THE MARRIAGE PROCESS.

Choice of Bride.

The choice of a bride for their son was in the olden days a prerogative of the parents of a man. The word "parents" must be understood to include not only a man's father (and mother) but also a number of other kinmen who had the right of either acting in loco parentis or advising the actual father of the child. These included the father's father or his representative, the father's elder brothers, his younger brothers and particularly the mother's brother who represented the views of the maternal side of the family. No serious step could be taken in the affairs of the his sister's children without due consultation with him and the choice of a bride was no exception to the rule.

What determines the Choice.

In making up their minds as to what girl to approve for their son, the parents looked first of all foremost to the house of the prospective bride, regarding which questions such as the following were asked:

(a) What is the nature of the stock of this family? Are they people of good blood? Is the losika both on her mother's and her father's side satisfactory? There was a strong prejudice against foreign blood — white blood, coloured blood, Matebele blood, etc. — but even within the tribe itself the quality of the blood of the parents of the prospective bride was a matter for close investigation. People of the royal kinship group — ba losika lwa bogosi — did not favour marriage with commoners (batilwenka) or with serfs (balala).

(b) The character of the parents of the prospective bride was also inquired into. They may be people of good stock, but may be conducting their own home life in a manner that does not commend itself to the general public or, in particular, to the parents on the look-out for a daughter...
daughter-in-law (ngwetsi). Especially was the character of the mother scrutinized closely. She is very largely responsible for the education and the training of her daughters, and it was presumed that a good mother gave good training and however unimpressive may be the record of the daughter at first sight, she might eventually turn out as well as her mother and vice versa. That this rule did not always hold good is proved by the saying "E masi ga e itsaile" -- a good milking cow does not always bring forth a calf with similar qualities. But that there was a strong prejudice in favour of the daughter of parents of good character -- industrious, not given to the practice of sorcery, with a wholesome domestic life -- cannot be denied.

(c) Naturally the character of the girl herself was also looked into. Whether she was an industrious girl (sekatle), neat in her habits (go ipona dipina), obedient to her elders (go utlwa batseki), courteous in speech and demeanour (go nna le maiteep) -- "like her parents" -- all these points counted in her favour, while conduct of the opposite type detracted from her general reputation and lessened her chances of making a good match.

(d) The character of the married sisters of the prospective bride also helped to decide the parents of the boy against or in favour of her, and in particular the character of the eldest sister. There was a strong belief that whatever the eldest child turned out to be, those following him or her were likely to follow in his or her footsteps. Hence the importance of the eldest child in the family. If any misfortune, e.g. sickness, death or a bad character, befell the eldest son there was a general fear that it might run through the whole family.

These matters came up for discussion in informal conversations among the relatives mentioned above, and gradually as their views crystallised.
crystallised, they came to a conclusion one way or the other.

Preferred Degrees of Marriage.

The anxiety of the parents to find for their son a girl of good stock, the character of whose parents was fairly well known to them, has led, among other things, to a good deal of marriage among the Barolong between persons closely related. Their incest regulations are not as rigid and as comprehensive as those of the Nguni tribes. There was strong tendency for a wife to be sought for a man among his "sisters" (bo-kgantšedi), or his cousins (bo-ntsàla). Who are a man's "sisters" or his cousins, and to which may he get married and to which not?

His "sisters" included (a) the daughters of his father and his own mother; (b) the daughters of his father and other wives of his father (not his mother); (c) the daughters of his father's brothers, real and classificatory; (d) the daughters of his mother's sisters, real and classificatory.

The only ones in these classes against marriage of whom there was a rigid prohibition are the girls falling under classes (a), and to a less extent those falling into class (b). In the case of classes (c) and (d) there was no prohibition. In fact the marriage of a daughter of a father's brother, usually the younger brother, was much preferred because it meant, among other things, that bogadi did not require to be given for her as the cattle of the bridegroom's father and those of the bride's father belonged to the same kraal. According to their saying: "Nyala ngwana rrangwane, kgomo di boele sakeng" -- "Marry the daughter of your father's younger brother, so that the cattle may remain in the kraal."

But note that a man is advised to marry the daughter of his father's younger brother (rrangwane -- little father), not the father's older brother (ramogolo -- big father). For a man to marry the daughter of his ramogolo would mean a fall in status for that daughter and her children. Being the daughter of an older brother, she is senior in rank to the children of her father's
younger brothers, including, therefore, the man who wants to marry her. The wife takes the status of her husband and in any case is under marital power. On the other hand for man to marry the daughter of his *prangwane* raises the latter in status and gives the husband the satisfaction of knowing that his wife is not above him in status in the *kgotla*.

A man's cousins included (a) the daughters of his mother's brother, real or classificatory; (b) the daughters of his father's sisters, real and classificatory.

Marriage with both these groups was not only allowed but definitely preferred, especially in the case of ( ). The children from their childhood are taught to regard one another as man and wife -- they address each other by the reciprocal term *mogatsane* (my wife or husband). They are on terms of ease and familiarity, and there is a joking relationship between them known as *go tlhagana* -- "to tease one another". They are brought up in such a way that their marriage of one another is regarded as the most natural marriage they can contract. The most popular marriages among the Barolongare of this variety, followed by marriages between a man and his *prangwane's* daughter.

**Negotiations following Choice of Bride.**

It has been pointed out that the choice of a bride was in the hands of the parents of the son. The young man lived for the most part at the cattle-posts and these negotiations took place in his absence. When a final choice had been decided upon, the young man was informed that a future wife had been chosen for him, and in former times, so far as one can gather, he was obliged to accept this decision. His life at the cattle-post did not bring him into much contact with marriageable girls, and he was consequently much more ready to accept the decision of his parents than would be the case today when young men live much more at home, and are less prone to accept the advice of their parents in their affairs. Moreover the young man was brought up in that tradition that the choice of a bride for their son was a prerogative of the parents, and this cultural conditioning had...
had much to do with his acquiescence.

Nabotsa or Mabuishe — Espousals.

This term indicates a custom which is practised by some of the Barolong but which is said by others to be of foreign origin. The majority of people questioned about it admit that it has come within their knowledge and are usually ready to give an account of it, but nevertheless express a doubt as to whether it is a genuine Barolong custom. It seems, however, to have been much more common in the past than it is at present. The fact that it was apparently connected with infant betrothals which are of comparatively rare occurrence among the modern Barolong may account for the vagueness which exists in the minds of the people about it, the reluctance with which they admit its occurrence among them and the readiness with which they vaguely ascribe it to foreign tribes. The ascription of what are considered, whether justifiably or not, undesirable elements in a culture to undefined foreign elements is a phenomenon by no means confined to the Barolong.

Nabotsa or Mabuishe seems to be a method or procedure by which permission to court a girl belonging to a particular kgotla is sought. The parents of a young man whether of a marriageable age or not approach the parents of a girl of either marriageable age or not, with the request that when the girl becomes marriageable their son might be allowed to visit her in the segotlo. It must be remembered that it was not customary for young men of strange kgotlas or segotlo to be allowed free access within segotlo of makwana other than their own. To be allowed free access to the place which constituted as it were the private apartments of a family was a mark of friendship which might form the basis of a marriage union. Therefore if the parents of a boy thought that a desirable match might be effected in a certain kgotla, they approached the proper people in the latter with a view to getting rights of courtship for their son.

If the parents of the girl were agreeable, the arrangement was sealed with the slaughtering of a beast, e.g. a sheep, on the part
of each of the two families. A feast is held in turn at the respective kgotla to which relatives of both sides are invited, and by the sharing of food on the part of the two kinship groups the foundations were laid for an association which might end in the marriage of the two children concerned.

As already indicated, the mabotsa or mabuisha were not infrequently concluded before the girl concerned had reached the age of puberty, and in some cases even before the girl was born. The latter was known as x "go one moa", literally, "to strike the belly", to bespeak an unborn child. The parents might be great friends who desire to cement their friendship through the marriage of their children, and the fact that the child was as yet unborn did not prevent them from proceeding with these arrangements for a right of entry to the kgotla for the young man when the proper time for courtship arrived. The agreement fell through if the child born was not a girl.

**Effect of Arrangement.**

The arrangement thus made resulted in certain relationships between the parents of the boy on the one hand and the parents of the girl on the other, and between the boy and the girl when born.

After the arrangement had been effected, there were the respective parents of the boy and the girl deliberately cultivated the friendship which had hitherto existed between them perhaps somewhat vaguely, or which had amounted perhaps to no more than mere acquaintance. Exchanges of food now took place more regularly. When beer was brewed at one kgotla, either some was sent to the other kgotla, or the latter were invited to come and share it. When a sheep or a goat or an ox was slaughtered, a portion was sent to the kgotla with which the mabotsa or mabuisha agreement had been entered into. "Re ja ngwana" — "we are eating our child" — was the expression with which these gifts of food were received, thus recognising the fact that the gifts were made in pursuance of an arrangement in which the child concerned was the
central figure. Greater and more frequent co-operation took place between the two kgotlae in their ordinary economic activities such as ploughing, reaping, house-building, etc.

This intimated friendship was calculated to lead the children concerned greater interest in each other and in the affairs of their respective kgotlae. Because they might/frequently thrown into each other's company, the development of affectionate relations between them might occur quite naturally and thus set them on the road desired by their parents without any undue pressure from the latter. If the match was a very desirable one, e.g. one into a higher social rank or to a more prominent, the mother of the girl took special pains to cultivate or to retain the interest of the boy in the girl by extending favours to him and by singing his praises to the girl and minimising his faults. In their anxiety lest they should fail to retain the affection of a young man for their daughter, mothers have been known to do things quite contrary to the general moral code of the Barolong. Cases have not been unknown, although few and far between and unhesitatingly condemned when they do occur, where an anxious mother has allowed far too much intimacy to develop between her future son-in-law and herself even to the point of sexual access. In this way the boy was discouraged or prevented from making overtures to other girls during the time when his own future wife was still too young to be approached sexually, or was perhaps not amenable to his desires. The boy might perhaps not readily develop an affection for the girl, and the parents of the girl might be faced with the possibility of a breakdown of their arrangement. The kindness of the mother of the girl towards the young man might save the day, and he might persist in . . .

1Perhaps anthropologists of an earlier day and generation might have interpreted this expression as a survival from a previous state of cannibalism among the Barolong. Put in its proper setting the expression connotes no more than has been indicated above.
in his endeavours to win her in spite of her obduracy. One need hardly point out that where on second thoughts parents on either side think that after all the match will not be so desirable as they had first thought, the opposite attitude was adopted. Everything was done to discourage its ripening into a real betrothal.

Furthermore, what has been said about mothers anxious to bring off a match being over-indulgent as far as their prospective son-in-law were concerned must not be regarded as prescribed by the code of the Barolong on these matters. Actually the general code prescribed the observance of the utmost decorum and avoidance on the part of the mother towards her prospective son-in-law. But the Barolong mother, like mothers all over the world, will, as the Barolong say, "catch hold of the sharp end of a knife" if necessary ("go tswara tshaka ka bogale") to do what she considers a good turn to her child.

It must also be borne in mind that the right of a young man under a mabotse arrangement did not include the right of sexual access. This right he did not possess until he had given mokwele for the girl as will be shown later. All he had a right to do was to visit the girl's home freely without fear of being interrogated regarding his movements in and around the kgotla. This gave him an opportunity to court the girl with a view to their marriage later on.

Naturally this young man who had freedom of entry into the segotle for courtship purposes was responsible for anything that might happen to the girl. Thus if the girl became pregnant, there was a presumption that he was responsible which had to be rebutted with strong evidence. If he could not rebut this presumption, he was expected, or rather his parents were called upon to proceed to the next step towards marriage, namely mokwele and bogadi, and so legitimise the child that might result from the pre-marital intercourse. It would appear that the pre-marital pregnancy of a betrothed girl by the man to whom she was betrothed in the proper way, i.e. with the consent of the parents on both sides...
sides, was regarded as clearly to be distinguished from the pregnancy of such a girl brought about by a man unknown, i.e. unapproved by the parents. A very serious view was taken of the latter case, while as to the former all that was expected of the young man and his parents was to expedite the completion of the negotiations previously entered, with perhaps a small fine to compensate the parents of the girl for this premature anticipation of privilege and the inconvenience caused thereby.
A much more important step in the establishment of a family by marriage is the payment of what is known as *Mokwele*. In the view of many informants the *mokwele* is so important that it may almost be regarded as leading to the conclusive presumption that the marriage will be consummated. Against the view that the *bogadi* is what really clinches the matter in marriage negotiations, informants put forward the contention that the payment of *mokwele* entitles the young man to *ralela* (i.e. to visit freely) the lolwapa of the girl's parents with implied privileges of sexual access to the girl. Even if such a girl should become pregnant, as long as the man on whose behalf *mokwele* has been paid is responsible, no serious view would be taken of that eventuality unless it should appear that the parents of the boy have no intention to proceed with the matter to its natural conclusion, namely, the payment of *bogadi* and the legitimation of the child or children born prior to the taking of this final step. The payment of *mokwele* is thus an important undertaking in the courtship of the girl, carrying with it the implication of the right of sexual access, while the payment of *bogadi* gives a man marital power over the girl and legal rights over the children he has with the girl both before and after the payment of *bogadi*.

The *Mokwele* generally consists of the gift of a beast — a sheep, or, in the case of the well-to-do, an ox by the parents of the young man to the parents of the girl. Goats and other animals are not generally accepted as *mokwele* except in exceptional circumstances such as the total inability of those from whom it is expected to procure anything other than a goat. The presentation is made by the senior male member of the young man's kgotla — his father, together perhaps with his father's brother, younger or older, his mother's brother. They meet with corresponding relatives of the girl or their representatives, declare their purpose and make the gift as an earnest of their goodwill and their serious intention to pursue the negotiations to their natural conclusion. The acceptance of the *mokwele* by the girl's...
girl's parents amounts to an acceptance of the suit of the young man thus brought forward by his representatives, an places the parents of the girl under obligation to keep their part in the mutual pact entered into. A refusal to accept the mokwele is regarded as a rejection of the suit of the young man.

The mokwele animal or animals are not intended for keeping -- if accepted they are to be slaughtered forthwith after the departure of the "guests", and a feast held, to which the relatives of the girl are invited. In the general merry-making the statement is frequently made "we are eating our child" (re is ngwana we rona), a statement in no way indicative of a previous or present state of cannibalism, but an expression of the fact that the feast has been made possible by the existence of their child.

If the mokwele should be accepted, the next step is taken by women of the young man's kgotla -- his father's sister, his mother, his mother's brother's wife -- who approach corresponding women on the girl's side with a view to getting for their child the privilege of entering upon the go ralala period. They make their way, within a reasonable period after the acceptance of the mokwele to the kgotla of the girl's parents, usually at dusk according to most informants. The purpose of their visit is to make arrangements for the taking over of the girl's home, i.e. to the segotlo hut, a mat and blankets to be used by the young man when he pays a nocturnal visit to the girl. They expect to meet no opposition since the mokwele has been accepted and accordingly they take the over the necessary paraphernalia soon after this first meeting and the go ralala may commence at any time after that.

Go Ralala.

One of the most important rights acquired by the young man whose mokwele has been accepted is that of Go Ralala. To ralala (literally, to be about in freely) in this connection means to visit a betrothed girl in the segotlo freely at night. The gift of a mat and blankets made by the women of his kgotla is to facilitate this process. The young man now has full rights to be found...
found in the segotlo hut at night -- in fact he sleeps there. When preparations have been made for this process to commence, members of his own group will remind him that his bedding is no longer at his own home but at his future home-in-law, and he is expected to repair thither at night. But although he has the privilege of sleeping in the segotlo hut, he must not be found there after daybreak on pain of a penalty to be exacted by the parents of the girl. The latter, i.e. the parents of the girl, particularly the father, regard it as a great joke for a young man to be found in the segotlo after he has spent the night there, and they make no quails about adding to his further discomfort by demanding a beast -- a sheep or a goat or an ox -- with which the adult males of the girl's kgotla will make merry at their own kgotla. Consequently the "ralala-ing" young man is obliged to rise betimes before the men of the kgotla are astir. And it must be borne in mind that adult males among the Barolong as a rule are about very early and repair to the kgotla to sit around the fire and discuss the latest news in the early hours of the morning. The young man who has thus risen betimes repairs to his own kgotla, but instead of going to bed in order to be found indoors when the rest of the members of the kgotla awaken, his duty is to start the fire at the kgotla so that when the adult males of his kgotla arrive they find a blazing fire ready for them. It is thus the duty of young men who are undergoing the go ralala custom to make the kgotla fires, and the adult males are not above making jokes at the expense of the young man whom they find on a cold morning sitting near this fire which he has made for their benefit, he himself having been robbed of the best sleeping hours, i.e. the hours just before dawn, because he had to disappear from his future home-in-law before he was observed by the adult males of the kgotla concerned.

Duration of Go Ralala.

The go ralala period lasts for an indefinite length of time. The girl's parents desire to prolong it as much as possible, while the young man's parents naturally want it to conclude as soon as possible.
possible. It is a matter of negotiation and arrangement depending upon the mutual understanding of the parties. The mokwele is naturally followed by the bogadi, but even the payment of the bogadi which is the final seal of the contract of marriage does not bring the go rašala to an end abruptly. When the marriage contract has been clinched by the payment of the bogadi, the man may continue to rašala until his new wife becomes pregnant and has her first confinement in the segotlo of her own home. Her parents defend her long stay at her own home on the ground that her own mother must give the girl first-hand information about and training in home management, husband-management, the care of children, etc. Her own mother or mother's relatives must act as midwives (go bosa botesa) to her in her first confinement. Such an important crisis in her life a girl should not experience for the first time away from her mother and the familiar surroundings of her own home. Thus go rašala serves the function of a kind of introduction to marriage for the girl by prolonging her stay among relatives and friends. The young man, on the other hand, once married, wants the go rašala to terminate as early as possible. He lives in the segotlo of his home-in-law, i.e. he has his meals there and sleeps there, his wife discharging the ordinary domestic duties; but in the view of the Barolong such a young man labours under several disabilities. In particular, it is difficult for him to assert his marital authority over his wife, because he is not in his own kgotla. The girl, being among relatives, can rely upon them to support or protect her against strangers, including her husband. The husband may, for example, not be satisfied with the relations between his wife and another man who visits or may visit her in his absence. When he remonstrates with his wife on this point, she is likely to report the matter to her parents who may take up the attitude that he is unreasonably jealous. They point out that the suspected man is an old playmate (molekane) of their daughter; "he grew up with this girl in this kgotla ..."
kgotla, and it would be strange if she were to cut him or vice versa simply because she had got married to a stranger like you”.

As is to be expected, modern criticisms of the go ralala include the fear that it not only leads to a delay in the development of that mutual understanding which is indispensable for successful married life, but may lead to infidelity on the part of the wife. Consequently there is a demand among the Christian sections of the community for an immediate removal of the girl upon her marriage to her new home. But even among Christians the go ralala custom has not yet fallen into disuse.

The functions of the go ralala custom may be said to include the following:

(a) A gradual introduction of the girl to married life under the personal guidance and instruction of persons with whom she has been familiar since childhood. It rendered less violent the shock to the parents, on the one hand, at the loss of a valued member of their home, and to the girl, on the other, of entering upon a state of life which, under the best circumstances, is full of pitfalls for the inexperienced. It must further be remembered that in the olden days girls were married at a tender age, in many cases soon after puberty, and the go ralala gave the girl an opportunity to become somewhat more mature before she was called upon to join the new kgotla in which she was destined to set up a lolwapa of her own.

(b) The go ralala gives the young man an opportunity to build a house for his wife before he takes her to his own home. In the past, and, to a large extent, even to-day, young men lived away from home at the cattle-posts. Consequently they had no huts built for them at their own kgotla. The result was that the custom grew up that marriageable girls might have huts built for them in the segtlo while young men were not entitled to the erection of a hut until they were married. The go ralala gave the young man an opportunity to erect such a house in close proximity to
the lolwape of his father, where he laid the foundations of a new lolwape to be added to the existing malwape which form part of the kgotla to which he belongs. Today, however, many young men, instead of spending their adolescence at the cattle-posts, are wage-earners who spend a large part of their time either at labour centres or, if they happen to be employed in the vicinity of their homes, at their father's kgotlae. It has become customary for them to erect houses before they get married, and to demand that go ralala should either be done away with in their cases or be made to terminate as soon as possible.

Termination of Go Ralala.

The go ralala is terminated in a formal way by the parents of the boy approaching the parents of the girl and "asking for their child" (kopa ngwana wa rona) to be given over to them. This is known as go lata mosadi -- "to fetch the wife". This is a delicate undertaking because the parents of the girl might refuse to let her go on the ground that she was still too young to leave her home, that they were still "seeing" her, or that her mother wanted her to carry out certain duties before she went, that her elders were still giving her advice (go laea) about her new duties, etc. It was supposed to be bad form for them to appear unduly anxious to let her go. But when they eventually agreed to her going, a feast (mokete) was held to celebrate the occasion. Beer was made, small or large stock slaughtered, plenty of food was prepared, invitations were sent to mutual friends and relatives, and amid singing and dancing and general rejoicing, the go ralala period was brought to a close. This, according to my informants, was the wedding feast per excellence. A number of minor feasts had, of course, been held prior to this when the different steps leading to marriage were taken, e.g. (1) when the mabotse or mabuisha were effected; (2) when the mokwela was given; (3) when . . .
when the serwale, i.e. the return gift of those who received the mokwale, was received by the parents of the boy; (4) when the bogadi was received and it was slaughtered for (go tlhabele bogadi -- to slaughter for the bogadi). But now the great feast of the removal of the girl to her new home took place. This "wedding feast" could, of course, be dispensed with altogether or the girl be handed over to her new parents with the minimum of display and fuss. The poor, for example, did not indulge in these extensive (and expensive) festivals, but those who could afford to do so or who had generous friends who could assist to do so, spent no little effort in giving their daughter as good a send-off as possible.

Present Practice.

In the case of Christian people to-day, the wedding feast takes place when the official church ceremony is held, but this does not interrupt the go relala except in the case of the "more Bantuised" detribalised who, as pointed out before, want to take away their wives immediately this ceremony is over. In many cases, however, after the Christian wedding ceremony the bride continues to live at her own home and is visited there by the bridegroom. Their "honeymoon" is spent in the ségòtšë of the girl's home and must be followed later by the go lata ceremony described above.
Bogadi.

After the mokwale has been given and the go raiala has been commenced, it remains for the bogadi to pass from the boy’s parents to those of the girl in order to set the final seal on the marriage. The bogadi may take the form of either cattle or sheep or both. Goats however are not acceptable. The reason usually given for this is that the xxxxxxx destructive habits of the goat make it unsuitable for this purpose. This is generally backed up with a story that on one occasion a man decided to include a goat among the stock he gave for bogadi. He arrived at the girl’s home with the bogadi, and proceeded to explain his mission. Before he had finished doing so, it was found that the goat had meantime gone into the egotlo of the home and had eaten up some longangale—strips of marrow—hung up there to dry before it was eaten. Since then goats have not been used for bogadi. Thus the question “Why do you not include goats in bogadi?” is usually met with the reply “E ka tle ea ya longangale” (It might eat the longangale). Pressed for a more definite reason against the goat, others suggest that the girl about to be married might be as destructive in her home as the goat usually is. Whatever the real reason may be, there is a prejudice against the inclusion of goats in bogadi. Furthermore care must be taken that the stock given is even in number, an odd number being regarded as an ill-omen.

Dr. Schapera has found among the Bakgatla a similar objection to the number 7, but among the Barolong it is odd numbers generally that are disallowed. As a rule also the animals given must include both male and female. A bogadi of cows only would of course be very acceptable but no man would be foolish enough to part with so many cows at one time. On the other hand oxen only would hardly be acceptable to the girl’s parents. A mixed group gives the best satisfaction to both sides.

The amount of the bogadi was not fixed among the Barolong, and depended upon the xxxxxx wealth of the boy’s parents and their readiness to give bogadi commensurate with the social standing of the girl’s parents and their own, and other factors such as the character of the girl and the reputation of the boy in his own kinship group for filial piety, his popularity among his maternal uncles, etc.
The kind of bargaining over the bogadi which is customary among the Nguni people does not take place among the Barolong. Once an arrangement has been reached by the parents that the marriage may take place, the question of bogadi is taken for granted. In fact it is regarded as bad manners to remind the parents of the boy at any time that the bogadi is overdue. It is well known that as long as it remains unpaid, the children of the marriage do not belong to their father and his desire to obtain full rights over his children is regarded as sufficient to compel sooner or later to make over the necessary bogadi. It will be obvious from the foregoing that although the payment of bogadi is essential to the validity of the marriage and in particular for the acquirement of paternal power over the children, it is not a condition precedent to the marriage.

It may be given long after the marriage has been consummated, and as long as there is serious intention to pay at some future date, no objection will be raised to proceeding with arrangements for the marriage. With the consent of her parents the bride may be taken to her future home and the bogadi may remain unpaid until her own daughters get married and the stock given for her is used to meet the long standing obligation. This flexibility in the marriage arrangements made it possible for otherwise good people who had no stock to conclude marriages without undue difficulties being placed in their way.

The person in whose name the bogadi was given is the father of the young man about to marry, but the stock given did not necessarily all come from his own kraal. Before making over the necessary stock, the father made known the fact among his kinsmen and his friends that he had this business on hand and those who were in a position to do so assisted him in getting together the desired number of stock. Among those upon whom he had a strong claim for contributions were his brothers i.e. of his own kgotla and the maternal uncles (bo-malome) of the prospective bridegroom. The latter in particular made it a point to contribute to the bogadi of their sister's son. But it was open even to ordinary friends belonging to neither the father's nor the mother's kgotla to give what assistance they could in this matter, although such people usually confined themselves to making contributions in kind towards the expenses of a wedding feast, if any.
The payment of bogadi sets the final seal on the validity of the marriage. In particular it gave the husband marital power over his wife and paternally power over his children. Prior to this although the woman may be living with him to all intents and purposes as his wife—cooking for him, hoeing his fields, bearing his children, etc.—and although he may be discharging towards her the usual duties of a husband—maintaining and supporting her, protecting her, finding the fields for her to attend and the food to be prepared for the use of his family, he really has no legal power over her. As one man put it, "If bogadi has not yet been given for a woman, her husband dare not flog her. She was like an unmarried woman of marriageable age (kgarebane) and he was asked pointedly, with what have you married her that you should dare to put your hand upon her". Family relations, including the relationship between husband and wife, are essentially relations of power, to be exercised of course within the limits allowed by law, and the most important aspect of this power is the power of correction. This the man who has not yet made over bogadi for her does not possess with respect to his wife.

The position with regard to the children is similar. As long as their father has not yet given the bogadi for their mother, his power over them is not such as would be backed up by a Barolong court. Such children, strictly speaking, do not belong to his losika (his lineage group), they belong to the losika of their mother. In Barolong theory this is why it is unnecessary for the parents of the woman to press for the payment of bogadi. They maintain that having tsotsoana rights to the children is more important than receiving stock on their account. So when they see a man dilly-dallying over this matter, they leave him alone, knowing full well that the children belong to them. They will be entitled, among other things, to the bogadi of the daughters among those children when they marry. That is why the father of such children, when he sees them grow up, hastens to fulfil his obligations towards his peneents-in-law in order to prevent cattle which ought to come to his kgotla from going to his parents-in-law. Cases of this kind are of course rare, for the average man desires to fulfil his obligations as expeditiously as possible in order to acquire and enjoy the rights and privileges which are implied in marriage as soon as possible.
The **bogadi** is received by the girl's father but not for himself alone, as the claims of certain of her kinsmen upon it must not be overlooked. These include the girl's **malome** (maternal uncle) and her brothers. **Malome** as a potential contributor to the **bogadi** of her brothers had a right to a share in what is given for her, especially if he has already done his duty by one of his sister's sons. As regards the brothers the **bogadi** of their sisters enabled them to find the wherewithal to make their own marriages possible, and so after the claims of kinsmen such as the **malome** had been met, the remaining stock went into the general herd of the **kgotla**. Of course the ownership of such stock is vested in the father of the girl, but all sons who shared in the responsibilities of the **kgotla** to the best of their ability had a right to expect that their marriage expenses would be borne by their father out of the general resources of the **kgotla**. Where a man had several sons and several daughters it was customary for him to pair them off so that each son had a sister for whom he was specially responsible. That sister throughout life looked to her brother for general assistance, maintenance and protection, if necessary. "Ke ene o na a mo direla ditiro". "It was he who did things for her", as the Barolong put it. He was consulted by his father in all affairs concerning the daughter with whom he had been "paired" and bore much of the responsibility arising out of her maintenance and support. Even after the death of his father, if she should, for example, be divorced, he regarded it as his duty to care for and protect her. Consequently he looked to her **bogadi** as what would provide the major portion of what he **mam** himself would have to make over to his future parents-in-law.

In the absence of sons in the family the **bogadi** was shared with the **malome** who had general oversight over the mother of the daughters concerned, but the bulk of it went into the estate of the father. Thus the father of many daughters had the consolation that he might acquire a considerable amount of wealth from the proper marriage of his daughters. This was, however, considered rather poor consolation because the greatest desire of a man was to have many sons, at least one, who might by the establishment of father homes within its precincts extend the **kgotla** and thus perpetuate the name of the family.
Marriage among the Barong is, strictly speaking, not between individuals but between kgotlae. The object of marriage, among other things, is to strengthen the kgotla and ensure its permanence and continuity through the birth of children, especially male children who will continue the line of descent of their father’s kinship group.

The individuals who actually get married, i.e., the men and primarily concerned, are, of course, of great importance in this scheme because all the advantages which are expected to accrue from the union are dependent, to a large extent, upon their individual efforts. They will bear the children desired by the kgotla for its permanence and continuity; they will play an important part in the bringing up and the education of such children, and as the faithful discharge of their duties these functions depends so much upon their individual wills and characters, they are, as individuals, not without significance in the scheme of things. Their fitness to undertake these responsibilities is a matter of close scrutiny according to Barong standards in these matters.

But although the benefits referred to above come in through them, they are neither for them alone nor for them principally. The principal thing is the kgotla and the whole life of the individual is oriented towards the promotion of the welfare of the kgotla as a whole rather than that of the individual alone or the married couple alone. The kgotla must go on, it must flourish, and it is at its best when it is full of children both male and female, but especially the former.

The seantlo custom is one by which it is made certain that the above-mentioned object will be achieved. The seantlo custom takes various forms, among which the following may be noted:

1. If the husband of a wife should die with or without issue, a younger brother of the deceased may have devolving upon him the duty of entering his deceased brother’s house and taking his wife and . . .
and raising up seed for him. The children born of such a union are regarded as the children of the deceased and are entitled to all the rights and privileges which belong to the children of the deceased. As a rule only a younger brother, real or classificatory, can thus enter into the house of his deceased brother. An older brother is virtually a father of his younger brother and therefore cannot enter the house of the latter for the purpose of this custom. To do so would be regarded as incestuous behaviour. Moreover the children of the seantlo union must always be senior in status to the children of their natural father (the younger brother of the deceased man). If an older brother went into the house of a younger brother, the issue of the seantlo would be senior in status to his own children, although reckoned to be to be the children of his deceased younger brother, which is absurd according to Basarwa belief. Thus the seantlo is practised by a younger brother, and the wife has the satisfaction of knowing that the children of this union rank as the children of her deceased husband entitled to all the privileges flowing from their late father's status in his kgotla. No bogadi is given for the widow taken over by the deceased husband's brother.

2. If the wife of a man dies, with or without children, the husband is entitled to call upon the kgotla of his late wife to provide him with another wife. The new wife may be a sister, actual or classificatory, or some other relative, e.g. a cross-cousin of the deceased. She enters the house of the deceased and raises seed to her. The children born of such a union are the putative children of the deceased. No bogadi is given for the seantlo wife on the ground that only one bogadi can be given for the establishment of one house. The moment two lots of bogadi are given two houses are thereby established and one cannot be regarded as the seantlo of the other. No children belong to two different houses and have different rights and privileges depending upon the status of the houses to which they belong. Out of pure generosity the kgotla of the widower may make a gift to that of
the new wife on the occasion of her marriage, but this is not regarded as *bogadi*, which would alter considerably the nature of the relationship existing between the widower and the new wife, between the new wife and her children, and between the deceased wife and her children.

3. The wife of a man may be barren and, owing to this condition, the husband may call upon her *kgotla* to provide her with a child-bearer as shown above, or may marry a girl from another *kgotla* on the understanding that she is to be a seed-bearer of the barren wife. In the latter case there are two courses open both to the man and to the girl. The man may marry the girl either for *seantlo* purposes or for the purpose of establishing a new house. On the face of it the latter may appear to be the more attractive proposition, but it must be borne in mind that the barren wife, although without issue, would be senior in status to the wife whose house was established later. Now there is always the possibility that the barren wife may bear children, and the latter being the children of a senior wife would be superior in status to that of any wife married later. Moreover it is always open to the husband to establish a *seantlo* house for the barren wife which ranks above those of wives married later than the barren wife. Consequently according to Barolong reasoning it is better to be a *seantlo* wife of a senior wife and to bear children entitled to senior wife house privileges than to be a junior wife bearing children with inferior rights and privileges. It need hardly be pointed out that the Barolong parent is not as calculating as the process of reasoning outlined above would seem to imply, but there is no doubt that to be a *seantlo* wife to a senior house is preferred to establishing a separate house which will rank after all those already established.

4. Another type of *seantlo* occurs when a brother marries a wife for the purpose of raising up seed to an elder brother who died unmarried. The man who contracts the *seantlo* union may already be married himself and have children of his own. Now he decides to establish a house for his deceased brother. *Bogadi* must be given for this wife in the name of the deceased in order to ensure...
ensure that the children born will be the children of the deceased. Again it may seem impossible to think that any woman can agree to be the wife of a dead man when she could quite well be the wife of a living man and when, as a matter of fact, she will physically be the wife of another. The main attraction here again is that of the status which the woman and her children are likely to enjoy as the result of the union. If there is no inducement from this point of view, it would naturally be difficult to bring about a contract, but where the man seeking to establish the seantlo house belongs to a good family, e.g. the kinship group of the chief, and the man whose memory it is desired to perpetuate is an important person in that kinship group, e.g. the eldest son of his father, and if further the family has a good reputation for the fair treatment of its daughters-in-law (digwetsi), the inducement to accept the proposition is great and the parents of the girl will use all their influence to bring about the union. Another factor which may facilitate matters is the fact that the seantlo wife may be among his sought among the preferred mates of the deceased, i.e. mother's brother's daughters or his father's younger brother's daughters. Here, in addition to the inducements already mentioned would operate a traditional sense of obligation to perpetuate the memory of a departed kinsman, one of the highest calls of duty among the Barolong. With all these factors at work upon her the girl would find it difficult not to consent to the marriage. She would become senior to all the wives of the younger brothers of the deceased man; her children would be the heirs to the status of their "father"; she and her children would be faced with the prospect of good treatment and would have the satisfaction of having fulfilled an important kinship obligation.

An instructive illustration of the working of this type of seantlo is the case of Tawana. Tawana was the younger brother of Tau, both being sons of Thutlwa. Tau died before he got married. Tawana, his younger brother, got married to several wives and had several sons including Seetsela, Motshegane, Molena, etc. Several years after his marriage Tawana decided to create...
create a seantlo house for Tau. As a result of this union he had several sons including Montshiwa and Morumulwa. Now although the latter were born after the other sons of Tawana, Montshiwa succeeded to the chieftainship of the Tahidi Barolong, thus ousting Tawana's own children. To this day the heirs of Montshiwa are the rulers of the Tahidi. Moreover, Morumulwa, or rather his descendants, thought not in line for the chieftainship, rank above the other sons of Tawana, e.g., his kgotla ranks higher than that of either Motshegare or Molema.

Thus to summarise the position --

(a) The seantlo house may be established by means of any of the methods enumerated above.

(b) No bogadi is given for a seantlo wife, except where the house is being established in the name of a person who died unmarried.

(c) The rights and privileges of the children of a seantlo union are the same as those of all the other legitimate children of the man in whose name the house is established.

(d) The seantlo wife is not junior to the wife of the man in whose name the house is established. What takes place is virtually a fusion of personality so far as the wives are concerned.

The functions of the seantlo union is --

(a) to provide children for a childless and therefore heirless kgotla;

(b) to increase the number of children in a kgotla to a number commensurate with its importance;

(c) to provide marriage facilities for girls who had otherwise failed to make matches (mahetwa -- singular, lehetwa);

(d) to enhance the status of unimportant families by linking them with important ones through the seantlo union of their daughter;
(e) to enable the wealthy to share their wealth with the less fortunate by supporting as many wives and children as possible.
PREFERRED DEGREES OF MARRIAGE.

1. The first direction in which a man ought to look for a wife is in the lineage of his mother (sika lwa ga mmagwe).

2. The second direction in which a man ought to look for a wife is in the lineage of his father (sika lwa ga rragwe).

The preference for the mother's lineage over that of the father was tersely expressed in the saying "sika lwa tshega lo a sega; lwa mpa lo a mpampetsa". Tshega is a strip of skin worn by a man or youth as a covering. So "sika lwa tshega" indicates the male, i.e. the father's lineage; "sika lwa mpa" (the lineage of the belly, literally) indicates that of the mother because she gives birth to the child -- "mpa" has reference to the child-bearing powers. The saying then means literally "the lineage of the loin cloth cuts (like a knife), that of the belly fumbles". Idiomatically the father's lineage represents clear-cut discipline and justice -- not always an advantage in marital disputes -- that of the mother is less clear-cut, perhaps more clumsy, but better to get on with. In the mother's lineage would be included children of the mother's sisters, real and classificatory, older or younger, and children of the mother's brother's older or younger, real or classificatory.

3. The third direction in which a man ought to look for a wife is in any other lineage group.

This is the order of preferential mating among the Barolong.

4. It must be noted, however, that the preferred degrees referred to here are contemporary and descending generations, not ascending generations. Thus although one would be allowed to marry one's mother's sister's daughter, it is not permissible for one to marry one's mother's sister. She is in point of custom one's mother, and for that reason, marriage with her is barred, although she belongs to one's mother's lineage group.

5. Among the women one might marry may be mentioned:-
(1) One's cross-cousin, i.e. daughter of mother's brother.
(2) One's parallel cousin, i.e. daughter of mother's sister.
(3) One's elder brother's wife, i.e. wife by inheritance.
(4) One's father's wife, provided she was not one's own mother.
(5) The daughter of one's junior in status -- outside the lineage group.
(6) A woman from some other tribe, provided she does not belong to a tribe regarded as constituting the servant's class of one's tribe.

Prohibited Degrees of Marriage.
One is not permitted to marry --

1. One's sister -- including here both sisters of the full blood and of half-blood, i.e. a sister with whom one has a parent, either the father or the mother, in common.

   But marriage of a step-sister is apparently not barred.

   Thus A, a widow, has a daughter B by her deceased husband;
   C, a widower, has a son D by his deceased wife;
   C marries A; B and D become sister and brother by their marriage, but as there is in point of fact no consanguinity between them, it would appear that marriage between them was not prohibited.

2. One's mother's younger sister's daughter. This is tantamount to marrying below one's status.

3. One's father's wife, i.e. if she is one's own mother.

4. One's daughter, or

5. One's daughter's daughter.

6. One's son's wife.

7. The daughter of one's serf or slave.

8. Marriage with women of strange tribes was frowned upon, as were also women of another section of the Barolong, if that section was not at peace with one's own section.

   This does not imply, of course, that there were no examples or instances of illicit intercourse with women of foreign tribes or of despised sections of the tribe, e.g. the Balala (servants) and Bakgalagadi (serfs) who were for the most part employed as herdsmen.
herdsmen by the Barolong to look after their stock at the cattle-
posts. If such illicit intercourse resulted in pregnancy and
and the birth of a child, the child born of such sexual union
has no status in the community. It has a lower status than that
of a child born to a Morolong father and a servant-mother both of whose parents
belong to the servant class. The non-recognition of a child
born to a Morolong father and a servant-mother was aptly expressed
in the saying "Nuawi o kolopecweng ko babeng ga o ko o selwa" --
"An arrow fired at strange people is never picked up". If the
father of a servant-girl should attempt to make a case in con-
nection with the seduction of his daughter by a Morolong of
superior class, i.e. his master in the legal sense, he was
reminded that a chief (a master) cannot injure a servant --
"Kgosi ga e ka ke ea go senyetsa,entse e le kgosi". To entertain
the charge would be to admit that one was no longer of superior
status, but had come down to the level of a servant. On the
other hand if a man belonging to the servant class should seduce
a girl belonging to the superior class, he was very severely
punished, in most cases by being flogged, at once a most painful
and a most despised form of punishment.