADIË* became chief. He continued to live in the same place. During his reign the *Makxêma* cannibals, supposed to be *Mapulana*, came into the country under their chief *Kxwedi*. The tribe fled before them, and, crossing the *Olifant*, settled at *Madikadike*, a hill between *Zonneschyn 392* and *Kromellenboog 387*, west of the confluence of the *Steelpoort* and the *Olifant*. There they lived for six years. During these years the *Swazi* made their first and second raids along the escarpment, so the tribe escaped these. Finally it was decided to return to the former dwelling site on the *Lerapame*, on *Strassburg*, and there V *MADIË* died.

16 *MADIË*, wives and issue:

- 1 *Se kx ê n ê* da. of ? of the *Ba xa Lewêla*, a section of the tribe
 - a VI *MABINE* m
 - b VII *SEÛPA* m

17 No other names are remembered. After *MADIË*'s death there was a dispute over the succession between VI *MABINE*, the rightful heir, and his uncle *Makwala*, who left with a section of the tribe and settled on the unsurveyed crown lands south of the mountains. These people are still there, but now form part of the tribe again. *MABINE* and his adherents continued to live on Strassburg on a site called *Sejabaxwera*, which is actually a *mphoma* or pool in the *Lefahla* stream. *Makwala* pretended to make peace with his nephew, got him to visit him, and treacherously shot him with a gun when he was on his way back. *MABINE* was still a young man at the time. He therefore left only a few children.

18 *MABINE*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

- 1 *Mmaalokweng* da. of ? of the *Ba xa Mašumu* of *Mohlabe*'s tribe²⁾
 - a *Madië* m
 - b *Mmaathôbêlê* f md *Serite*, a *rangwane* (uncle) of the chief *Mohlabe*
 - c VIII *SEKOKO* m
 - d *Mmaamokwale* f md *Mphulô* of the *Ba xa Byang*, a section of the tribe
- 2 *Sexômpyane* da. of a member of the *Ba xa Maphoru*, a section of the tribe
 - a *Kxwana* m
 - b *Mmadibe* f md *Phôšêlane* of the *Ba xa Kxôhlwane*, a section of the tribe

19 After VI *MABINE*'s death, his younger brother VII *SEOPA* became regent, as the deceased's heir *Madië* was a minor. Fearing that *Makwala* might make an attempt on *Madië*'s life in order to seize the chieftainship of all the tribe, *SEOPA* took his brother's children to their maternal uncle, the *Mohlabe* chief, in what is now part of *Sekôrôrô*'s location. The tribe however remained where it was. After some years *SEOPA* returned with the children. Probably some years after *SEOPA*'s accession, the third raid of the Swazi took place. Members of the tribe took part in the waylaying and slaughtering, on the *Tsolametse* river on Nationaal 182, of the Swazi who were returning home from further north.

20 The heir apparent *Madië* was killed in a gun accident before he could assume chieftainship. Upon the coming of age of his younger brother VIII *SEKOKO*, the latter became chief. He continued to live on Strassburg.

²⁾ independent at that time, now forms part of *Sekôrôrô*'s.

21 Prior to the death of *Madiê*, the tribe had already sent a bull to his maternal uncle to betroth his cross-cousin for him to be his tribal wife. When this girl was old enough to be wed, she was fetched and ranked as the wife of the deceased *Madiê*, even though he never ruled. By her *SEKOKO* raised up issue to his elder brother as follows:

22 *Madiê*, his posthumous wife (x *SEKOKO*) and issue:

- 1 *M m a a p h o l o* da. of ? of the *Ba xa Mašumu* of *Mohlabe's* tribe.
 - a IX *KXOPONG* m
 - b *Sekxênê* f md *Kepise wa xa Rathšoši*, a member of the tribe

23 Under the circumstances, *SEKOKO* was both actual chief and regent for his own son, who was legally the son of his elder brother. During *SEKOKO's* reign the first Republican Native Commissioner, known as *Sexwataxwatane*, came into this area to collect tax, about the same time that Abel Erasmus was collecting tax in Lydenburg district, probably 1882. He did not wish to recognise all the chiefs as independent and required some of them to consider themselves the subjects of others. Thus *Mohlabe* and *Malêpê* were ordered to put themselves under *Sekôrôrô*. But *SEKOKO* refused to yield his independence. Even after a flogging, he still refused, so they left him alone.

24 In 1912 the tribe was informed that, as the farm Strassburg, on which they had lived for four generations, now belonged to one Mockford, they had to move to their present location. *SEKOKO* therefore settled a little above the present *mošate*. The locality round about is called *Lwale*.

25 *SEKOKO*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

- 1 *M m a a p h o l o*, see above under *Madiê*.
- 2 *M m a s e k a n e* da. of *Mafiri wa xa Lewêla*, a tribesman
 - a *MAATLA @ JOSIA* m
- 3 *M m a n k x ê r ê r ê* da. of *Nonyana wa xa Thekwane*, a tribesman
 - a *Mmaalokweng* f md by her *rakxadi* (paternal aunt) *Mmaathôbêlê*, da. 1b of *MABINE*, and later by a *Morôka* of the *Ba xa Molôbêlê* who live south of the Olifant
 - b *Mmaatšîê* f md by her *rakxadi* (paternal aunt) *Mmaamokwale*, da. of 1d of *MABINE*
 - c *Mmaatladi* f md *Jane Masethe*, a member of the tribe
- 4 *T h š o š i* da. of *Mmangwaritse wa xa Phatiane*, a member of the *Mohlala* tribe
 - a *Madiê* m
 - b *Mmušô* m
 - c *Selwakatšatši* f md somewhere unknown, because her mother took her away.

- 5 *Mmasêthane* da. of *Matome wa xa Moxale* of *Maake's* tribe.
a *Modimo* m
- 6 *Mmaalokweng* da. of *Mmamoxaxare wa xa Mašumu* of *Mohlabe's* tribe
a *Mmathôbêlê* m
b *Mollalepula* m
c *Mmaalehu* f md *Johannes Mahlako*, a member of the tribe
d *Thšoloxe* f md ?
e *Mokxadi* f still unmarried
f *Seêta* m still a lad
- 7 *Mmaaserite* da. of *Mokiri wa xa Malapane*, a tribesman
a *Maboke* m
b *Lebolai* f md *Themiše wa xa Scêrane*, a tribesman
c *Nkêkô* f md *Mpope Šokane*, a tribesman
- 26 Owing to his great age, *SEKOKÔ* in July 1918 (but on 7 Aug. 1917 according to official papers) allowed his son *IX KXOPONG* to assume the chieftainship. The latter was then ca. 24 years old. *SEKOKÔ* died on 19 Sept. 1919. In 1921 *KXOPONG* built his own *mošate* a little further down at a place called *Phupyane*.
- 27 *KXOPONG*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:
- 1 *Lesôka* da. of *Katsebêla wa xa Mašumu* of *Mohlabe's* tribe
no issue
- 2 *Dipônê* younger sister of foregoing, by same mother. She was *beka'd* (actually taken in marriage) ca. May 1927 by *KXOPONG*, but as he died shortly afterwards, she bore him no issue. She was taken over by his younger brother and successor, the present chief. Her issue therefore rank as that of *KXOPONG*
- a *Madiê* m a lad of ca. 12 in 1944
b *Sekxênê* f
c *Tomas* m
d *Mmadibe* f
e *Mmaalokweng* f
f *Mmamosêka* f
g *Maxotong* m
- 3 *Modiwatsela* da. of *Mmaaphampha wa xa Mahlô* of the *Sekôrôrô* royal family
a *Mabine* m (son of *KXOPONG*)
b *Mokxopo* f (da. of *KXOPONG*)
c *Mmaanala* f
- 4 *Mmaapotlo* da. of *Dixopedi wa xa Matene*, a tribesman
a *Komišinare* m (son of *KXOPONG*)
b *Maruping* m do.

- c *Mokóbô* m (not child of *KXOPONG*)
 d *Mmaapholo* f do.
 e *Mokibêlô* f do.

28 *KXOPONG* died 10 Aug. 1927 and was succeeded on 30 Aug. 1927 by his younger brother X *MAATLA* @ *JOSIA*, the present chief. As with his father *SEKÔKÔ*, the present chief is both chief and regent for the deceased chief's legal son, who is actually his own son.

29 Circumcision regiments:

<i>Mphatô</i>	<i>Bodika</i>	<i>Boxwera</i>	Leader
<i>Makxau</i>	?1830		<i>MADIË</i> son of <i>MOLOI</i>
<i>Maxôlôpô</i>	?1837		
<i>Matuba</i>	?1844		
<i>Manala</i>	?1850		<i>MABINE</i> son of <i>MADIË</i>
<i>Madikwa</i>	?1856		<i>SEÔPA</i> son of <i>MADIË</i>
<i>Makxola</i>	?1862		
<i>Madisa</i>	?1868		<i>Mmanthso</i> son of ?
<i>Makwa</i>	?1874		<i>Madië</i> son 1a of <i>MABINE</i>
<i>Makxalwa</i>	?1880		<i>Matlading</i> son of <i>SEÔPA</i>
<i>Mannkwê</i>	1886 ²⁾		<i>SEKÔKÔ</i> son 1c of <i>MABINE</i>
<i>Melau</i>	?1892		<i>Kxwana</i> son 2a of <i>MABINE</i>
<i>Matuba</i>	1898	1899	<i>Mapa</i> son of <i>SEÔPA</i>
<i>Mangana</i>	1907	1908	<i>KXOPONG</i> son 1a of <i>Madië</i>
<i>Makxola</i>	1915	1916	<i>MAATLA</i> son 2a of <i>SEKÔKÔ</i>
<i>Makxau</i>	1923	1924	<i>Matlading</i> son of <i>Mapa a rangwane</i>
<i>Madikwa</i>	1928	1929	<i>Maboke</i> son 7a of <i>SEKÔKÔ</i>
<i>Manala</i>	1934	1935	<i>Mmaathôbêla</i> son 6a of <i>SEKÔKÔ</i>
<i>Madisa</i>	1939	1940	<i>Komišinare</i> son 4a of <i>SEKÔKÔ</i>
<i>Makwa</i>	1943		<i>Madië</i> son 2a of <i>KXOPONG</i>

Tribal organisation and government:

30 The tribe is divided into five sections, each under its hereditary headman, as follows:

- 1 *Kxôrô ya mošate*, under control of the chief himself, aided by a *mokxômana* or grandee. The last incumbent was *Mapa* son of *SEÔPA*. A successor has not yet been appointed.
- 2 *Kxôrô ya xa Lewêla*, under *Poulô Lewêla*. These are also *Koni*.
- 3 *Kxôrô ya xa Masete*, under *Petrus Masete*. They are also *Koni*.
- 4 *Kxôrô ya xa Morêma*, under *David Mmalexasa* (his father) *Morêma*. They have been a part of the tribe from early times. Their origin is not remembered.
- 5 *Kxôrô ya xa Mahlako* under *Isaac @ Morapê Mahlako*. As their name (*Mahlangu*) indicates, they were originally *Ndzundza*

²⁾ this year 1886 is derived from the statement that it was three years after the arrest of *Mampuru* (July 1883).

Ndebele, but they were already living in these parts, under the suzerainty of the *Malêpê*³⁾ chiefs, when the *Mametsša* people arrived, with whom they in course of time joined up. Their earlier history is not remembered.

Miscellaneous items of tradition:

31 The name of *Lebese* (Louis Trichardt) is remembered by a few ancients only. No details are known, and the informants are completely ignorant as to the approximate time of his trek.

32 *Sewawa* (Albasini) is remembered a little better. He is said to have come hunting elephant in the Low veld with *Kadiše*, whom they describe as a *Pusumane* (coloured person, Hottentot, etc.). They do not know *Kadiše* as Buys, nor any details about him.

33 The *tsêtsê* fly was in the flat country quite near their present location in the olden days. At *Phalaborwa* there were no cattle then.

34 Natives from the coast used to come bartering goods they carried on their heads from their home at *Xa Mpfumo* (Delagoa Bay). Members of the tribe sometimes used to march down there themselves. The imports in the very old days were (1) *thaxa* beads of all colours (green, red, blue), (2) *mabêtlwa* (hexagonal blue) beads, (3) *maôkôlane* a type of blue cloth, (4) *moretele* a red cloth, and later (5) guns and powder⁴⁾. Their route crossed the *Lebôpô* (Lebombo) at *Mphišane*'s, a Portuguese who lived in a poort in the range.

35 In the olden days whilst living on Strassburg they acknowledged, for safety's sake, and in a vague way, the supremacy of the *Maxakala* tribe (*Mafêfê*'s). They never intermarried much with neighbouring tribes, which seems to be borne out by the fact that their language is like *Sepedi*, and does not have, for example, *khe* nor *the* for *se*. Nor did they ever think it necessary to get rain from *Modjadji*, but say they did their own rain-making.

36 **Sources of information:** Almost all the foregoing was obtained at Chief Josia's *mošate* in July 1944, from the chief himself assisted by a number of older men. The oldest informant present, *Setšakame*, was of the *Makwa* regiment, therefore perhaps 85 years old. He was in Kimberley in 1879 when *Sekhukhune* was taken prisoner. A few dates were found in official correspondence.

³⁾ formerly independent, but made subject to *Sekôrôro* by the Republican government.

⁴⁾ cf. "Ausserdem wird an der unbewachten Grenze ein schwunghafter Schmuggelhandel betrieben. Man begegnet förmlichen Karawanen von Kaffern, welche mit Gewehren (6 pro Mann), Pulver, Blei, Zündhütchen, Rum, Kafferpicken u. a. aus dem portugiesischen Gebiet kommen. An einem Tage traf ich nördlich vom Seman bis zu 80 konterbandeführende Kaffern auf einem Haufen". H. Raddatz "Das Kaffernland des Untern Olifant" Petermanns Mitteilungen, vol. 32, II. 1886 p. 54.

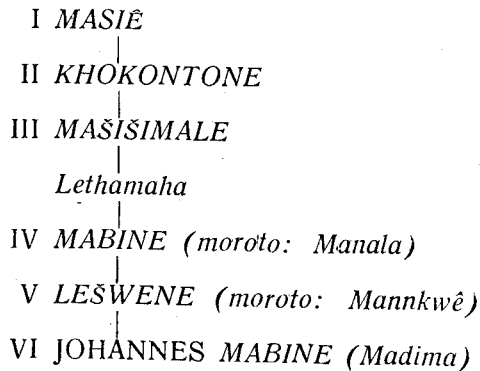
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
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 ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS
 No. 16

The Batubatse of Mašišimale

by N. J. van Warmelo

Government Ethnologist
 1944

- 1 **District:** Leydsdorp, Transvaal.
- 2 **Numbers and distribution:** in reserve 336 taxpayers, on European owned land 38 taxpayers, total 374 taxpayers.
- 3 **Names of tribe:** *Ba hā Šai*, *Batubatse* or *Bathsubyê*.
- 4 **Totem:** They *bina* (have as totem) *ṭou* "elephant". Their oath is "*Ka Mašišimale!*"
- 5 **Language:** the local dialect known as *Serôka* amongst people living further west. It is a form of Sotho, very localised and shared only with the neighbouring people of *Phalaborwa*, *Sekôrôrô's* tribe and other inhabitants of this area.
- 6 **Chief:** JOHANNES MABINE, appointed on 26th October 1936.
- 7 **Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:**



History and genealogies of chiefs:

- 8 The first chief still remembered was I MASIÊ, who ruled on the *Tubatse* (Steelpoort) and died there. The next chief II KHOKONTONE also lived and died there.

9 *KHOKONTONE*, wife and issue, as far as remembered:

- 1 *M m a M m ô l a* of the *Ba xa Mmôla* clan of the tribe
a *MAŠIŠIMALE* m

10 Under *KHOKONTONE*'s son and successor III *MAŠIŠIMALE* the tribe left the *Tubatse* and, crossing the high mountains, settled in the hills on Lillie 1180, at a place called *Maakene*.... Here they dwelt for generations¹).

11 It was, they think, during *MAŠIŠIMALE*'s reign that the *Makhêma* (cannibals from *Bopedi*) entered the country. For a while they had their headquarters on the *Sebitša* river on Turkey 178, and made raids from there, catching people and eating them.

12 It is also thought that *MAŠIŠIMALE* was chief at the time of the Swazi attack on the Mapulana stronghold *Xa Maholoholo* on Mariep mountain (probably 1860-70).

13 *MAŠIŠIMALE*, wife and issue, as far as remembered:

- 1 *M m a M m ô t a* of the *Ba ha Mmôla* clan of the tribe
a *Lethamaha* m
b *Mabine* m

14 When *MAŠIŠIMALE* died at *Maakene*, his heir *Lethamaha* had already predeceased him.

Lethamaha, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

- 1 *MmaLefaru* of the *Ba ha Mmôla* clan of the tribe
a *Kharitše* m
b *Mabine* m
c *Šabešabe* f md a member of the *Ba ha Mmutswi* clan of the tribe. She was killed in a raid by *Gungunyana*'s people.

¹)according to a MS in my office (No. 8/26 260) written by a native who apparently got his information from an old informant belonging to a portion of the tribe that moved nearer to Pietersburg many years ago, the *Šai* tribe were originally Ndebele from the south. They settled on the *Tubatse* as an independent people, until the *Pedi* came from *Bokgatla* and occupied all the country. Finding the rule of the *Pedi* irksome; part of the tribe under its chief fled over the mountains but, finding the occupants of the Low veld, who are not named, too strong for them, they returned. Realising they could have no place to live by themselves they called themselves: *Ke rena ba xa Šai ya mabu, xe le re rêta le re: Axeë Mohlakwana, Axeë Motubatse!* But those that had stayed behind refused this name and said: *Ke rena Ba Tubatse' mohlakô o moxolo.* After a time the tribe migrated to what is now *Xa Mampa*, and then, owing to a famine, to the *Makhušwe* river, where *Mampa* and *Mohlabe*'s sections broke off. Later the tribe moved to *Phalaborwa* where it is today. Other sections that subsequently broke off were those of *Nakampe*, *Seabêla*, *Mmôla*, *Raxoboya*, *Ramošaba*, *Matlou*, *Rakxotsoka*.

2 ? of the *Ba ha Makhôpa* clan of the tribe. She was the chief wife.
a *MABINE* m

15 So *Lethamaha's* son IV *MABINE* succeeded to his grandfather *MAŠIŠIMALE* at *Maakene*, and eventually died there.

MABINE, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

1 *Maaketsemane*, of the *Ba ha Makhôpa* clan of the tribe
a *LEŠWENE* m

b *Mosebutšane* f md *Madzambane*, a commoner of *Maake's*

c *Mokhadzi* f md *Mogidzi*, a commoner of *Maake's*

d *Mannkô* f md *Moridzi*, a local commoner

e *Gavhelê* f md *Lebyana*, a local commoner

2 *Mokhadzi*. there is a difference of opinion as to whether she was
beka'd, brought to her husband, or not.

16 *MABINE* ruled quite a time, through three *meroto* circumcision lodges, and died at *Maakene* during the *boxwera* of the *Melau*, that is, ca. 1899, at the time of the war between *Thekôrôrô* and *Maake*. No reason could be given for his having had only one wife with issue. The tribe was much scattered in those days owing to drought. He was succeeded by his son V *LEŠWENE*, under whose leadership the tribe moved away to the *Mohoŭe*, a river on the western boundary of *Lekkersmaak* 209.

17 In 1902 or 1903, the year they first paid tax, there occurred the famine known as *tala ya ditouma*.

18 In about 1922 the tribe was settled in its present reserve. *LEŠWENE* died there 28th July 1936.

19 *LEŠWENE*, wives (in order of marriage) and issue:

1 *Mosebutšane* da. of *Sekhwêlê wa ha Makhôpô* of the tribe
a *Mokhadi* f md *Mapolanka*, a local commoner

b *Lebêkô* f md *Mošoti*, a commoner of *Maake's*

c *Mpopane* f md *Seleu*, a local commoner

d *MABINE* @ *JOHANNES* m

2 *Mabeu* da. of *Manaba wa ha Malatši*, a commoner of *Phalaborwa*
a *Mannkô* f md *Pharare, wa ha Malatši* of ibidem

b *Maagôma* f md *Maapadzala*, a local commoner

3 *Mokhadi* da. of *Serupu wa ha Makhôba*, a *malome*, of the tribe
a *Khašane* m

b *Nkurwane* m

4 *Mmašii* da. of *Mokhaši wa ha Marobêla*, a sub-clan of the royal one, but now with *Maake*

a *Nkhaka* f md *Alfred* @ *Lephala Makhušane*, of *Phalaborwa* royal family

b *Mosebudi* f unmarried

- 5 *Mannku* da. of *Meriri wa ha Monyêla*, a commoner from *Phalaborwa*. She subsequently absconded and is living at *Modjadji's* as the wife of another man.
a *Mokhadi* f md a man at *Modjadji's*
- 6 *MmaKhašū* da. of *Rakhuma wa ha Malatši*, a *mokxômana* of *Phalaborwa*. She subsequently left and stayed at *Makhusane's*
a *Modume* m
- 7 *MmaLethsira* da. of *Madiêhê wa ha Malatši* of *Phalaborwa*. She ran away and is married to a *wa xa Nkwana* of this tribe on *Lekkersmaak*. The cattle were returned.
a *Morakene* m
- 8 *Dithšwanthšô* da. of *Maragene wa ha Malatši* of *Phalaborwa*. She ran away some years ago, and lives at her brother's place in *Muhlava's* location
a *Šai* m
b *Molewane* f unmarried
c *Marupini* f unmarried
- 9 *Nkhaḍa* da. of *Mathêma wa ha Malatši* of *Phalaborwa*
no issue
- 10 *Morongwê* da. of *Fereki wa ha Pelusa*, who are *bakxômana* of *Phalaborwa*
a *Maatšêpê* f not married
b *Mothôga* m

20 *LEŠWENE* was succeeded on 25th October 1936 by his son *JOHANNES MABINE*, the present chief.

Circumcision regiments:

21 These *meroto*, as far as remembered, their respective leaders and dates of *bodikana* and *boxwera*, are given as follows:

<i>Moroto</i>	<i>Bodikana</i>	<i>Boxwera</i>	Leader
<i>Mathokwana</i>			
<i>Mapulana</i>			
<i>Makwa</i>			
<i>Madima</i>			<i>MABINE</i> son of <i>Lethamaha</i>
<i>Mannkwê</i>			<i>LEŠWENE</i>
<i>Melau</i>		1900 ¹⁾	<i>Matela</i>
<i>Matxalerwa</i>	1903? ²⁾	1906?	<i>Mašabane</i> son of <i>Molôtôlê</i> , a <i>mokxômana</i>
<i>Manala</i>	1915	1920	<i>Khašane</i> son of <i>LEŠWENE</i>
<i>Madima</i>	1925	1930	<i>JOHANNES MABINE</i>
<i>Madisa</i>	1935	1939	<i>Morakane</i> son of <i>LEŠWENE</i>

¹⁾ during the war between *Sekôrôrô* and *Maake*.

²⁾ when they first paid tax.

22 Miscellaneous: This tribe has sacred *dikòmana* drums like its neighbours of *Phalaborwa*. They are called *Boretho* (the largest one), *Thangga* (medium size) and *Phokwi* (the smallest), probably in imitation of the *Phalaborwa* ones, some of which have the same names. They are not as large as these latter however, and are housed under a dilapidated roof on poles on the verge of collapsing, and much neglected.

23 Sources of information: The above information was obtained at the *mosata* from the chief and his oldest men in July 1942. Mention is made of this tribe in J. D. Krige "Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal" *Bantu Studies* XI 4 338-9. See also about *Matome* and *Selwane* in C. Hoffmann "Sotho-Texte aus dem Holzbuschgebirge in Transvaal" *ZfES* 1934 24 3 211.

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Natuurwette sake

R2 reeles; Wasmelo, Nicolaas Jacobus van

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