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EARLY FARMING COMMUNITIES ON THE SOUTHERN HIGHVELD :
A SURVEY OF IRON AGE SETTLEMENT

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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University of Cape Town

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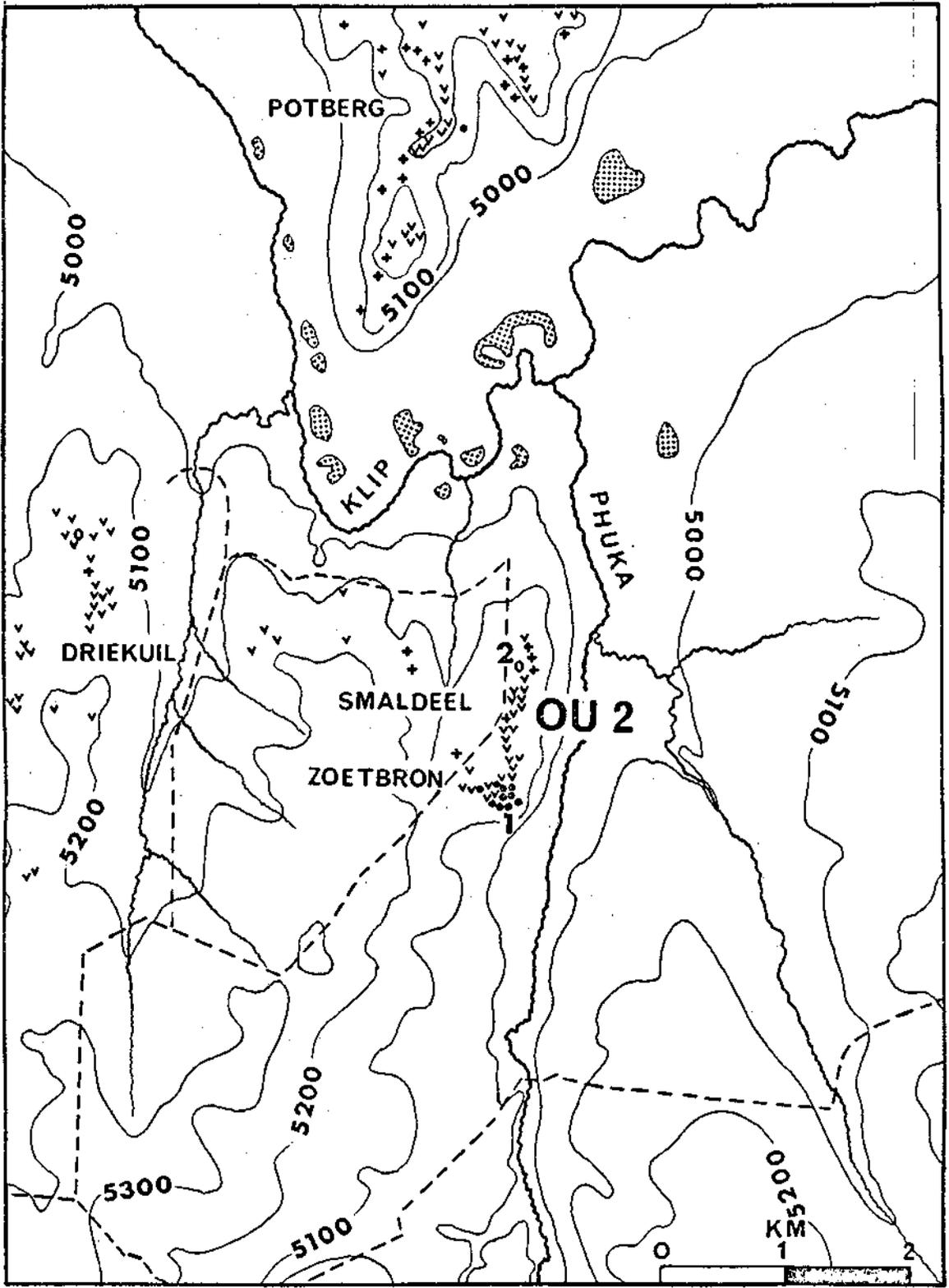
In the extreme north-eastern Orange Free State along the lower half of the Klip River and its tributaries is an approximately circular area, 50 km in diameter, containing a concentration of Iron Age settlements (fig. 8). Types V and N are well represented and the majority of Elongated Type V settlement units are found here.

The eastern margin corresponds with the transition to the Highland Sourveld, and to the north, west and south it is defined by watershed areas between the Vaal, Klip and Wilge Rivers. The vegetation is transitional between Themeda Veld and Cymbopogon-Themeda Veld, the landscape being open rolling grassland of more marked relief than that associated with the sites already described. The settlements are mainly on scarps along the north side of the Klip Valley or on either side of several northward flowing tributaries. One such stream, the Phuka (Spruitsonderdrif), flows past the town of Vrede and, on its left bank just before it joins the Klip, is the OU 2 site (Plate 42).

The Klip has a fairly broad, mature valley with numerous cut-off meanders. Its alluvial plain and the narrower alluvial deposits beside the Spruitsonderdrif provide good agricultural land today and were presumably cultivated by the Iron Age population although no direct evidence of this was found. Along the rivers and in some of the cut-off meanders there are reed beds. The scarps flanking the valleys are capped by dolerite sills and beds of sandstone, the former providing building material.

This stretch of the Klip Valley was a local focus for settlement within the larger concentration. Immediately north of OU 2 on the other side of the Klip is the extensive Potberg complex of settlements of which the southern tip appears on the map (fig. 45). Westwards from OU 2 are a few scattered Type V settlement units leading to the cluster on Oriekuul and adjoining farms which has an Elongated Type V settlement unit at the centre. (The position of fig. 45 is shown on the small scale map in fig. 38.)

The recorded oral history has little to say about this area and we were unable to obtain any information on the former inhabitants during



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- + Other ruins

Settlement unit 1&2

Fig. 45



Plate 42. View of OU 2 from the south, Settlement Unit 1 is on the skyline just left of the shadow. Klip River Valley and Potberg in the distance.



Plate 43. Robbed wall of primary enclosure, Settlement Unit 1.

the fieldwork, although more intensive enquiries might be successful. Disruptions during the Difaqane must have been extreme, especially as the direct line between the Zulu Kingdom and that of Mzilikazi passes this way. Both powers believed in sweeping a zone of land around their fringes clear of population, a policy which must have been disastrous to the inhabitants of this area as it was elsewhere (Lye, 1969). Arbousset (1846) records deserted villages in this direction although he did not actually reach it, his route being along the Wilge River.

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THE SETTLEMENT

OU 2 consists of over 40 settlement units spread out in a north-south line 1,4 km long with a dense cluster at the southern end. It is divided almost equally between the farms Smaldeel No. 719 and Zoetbron No. 151, Vrede District (S.27°11', E.29°08').

Preliminary work was carried out in December 1966 when a small excavation was made in Midden 1. Subsequent experience at other sites showed the need to obtain further data including a larger pottery sample, therefore the excavation was extended and work on Settlement Unit 2 was carried out during the second visit in late November and December 1969.

The site was chosen because the air photograph showed a variety of settlement units - heavily robbed Type N, most of them rebuilt as Type V, additional Type V settlement units and recent rectangular structures - which suggested a long period of occupation. The initial requirement was to find a Type N settlement unit with associated deposit to complement the results of the work at OU 1 38 km to the south-west. During the second visit to the site work was extended to Settlement Unit 2 as no other Elongated Type V settlement unit had been examined.

The cluster at the southern end of the settlement is on the most marked relief feature, a flat-topped hill with steep slope to the south and east (Plate 42). The east-facing scarp runs the length of the site.

and overlooks the Phuka or Spruitsonderdrif, less than half a kilometre away. To the north and west there is a gentle slope down to the adjacent small stream.

The southern cluster seems to have been the earliest part of the settlement. The ten or more settlement units of Type N built here are probably the earliest stone structures on the site. There may have been others further north but none could be identified for certain. A later and probably more extensive Type V settlement was built over the whole site re-using most of the Type N settlement units. However, three of these earlier structures to the extreme south were not rebuilt but robbed of most of their stone and abandoned. The best preserved of the three, Settlement Unit 1, was chosen to represent the Type N occupation as it was least affected by the later occupation. The complexity of the structures in much of the cluster suggests that one or perhaps both of the occupations was prolonged and that several episodes of building took place.

Towards the northern end of the site there has also been a considerable amount of robbing and it is now difficult to interpret the structures here. There seems to have been more than one phase of building but much of the robbing has been done in recent years to build the nearby Smaldeel farm buildings. The elongated Settlement Unit 2 has suffered, but not quite to the extent of the settlement units immediately to the north and east of it.

Settlement Units 1 and 2 are not only at opposite ends of the site but they belong to different periods of the occupation and they are typologically distinct. They will therefore be described separately.

SETTLEMENT UNIT 1

Wall robbing and the refurbishing of Type N settlement units as Type V are well demonstrated by the aerial view of the southern part of the settlement (Plate 8). While Settlement Unit 1 (of Type N) is uniformly robbed, settlement units north and west of it have their ring of primary enclosures well preserved and they show later additions, whereas their enclosing walls are heavily robbed. The funnel-shaped entrance formed by the inward curvature of the wall-ends on the settlement unit to the west now runs into a blank wall, which shows that in its latest - Type V - form the settlement was no longer served by this entrance. The settlement unit to the north, similarly converted to Type V, was

further modified to form a sheep pen by the father of the present owner, Mr. J. Greyling. However, as the walls around the original central secondary enclosure were merely added to, the pen has preserved the shape of the Type V unit in fossilised form.

The surviving walls of Settlement Unit 1 and the units on either side of it consist of only the large foundation stones which were set down in a double row to provide a facing on either side of the walls. Plate 43 shows a relatively well preserved piece where some of the rubble core is retained as well. But in many places only one row of stones is preserved and there are numerous gaps. There is no evidence that the foundation stones were set into the ground during building, but their weight together with that of the overlying stones when the wall was complete appears to have forced them well into the soil. Because of this and their relatively large size these stones were left in situ when the walls were robbed.

From his work near Heilbron, Laidler (1936, 30) suggested that larger foundation stones were used during the earlier period of building, and one gets the impression that this was also the case at OU 2 and other sites. However, there are two reasons why this impression may be more apparent than real. After a wall has been robbed these stones are exposed and therefore their size can be appreciated more easily than if the wall was complete. But more particularly, as the robbing is a selective process, it is usually only these large stones that remain, giving a biased idea of what the walling as a whole was like. Even on late settlements, such as OU 1, it is possible to find some structures - usually larger primary enclosures - with massive foundation stones, among others built of smaller stones. Thus while Laidler's proposition may be correct it is not as yet adequately established.

The contour lines, drawn at one metre intervals, show that the settlement unit was built on a moderate southward slope which steepens rapidly to the south and east just beyond the outer wall (fig. 46). It was in effect built right on the edge of the scarp slope down to the valley.

The core of the unit, the ring of primary enclosures linked by secondary walling, includes one large primary with a secondary enclosure attached to it, two smaller stone-walled primary enclosures about three metres in diameter and a paved floor without a stone wall which would have been a hut. The primary features are linked to form a central secondary enclosure within which there are several additional lengths of walling whose purpose is unknown. It is no longer possible to

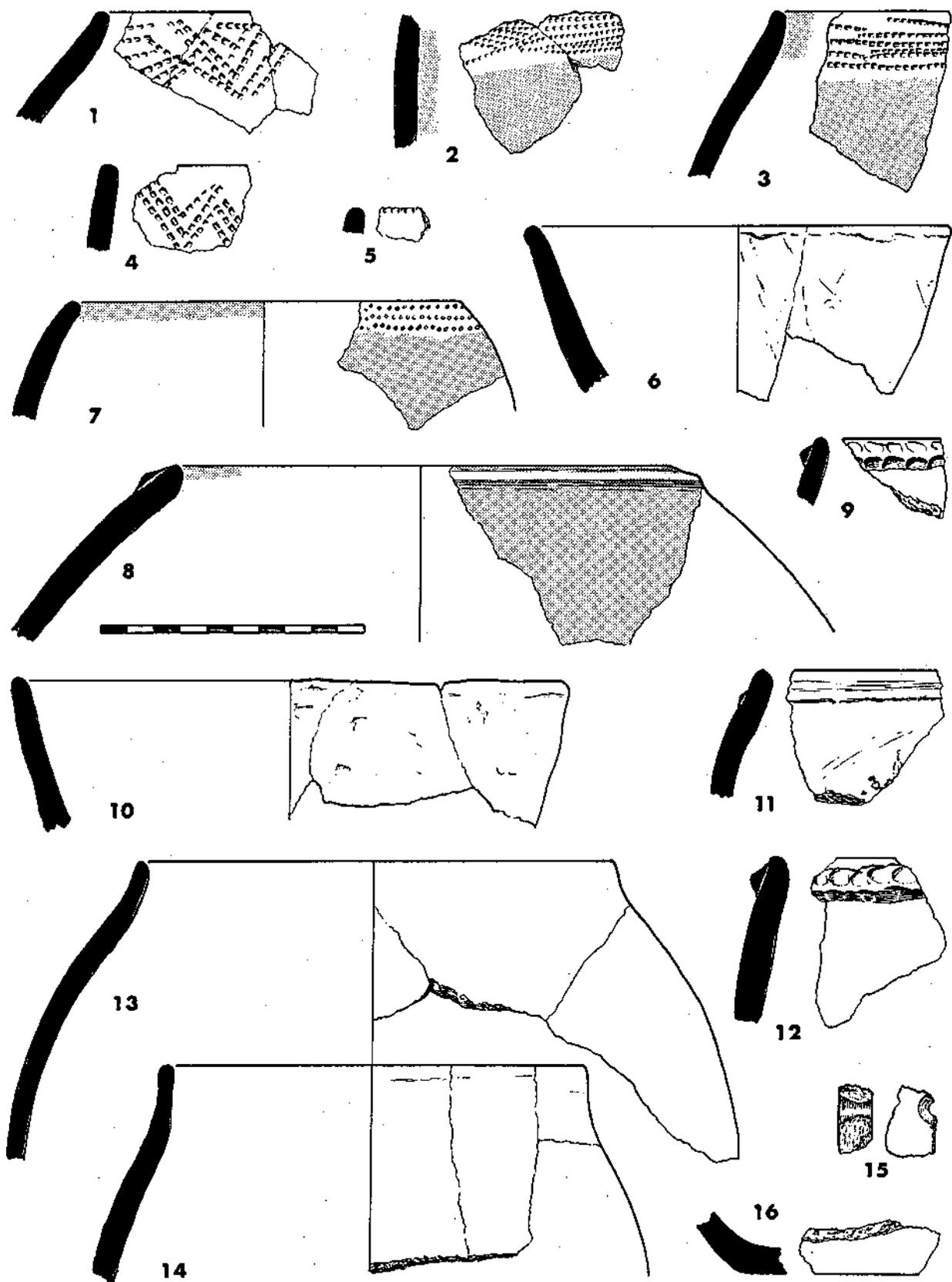


Fig. 47

Figure 47

Pottery from Midden 1

1. Pot with faint trace of neck and rounded rim. Pendant triangles filled with lines of comb-stamping in irregular directions. Orange, burnished on exterior, dark core. Quartz grit and sand. North quadrant.
2. Sherds with band of comb-stamping filled with more or less horizontal lines, red ochre below and on inside. Brown with dark core. Quartz grit and sand. South quadrant.
3. Pot with faint neck and rounded rim. Comb-stamping in horizontal lines forming band, ochre burnish below and on inside of rim. Buff. Quartz grit and sand. South quadrant.
4. Sherds with rounded rim. Comb-stamping in three parallel lines forming a chevron. This was the only example of this motif found and it has therefore been classified with the pendant triangles in the numerical analysis. Buff with dark interior. Quartz grit and sand. North quadrant.
5. Sherd with row of notches on rounded rim. Orange with dark core. Grit and sand. North quadrant.
6. Open-mouthed bowl with rolled-over rim. Coarsely finished and blackened on exterior. Brown with dark core. Sand and grit. North quadrant.
7. Pot with rounded rim and perhaps spherical shape. Three rows of stylus impressions just below rim. Hollow cylindrical stylus 1,5 mm in diameter which could have been a grass stem. Ochre below and on inside of rim. Orange-buff throughout. Grit. North quadrant.
8. Large pot perhaps spherical or bag-shaped. Applied band without impressions just below rim. Ochre burnish on exterior and inside of rim. Buff with dark core. Quartz grit and sand. South quadrant.
9. Sherd with rounded rim and applied band with finger-pinching. Buff with dark core. Quartz grit and sand. North quadrant.
10. Large, open-mouthed bowl with rounded rim. Coarsely finished and blackened on exterior with soot. Grit and sand. North quadrant.
11. Pot with rounded rim. Small applied band without impressions. Buff with dark core. Grit and sand. North quadrant.
12. Sherd with applied band and finger-pinching just below rim. Grey. Sand. South quadrant.
13. Bag-shaped pot with short upright neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Brown, blackened. Grit perhaps from dolerite. North quadrant.
14. Bag-shaped pot with upright neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Burnished, brown blackened by fire, dark core. Sandy. North quadrant.
15. Sherd with biconical drilled hole. North quadrant.
16. Portion of the flat base of a vessel. Buff with dark core. North quadrant.

establish the position of entrances and other details but on analogy with other settlement units of this type the primary enclosures would have opened into the central area.

Between the core and the outer enclosing wall are a number of detached features - small areas of paving and burnt daga lacking stone walls. On the eastern side are two rings of flat stones set more or less level with the ground and having diameters of three to four metres, one of them being partially destroyed. Their centres do not seem to have been paved but erosion may have damaged them. Their size and construction indicates that they were huts, the position corresponding with that of huts on sites of Types N and V in general. Near each of them and near the similar but smaller and completely paved circle attached to the central enclosure are one or two small paved circles about one metre in diameter. These were probably the base of some form of grain store, perhaps a sesiu, although compared to the sesiu stands at 00 1 they are poorly made and lack the vertically arranged slabs.

Towards the south-west and still within the enclosing wall were two amorphous patches of burnt daga. Their positions would again be suitable for huts, but there can be no certainty about their original form. Close by are two more of the small paved circles which suggest that there were huts in this part of the site. None of these features was excavated as they are all superficial and obviously damaged by sheet erosion.

The enclosing wall is sinuous and consists of several lengths of walling joined together. This description of the settlement unit has followed the probable order in which the various components were built, the outer wall being last as its position would largely be determined by that of the primary structures. There are indeed two primary enclosures attached to it, of about nine and four metres in diameter, respectively, which were built before it, as the outer wall abuts against them. Their function is not clear but the larger and even the smaller could have been pens, perhaps for small stock.

The upper section of the enclosing wall has been entirely removed, but originally it would almost certainly have been complete and the main entrance to the settlement unit was probably on this northern side thus avoiding the steep scarp slope. Three middens accumulated just outside the wall (fig. 46, stippled lines), two of which were up against the wall. The wall curves inwards at a point on the south-east side near two of the middens. This may have formed an entrance to allow access to the middens, but the walling is too poorly preserved for this to be ascertained.

OU 2

SETTLEMENT UNIT 1

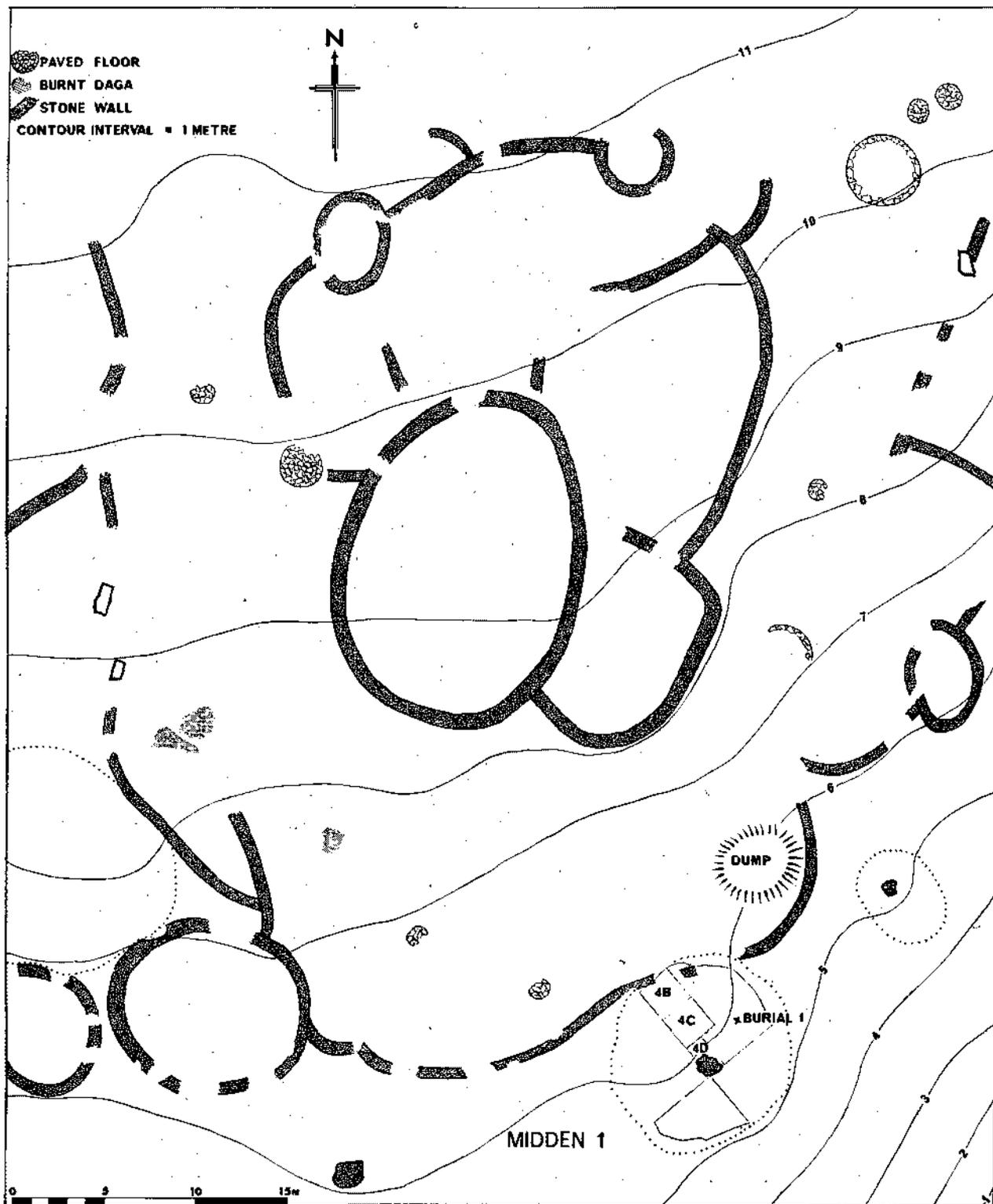


Fig. 46

Near the centre of each of the two middens and of several others on the site were small and roughly built mounds of stone about a metre in diameter. A similar but slightly larger feature occurs just outside the enclosing wall on the south side of the settlement unit. The stone mounds consist of irregular dolerite blocks loosely heaped together on the surface. Their function is unknown although they resemble the mounds on graves at OO 1. That on Midden 1 will be discussed more fully below.

Although Settlement Unit 1 is far from complete, sufficient remains to give a fairly good idea of a Type N settlement unit. The huts had paved floors, or at least a ring of paving around the edge, which may have been covered by a layer of daga. The superstructure has in all cases disappeared but numerous pieces of burnt daga with reed impressions from Midden 1 show that the huts must have been built of reeds with at least a partial plaster. They were probably hemispherical rather than cone-on-cylinder in shape, as there is no evidence of thick daga walls or wooden roof timbers, but this is not certain.

The three smallest stone-walled enclosures, 3-4 metres in internal diameter, could possibly have been huts but this is very unlikely. They are too large for corbelled huts except for those built of particularly large flat slabs which are not available at this site. Instead they were probably small stock pens such as occur on many sites.

The function of the central ring of primary enclosures and the secondary enclosure would essentially be related to livestock, although there is one hut included in the group. Most huts would probably have been in the intervening area between this and the enclosing wall, and grain storage seems to have taken place here. There may have been two or three more huts than was apparent. The population was probably in the region of 15 to 20 individuals, allowing three per hut.

Water was available not only from the river below, which was probably where stock would have been watered, but also from an excellent small spring, 200 m to the west, from which the farm Zoetbron gets its name.

THE EXCAVATION

Midden 1 was chosen for excavation because its upper margin rested against the enclosing wall, indicating its association with the wall, and because the stone mound in the centre was of interest. Since the nearest rebuilt settlement units are some distance away, this context offered the

best chance of avoiding material from the later occupation. Such later contamination was noticed, in the form of a greater variety of decorated pottery, on middens nearer the centre of the site beside rebuilt settlement units.

During the first visit to the site a grid of two metre squares was laid out over the midden, and a trench was dug along the fourth line which intersected the central mound as well as the edge of the midden where it rested against the wall (fig. 46). Two and a half squares were excavated at this time, numbers 4B-D, covering 10 square metres. Although this yielded some 1 500 sherds the proportion of decorated ones was particularly low, only one in over eighty, so that a larger sample was needed. In extending the excavation during the second visit the quadrant system was used as the deposit was obviously disturbed and therefore close control was not needed. The original grid lines 4 and E were used to define the quadrants, two of which, the northern and southern, were excavated. The original trench falls within the northern quadrant and the material from it is combined in the analysis.

Before excavation started, all surface stones were plotted as well as the midden contours, but as these do not represent any features other than the wall and the mound they have not been included on the plan (fig. 46).

The deposit has been extensively disturbed by burrowing animals and ants although little of this showed on the surface. No major stratigraphy remains although a few patches of undisturbed material showing as lenses of darker or lighter material were noted. The deposit is essentially a grey-brown mixture of ash and soil with a gravelly texture derived from the semi-weathered dolerite of the hillside. The latter material forms the bedrock and has been incorporated into the midden partly through burrowing which extends into it in many places. Cultural material is unevenly distributed but does not follow any particular level. The deposit has a maximum depth of 0,5 m towards the centre, tapering gradually towards the edges where excavation ceased when the depth was reduced to about 10 cm. As there was no evidence of stratigraphic separation, the deposit was excavated as a single layer. A section was drawn along the centre line but it is uninformative and has therefore been omitted.

On the uphill margins towards the wall the deposit becomes darker with more weathered dolerite and less ash. In part of Square B4 there was a very thin basal ash lense about 2 cm thick but devoid of cultural material and covered by gravelly material which probably washed down the hillside. Its limited distribution prevented its correlation with the wall but it was probably a small ash tip at an early stage of the occupation.

In the excavated area on the gravel surface were a number of small stones, presumably belonging to the pre-midden surface. In the upper half of Square B4, close to the wall was an additional concentration of small stones within the deposit but with several centimetres of midden including bone and pottery beneath them. They may be rubble left over from the robbed wall as the remaining large stones rest on the gravel surface a few centimetres deeper, with midden material beside but not beneath them.

Just east of Square B4 in the north quadrant a short piece of the wall was uncovered, but for the most part nothing remains in situ although there are numerous small stones mixed with the midden material in this area.

The mound consisted of four large stones, more than half a metre in length, irregularly arranged and with smaller stones in between. They rest on the surface or a few centimetres deeper and, since the larger stones protrude to a height of some 20 cm and three of them are lying horizontally, they could have formed a rough platform. The fourth large stone is exceptional in that it extends almost vertically down into the midden to a depth of 40 cm. Presumably it was deliberately dug in like this although there is a slight chance that it could have slipped down a particularly large burrow.

Despite careful excavation beneath the mound nothing exceptional was found and certainly there was no burial here. The purpose of this and the other two similar mounds is therefore unknown, but the evidence suggests that they were platforms rather than cairns.

The deposit beneath the mound seemed to be rather less disturbed than elsewhere and there was only one burrow extending into the underlying weathered dolerite. A C14 sample was therefore collected from the lowest 10 cm in Square D4. The material consisted of charcoal and softer carbonised matter which is thought to be carbonised dung. This gave a result of 455 ± 110 (GX 1015) giving a 'conventional' date of 1495 A.D., in very close agreement with the sample from OU 1. An attempt to collect charcoal and bone from beneath the stones fallen from the wall in Square B4 was unsuccessful as there was insufficient material.

Burial 1

In the eastern part of the north quadrant (fig. 46) a much disturbed burial was found during the course of excavation. Three small stones on the surface nearby, but not immediately above the grave, may have formed a small cairn and subsequently been disturbed, but otherwise there was nothing

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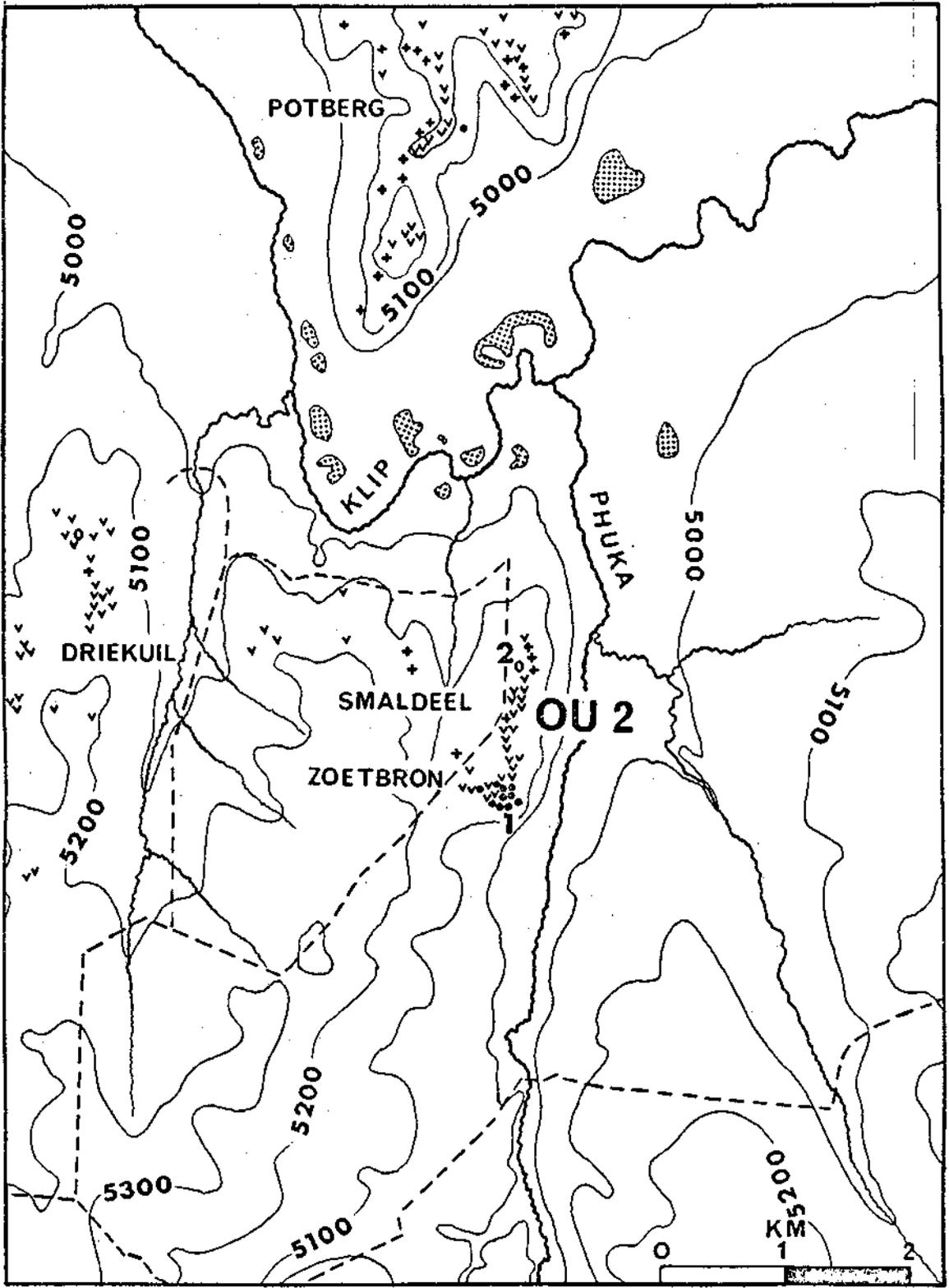
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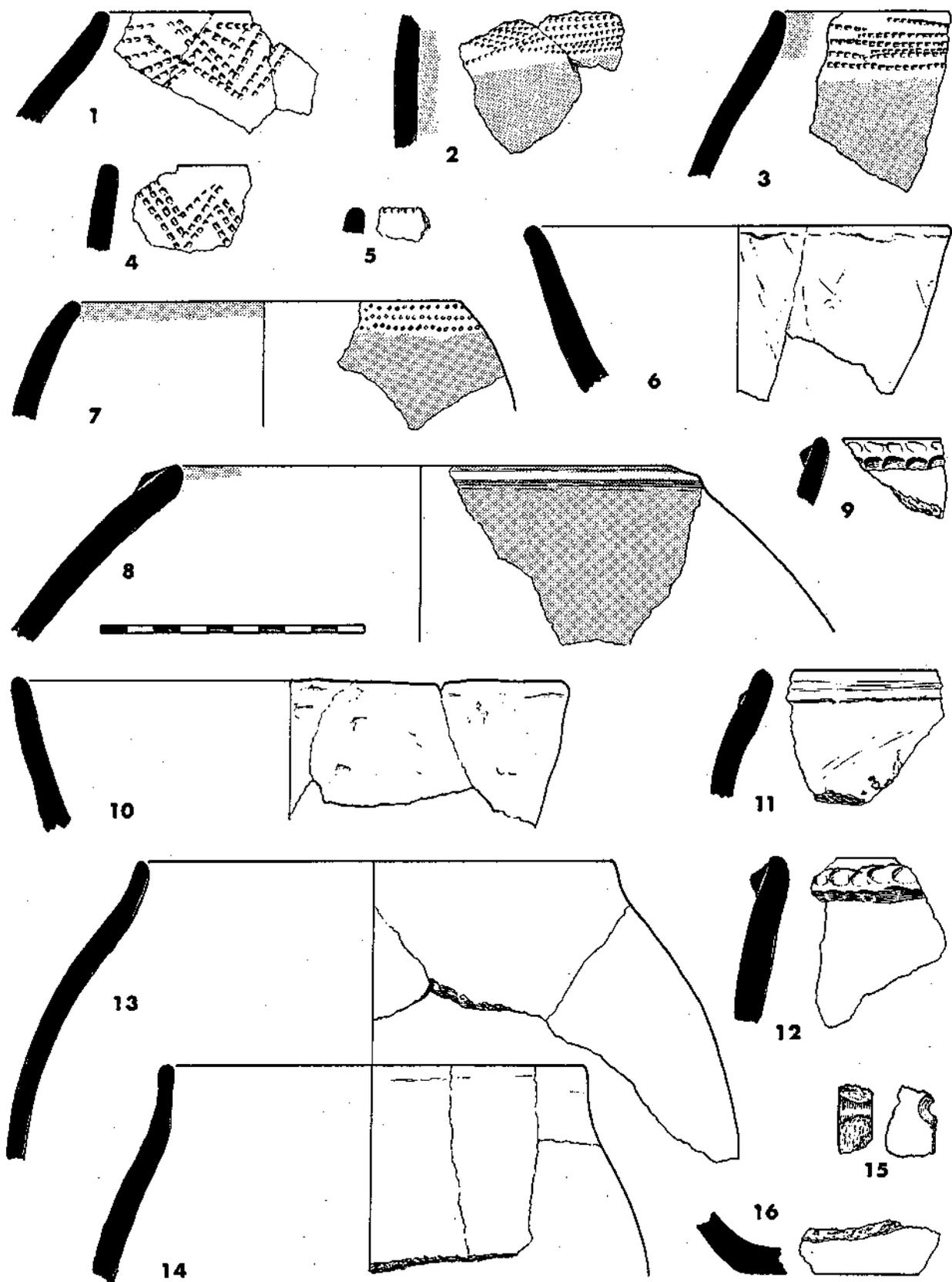


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1. Pot with faint trace of neck and rounded rim. Pendant triangles filled with lines of comb-stamping in irregular directions. Orange, burnished on exterior, dark core. Quartz grit and sand. North quadrant.
2. Sherds with band of comb-stamping filled with more or less horizontal lines, red ochre below and on inside. Brown with dark core. Quartz grit and sand. South quadrant.
3. Pot with faint neck and rounded rim. Comb-stamping in horizontal lines forming band, ochre burnish below and on inside of rim. Buff. Quartz grit and sand. South quadrant.
4. Sherds with rounded rim. Comb-stamping in three parallel lines forming a chevron. This was the only example of this motif found and it has therefore been classified with the pendant triangles in the numerical analysis. Buff with dark interior. Quartz grit and sand. North quadrant.
5. Sherd with row of notches on rounded rim. Orange with dark core. Grit and sand. North quadrant.
6. Open-mouthed bowl with rolled-over rim. Coarsely finished and blackened on exterior. Brown with dark core. Sand and grit. North quadrant.
7. Pot with rounded rim and perhaps spherical shape. Three rows of stylus impressions just below rim. Hollow cylindrical stylus 1,5 mm in diameter which could have been a grass stem. Ochre below and on inside of rim. Orange-buff throughout. Grit. North quadrant.
8. Large pot perhaps spherical or bag-shaped. Applied band without impressions just below rim. Ochre burnish on exterior and inside of rim. Buff with dark core. Quartz grit and sand. South quadrant.
9. Sherd with rounded rim and applied band with finger-pinching. Buff with dark core. Quartz grit and sand. North quadrant.
10. Large, open-mouthed bowl with rounded rim. Coarsely finished and blackened on exterior with soot. Grit and sand. North quadrant.
11. Pot with rounded rim. Small applied band without impressions. Buff with dark core. Grit and sand. North quadrant.
12. Sherd with applied band and finger-pinching just below rim. Grey. Sand. South quadrant.
13. Bag-shaped pot with short upright neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Brown, blackened. Grit perhaps from dolerite. North quadrant.
14. Bag-shaped pot with upright neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Burnished, brown blackened by fire, dark core. Sandy. North quadrant.
15. Sherd with biconical drilled hole. North quadrant.
16. Portion of the flat base of a vessel. Buff with dark core. North quadrant.

establish the position of entrances and other details but on analogy with other settlement units of this type the primary enclosures would have opened into the central area.

Between the core and the outer enclosing wall are a number of detached features - small areas of paving and burnt daga lacking stone walls. On the eastern side are two rings of flat stones set more or less level with the ground and having diameters of three to four metres, one of them being partially destroyed. Their centres do not seem to have been paved but erosion may have damaged them. Their size and construction indicates that they were huts, the position corresponding with that of huts on sites of Types N and V in general. Near each of them and near the similar but smaller and completely paved circle attached to the central enclosure are one or two small paved circles about one metre in diameter. These were probably the base of some form of grain store, perhaps a sesiu, although compared to the sesiu stands at 00 1 they are poorly made and lack the vertically arranged slabs.

Towards the south-west and still within the enclosing wall were two amorphous patches of burnt daga. Their positions would again be suitable for huts, but there can be no certainty about their original form. Close by are two more of the small paved circles which suggest that there were huts in this part of the site. None of these features was excavated as they are all superficial and obviously damaged by sheet erosion.

The enclosing wall is sinuous and consists of several lengths of walling joined together. This description of the settlement unit has followed the probable order in which the various components were built, the outer wall being last as its position would largely be determined by that of the primary structures. There are indeed two primary enclosures attached to it, of about nine and four metres in diameter, respectively, which were built before it, as the outer wall abuts against them. Their function is not clear but the larger and even the smaller could have been pens, perhaps for small stock.

The upper section of the enclosing wall has been entirely removed, but originally it would almost certainly have been complete and the main entrance to the settlement unit was probably on this northern side thus avoiding the steep scarp slope. Three middens accumulated just outside the wall (fig. 46, stippled lines), two of which were up against the wall. The wall curves inwards at a point on the south-east side near two of the middens. This may have formed an entrance to allow access to the middens, but the walling is too poorly preserved for this to be ascertained.

OU 2

SETTLEMENT UNIT 1

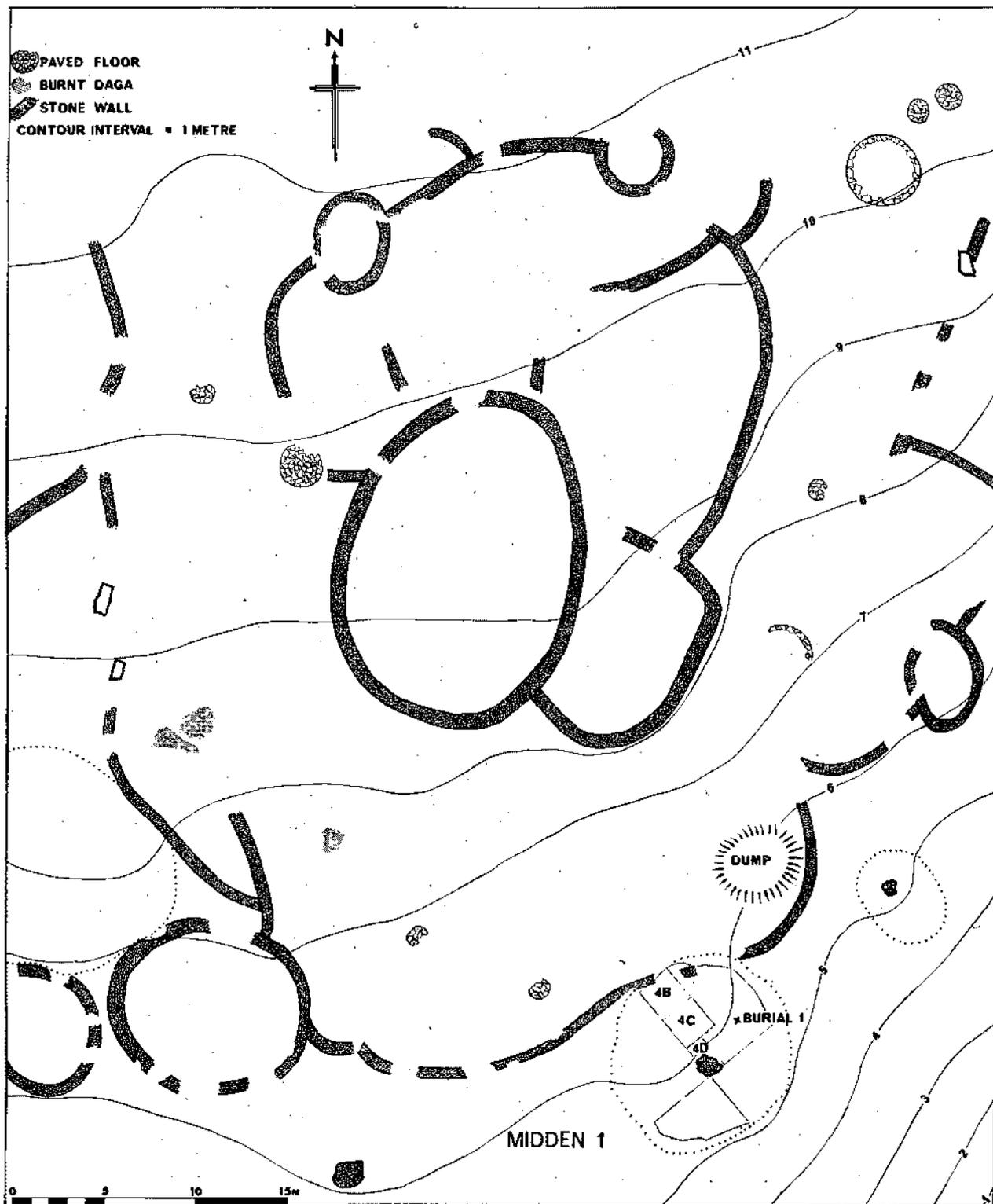


Fig. 46

Near the centre of each of the two middens and of several others on the site were small and roughly built mounds of stone about a metre in diameter. A similar but slightly larger feature occurs just outside the enclosing wall on the south side of the settlement unit. The stone mounds consist of irregular dolerite blocks loosely heaped together on the surface. Their function is unknown although they resemble the mounds on graves at OO 1. That on Midden 1 will be discussed more fully below.

Although Settlement Unit 1 is far from complete, sufficient remains to give a fairly good idea of a Type N settlement unit. The huts had paved floors, or at least a ring of paving around the edge, which may have been covered by a layer of daga. The superstructure has in all cases disappeared but numerous pieces of burnt daga with reed impressions from Midden 1 show that the huts must have been built of reeds with at least a partial plaster. They were probably hemispherical rather than cone-on-cylinder in shape, as there is no evidence of thick daga walls or wooden roof timbers, but this is not certain.

The three smallest stone-walled enclosures, 3-4 metres in internal diameter, could possibly have been huts but this is very unlikely. They are too large for corbelled huts except for those built of particularly large flat slabs which are not available at this site. Instead they were probably small stock pens such as occur on many sites.

The function of the central ring of primary enclosures and the secondary enclosure would essentially be related to livestock, although there is one hut included in the group. Most huts would probably have been in the intervening area between this and the enclosing wall, and grain storage seems to have taken place here. There may have been two or three more huts than was apparent. The population was probably in the region of 15 to 20 individuals, allowing three per hut.

Water was available not only from the river below, which was probably where stock would have been watered, but also from an excellent small spring, 200 m to the west, from which the farm Zoetbron gets its name.

THE EXCAVATION

Midden 1 was chosen for excavation because its upper margin rested against the enclosing wall, indicating its association with the wall, and because the stone mound in the centre was of interest. Since the nearest rebuilt settlement units are some distance away, this context offered the

best chance of avoiding material from the later occupation. Such later contamination was noticed, in the form of a greater variety of decorated pottery, on middens nearer the centre of the site beside rebuilt settlement units.

During the first visit to the site a grid of two metre squares was laid out over the midden, and a trench was dug along the fourth line which intersected the central mound as well as the edge of the midden where it rested against the wall (fig. 46). Two and a half squares were excavated at this time, numbers 4B-D, covering 10 square metres. Although this yielded some 1 500 sherds the proportion of decorated ones was particularly low, only one in over eighty, so that a larger sample was needed. In extending the excavation during the second visit the quadrant system was used as the deposit was obviously disturbed and therefore close control was not needed. The original grid lines 4 and E were used to define the quadrants, two of which, the northern and southern, were excavated. The original trench falls within the northern quadrant and the material from it is combined in the analysis.

Before excavation started, all surface stones were plotted as well as the midden contours, but as these do not represent any features other than the wall and the mound they have not been included on the plan (fig. 46).

The deposit has been extensively disturbed by burrowing animals and ants although little of this showed on the surface. No major stratigraphy remains although a few patches of undisturbed material showing as lenses of darker or lighter material were noted. The deposit is essentially a grey-brown mixture of ash and soil with a gravelly texture derived from the semi-weathered dolerite of the hillside. The latter material forms the bedrock and has been incorporated into the midden partly through burrowing which extends into it in many places. Cultural material is unevenly distributed but does not follow any particular level. The deposit has a maximum depth of 0,5 m towards the centre, tapering gradually towards the edges where excavation ceased when the depth was reduced to about 10 cm. As there was no evidence of stratigraphic separation, the deposit was excavated as a single layer. A section was drawn along the centre line but it is uninformative and has therefore been omitted.

On the uphill margins towards the wall the deposit becomes darker with more weathered dolerite and less ash. In part of Square B4 there was a very thin basal ash lense about 2 cm thick but devoid of cultural material and covered by gravelly material which probably washed down the hillside. Its limited distribution prevented its correlation with the wall but it was probably a small ash tip at an early stage of the occupation.

In the excavated area on the gravel surface were a number of small stones, presumably belonging to the pre-midden surface. In the upper half of Square B4, close to the wall was an additional concentration of small stones within the deposit but with several centimetres of midden including bone and pottery beneath them. They may be rubble left over from the robbed wall as the remaining large stones rest on the gravel surface a few centimetres deeper, with midden material beside but not beneath them.

Just east of Square B4 in the north quadrant a short piece of the wall was uncovered, but for the most part nothing remains in situ although there are numerous small stones mixed with the midden material in this area.

The mound consisted of four large stones, more than half a metre in length, irregularly arranged and with smaller stones in between. They rest on the surface or a few centimetres deeper and, since the larger stones protrude to a height of some 20 cm and three of them are lying horizontally, they could have formed a rough platform. The fourth large stone is exceptional in that it extends almost vertically down into the midden to a depth of 40 cm. Presumably it was deliberately dug in like this although there is a slight chance that it could have slipped down a particularly large burrow.

Despite careful excavation beneath the mound nothing exceptional was found and certainly there was no burial here. The purpose of this and the other two similar mounds is therefore unknown, but the evidence suggests that they were platforms rather than cairns.

The deposit beneath the mound seemed to be rather less disturbed than elsewhere and there was only one burrow extending into the underlying weathered dolerite. A C14 sample was therefore collected from the lowest 10 cm in Square D4. The material consisted of charcoal and softer carbonised matter which is thought to be carbonised dung. This gave a result of 455 ± 110 (GX 1015) giving a 'conventional' date of 1495 A.D., in very close agreement with the sample from OU 1. An attempt to collect charcoal and bone from beneath the stones fallen from the wall in Square B4 was unsuccessful as there was insufficient material.

Burial 1

In the eastern part of the north quadrant (fig. 46) a much disturbed burial was found during the course of excavation. Three small stones on the surface nearby, but not immediately above the grave, may have formed a small cairn and subsequently been disturbed, but otherwise there was nothing

Most sherds have a dark core indicative of a relatively short, low temperature firing although the ware is quite hard despite the sandy texture. Exterior colouring is suggestive of fairly smoky firing conditions while many of the undecorated sherds show fire blackening and sometimes soot incrustation.

The pottery is not fragmented to quite the extent of that on some Orange Free State sites, such as OND 3, which suggests that it was dumped on the midden soon after being broken and that further trampling was not extensive. The position of the midden next to the surrounding wall may have afforded some protection.

Burnish

The incidence of burnishing is similar to that at OU 1. A majority of decorated sherds have some form of burnish of which ochre burnish is the most common. Among the other sherds, however, almost twice as many have been burnished without additional colouring as have ochre, whereas at OU 1 the amounts were nearly the same. The great majority of undecorated sherds are not burnished.

TABLE OF SURFACE FINISHES AND RIM PROFILES ON THE POTTERY FROM OU 2 MIDDEN 1

	DECORATED SHERDS				UNDECORATED SHERDS				TOTALS
	Plain	Burnished Burnish	Ochre	Black	Plain	Burnished Burnish	Ochre	Black	
RIM SHERDS									
Rounded	14	3	7	1	149	20	17	3	214
Flattened	4		1		85	5	4	1	100
Pointed					9				9
Misc.					20				
BODY SHERDS									
	4	3	10	2	3243	262	130	69	3723
TOTALS	22	6	18	3	3506	287	151	73	4066

Decoration

Only 49 out of a total of 4 066 sherds from Midden 1 were decorated giving a ratio of 1:83 which was the lowest of any of the sites excavated in the northern or eastern Orange Free State. However, when considering only rim sherds 1:11 are decorated, which demonstrates that most decoration occurs on or just below the rims and it may also suggest that about 10% of the vessels had some form of decoration.

DECORATED SHERDS FROM OU 2
MIDDEN 1

Motif	Motif No.	No. of Sherds	%
Comb-stamping in pendant triangles	1	5	10
" horizontal bands	2	6	12
" sherd too small	4	23	47
Rim notches	5	2	4
Applied band	8	12	24
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11	1	2
		49	99

The range of decorative motifs is severely limited as at OU 1, the other Type N site excavated, and in contrast to the Type V sites. The predominant technique is comb-stamping which accounts for 69%. Most sherds are too small for the motif to be determined, but several examples of pendant triangles (10%) and horizontal bands (10%) were also recovered (fig. 47, 1-3). One example which has been classified with the pendant triangles is really a chevron formed of three parallel lines of stamping (fig. 47, 4) but as this is unique in the assemblage a separate category has not been made for it.

The sherds with horizontal bands showed in all cases a single band just below the rim, filled with more or less horizontal lines of stamping (fig. 47, 2 & 3). The combs were relatively coarse, the majority having three to four teeth per centimetre, and they were around 2,5-3,5 cm in length (fig. 51). The combs were often rather carelessly applied, giving an irregular spacing and alignment to the lines of stamping (fig. 47, 1 & 2).

No comb-stamped vessels could be reconstructed but two sherds came from medium sized and perhaps bag-shaped pots with slight traces of necks (fig. 47, 1 & 3). The majority of stamped sherds are burnished, mostly with the addition of ochre, but about 30% are unburnished (Appendix 2).

Two small rim sherds have a row of V-shaped notches along their upper surfaces more or less at right angles to the rims (fig. 47, 5). The notches are small and closely spaced, four to the centimetre. One rim is flattened and the other rounded, neither is burnished but nothing of the vessel shapes could be reconstructed. Since this motif represents only 4% of the decoration it is of little significance but it becomes much more common in some later Orange Free State assemblages such as OD 1 and OND 3 (chapters 4 & 7).

Apart from comb-stamping the only common decoration consists of a

band of clay applied just below the rim of the vessel. This was found on 12 sherds which make up 24% of the decoration and it can be subdivided into two categories depending on whether the bands were finger-pinched, as was the case on eight sherds (fig. 47, 9 & 12), or were quite smooth as were the remaining four (fig. 47, 8 & 11). The sherds with pinching lacked burnish but of the smooth bands two were burnished, one with the addition of ochre (fig. 47, 8). The former are familiar from experience with other eastern Orange Free State assemblages but the latter in their lack of any impressions on the bands and the presence of burnish are different. However, the difference between the two categories seems to be of less significance than the basic similarity in the technique of applying the bands, and therefore the two have been combined in the numerical analysis.

Pots with applied bands would have been relatively large, for the only one whose shape could be reconstructed was the largest of the illustrated vessels (fig. 47, 8). This pot seems to have been approximately spherical in shape although at other sites pots with applied bands were usually bag-shaped.

Stylus impressions arranged in three horizontal rows occurred just below the rim of one sherd (fig. 47, 7). The stylus was 1,5 mm in diameter and must have been of hollow cylindrical shape. Such impressions are not of much value for typological comparisons in the Orange Free State as they occur in most assemblages.

The sample of decorated sherds from Midden 1 is relatively small, particularly that from the south quadrants where there were only nine sherds. However when the north and south quadrants are compared the incidence of decorative motifs overlap to the extent of 50% which gives confidence to the interpretation that the sample is representative of the pottery tradition. Furthermore there is a high degree of overlap between this assemblage and the pottery from OU 1 (chapter 13). The narrow range of motifs would also mean that a relatively small sample might be sufficiently representative, although uncommon motifs such as the rim notches and rows of stylus impressions could be missed. The essential characteristics of the decoration are, however, quite clear; namely the predominance of rather coarse comb-stamping and the less frequent occurrence of applied bands with or without finger-pinching.

Shape

Rounded rims are twice as common as flattened ones and there are a few pointed and irregularly shaped ones, as indicated by the table above.

Little could be said of the shape of decorated vessels but four partly reconstructed, undecorated ones are illustrated. Two of these are open-mouthed bowls with almost straight sides and rounded rims (fig. 47, 6 & 10). The diameters of their rims are 16 and 21 cm, respectively, and both were rather crudely finished and blackened on their exteriors by fire, presumably because they were used for cooking. The other two are bag-shaped pots with short upright necks and maximum diameters of 28 and 21 cm (fig. 47, 13 & 14). They are better finished than the bowls, one of them being burnished, but again both are fire-blackened.

Two fragments of flat bases were recovered (fig. 47, 16) so this form must have been part of the pottery tradition, although round bases would also have been used.

One sherd had a biconical hole drilled through it (now broken - fig. 47, 15) presumably to prevent a crack in the original vessel from spreading. This was the only sign of pottery repairing that was noted.

OTHER CERAMIC OBJECTS

No figurines were found but a small cylindrical piece of clay, 2 cm long, rounded off at one end and broken at the other may have been a leg or horn of an animal figurine. A sherd with two of its edges ground down seems to have been used as an abrasive, but the reason for this type of grinding is not known.

Seed impressions were noted on two sherds, one from the north and the other from the south quadrant. They are the same size as and, to the writer, appear indistinguishable morphologically from seeds of Sorghum caffrorum. However, this identification has yet to be confirmed by a botanist.

A large number of pieces of daga burnt to a greater or lesser extent showed impressions of the common reed Phragmites australis. Of these, 44 pieces come from the north quadrant and 31 from the south. The reeds were evidently used with their leaves on for the impressions show the regular parallel ridges of the leaves. Most fragments are two centimetres or less in thickness, suggesting that the reed structures had a relatively thin plaster. The frequent occurrence of daga fragments together with evidence for the smaller architectural features shown on figure 46 indicate that the huts were built of reeds and daga and would probably have been hemispherical in shape.

OBJECTS MADE OF STONE

No smoking pipes were recovered from the excavation but fragments of two were found on the surface of middens north-west of Settlement Unit 1. As these are decorated stone pipes they are illustrated in figure 48, however they are not associated with the other material described here and most probably belong to the later, Type V occupation. They are made from a soft green stone, identified by Dr. Von Brunn as a silt stone, similar to that used for the pipes already described from OU 1 and OU 1. The more complete example (fig. 48, 2) has the upper half of its bowl carved into an irregular pattern of cusps, the lower part being plain. The hourglass perforation has a series of shallow grooves which suggest that it was hollowed out by a gouge-like implement. The other pipe fragment has a neatly carved herringbone pattern. It is from a larger pipe but the lower part is missing and therefore the length is unknown.

A perforated disc of shale was found in the north quadrant of Midden 1 (fig. 48). A rough groove on one side of it may have been for decoration. It is comparable in size with spindle whorls from Khami (Robinson, 1959) although the hole is narrower and biconical. Apart from another smaller fragment from the same quadrant no similar stone discs were recovered in the course of this project and their function is not clear.

Two small upper grindstones and parts of two lower stones, all of them of dolerite and broken to a greater or lesser extent, were found in the midden. A piece of hard sandstone rounded by battering was probably used to roughen the surfaces of grindstones by pecking.

A small unworked piece of shale was partly covered with red ochre powder, the only example of colouring matter from this midden.

METALWORK

As at OU 1, iron seems to have been in fair supply for weapons and tools, but perhaps not in sufficient quantity to allow for much ornamental use, as only one bangle was found (fig. 48, 10) and no other ornaments of iron or copper. Most of the objects are incomplete or too corroded to determine their original form. With the exception of a few small fragments, they are illustrated in figure 48 (4-10). The only clearly identifiable item is a small spear head with ogee section to its blade and a short, probably broken tang.

BEADS AND BONE IMPLEMENTS

The only glass bead comes from the south quadrant; it is a well worn cylinder, 4 mm in diameter, translucent and blue-green in colour. It does not closely resemble any from OU 1, but finds of apparently similar beads associated with the Ziwa Culture of eastern Rhodesia (Schofield in Summers, 1958, 22) suggest that this may be a relatively early type of bead.

Fourteen complete or broken ostrich egg-shell beads were recovered and they are listed together with their diameters below.

Locality	No.	Diameter in mm
North Quadrant	1	12
"	2	11
"	1	9
"	1	? 9 (broken)
"	1	8 (broken)
"	2	7 (1 broken)
Square B4	1	? 12 (broken)
Square 4C	1	? 11 (broken)
"	1	9 (broken)
"	1	8 (broken)
South Quadrant	2	8 (traces of ochre)

Most of them, particularly the larger ones, are of very regular shape as at OU 1. No unfinished beads and only one fragment of egg-shell suggest that the beads were not made on the site.

A single example of a bead made from what appears to be a hollowed out canine tooth was found in the south quadrant.

As at OU 1, tubes were made by cutting off the ends of cylindrical bones, and these were apparently worn as beads for they are well polished both inside and out. Two were made from cannon bones, two from shafts of long-bones and there are fragments of two more (fig. 48, 15 & 16).

The bone implements fall into the two categories of points and scrapers. The five points are made from narrow splinters pointed at one end but merely broken off at the other. In some cases the point has been shaped by grinding (fig. 48, 11) but in others the wear and polish around the tip is the only indication of use (12). They were probably used as awls.

Twenty bone scrapers of the type already described from OU 1 and OU 1 were recovered. Of these, 14 were made from split parts of long-bones

(fig. 48, 14), a higher proportion than on other sites, but several were made on ribs and one on a fragment of scapula (13).

In addition to the usual bone scrapers there is evidence that parts of bovid mandibles were also used as scrapers. The mandibles are modified by breaking off the ascending ramus and by removing the front section at the diastema, leaving the cheek teeth in the remaining portion. The wear pattern characteristic of bovid molars is altered for new facets of wear develop on the lingual eminences reducing the enamel to the level of the dentine and tending to produce a flattened crown with rounded edges in well worn examples. The lingual enamel has been chipped off in several cases which indicates fairly robust use. The broken edges of the bone behind and in front of the cheek teeth are rounded off and polished by the same process. The three clearest examples are shown in Plate 44, the two smaller ones being from sheep or goats and the larger from an Alcelaphine antelope. Several other mandibular fragments as well as loose teeth show some of these features and one has cut marks at the base of the ascending ramus, but in these cases the evidence is not conclusive.

The function of these mandibular scrapers was probably much the same as that of the bone scrapers whose working edges similarly show chipping as well as polishing. Both were held more or less at right angles to the working surface and moved backwards and forwards in a scraping action. The striations on the re-worn parts of the teeth are predominantly at or near right angles to the axis of the mandible, but there are some parallel with the axis, suggesting a sawing action.

There is historical evidence from the nineteenth century that Sotho-Tswana peoples used bovid teeth for skin dressing. Smith (1939, 335) records that: "The Bechuanas in softening and preparing their skins for karoos use scrape them with the teeth of a sheep, goat or other animal of that description, it being previously moistened with water." The mandibular scrapers from OU 2 were surely used for this purpose.

FAUNAL REMAINS

The bones from Midden 1 are in fairly good condition and less fragmented than those from some sites. Most long-bones have had their articular ends broken off and been split. Several such pieces show repeated flaking along edges as if they have been used as hammers. Light cut marks are fairly common and many bones have been partly burnt or gnawed by small rodents.

The list of the minimum number of individuals identified from Midden 1

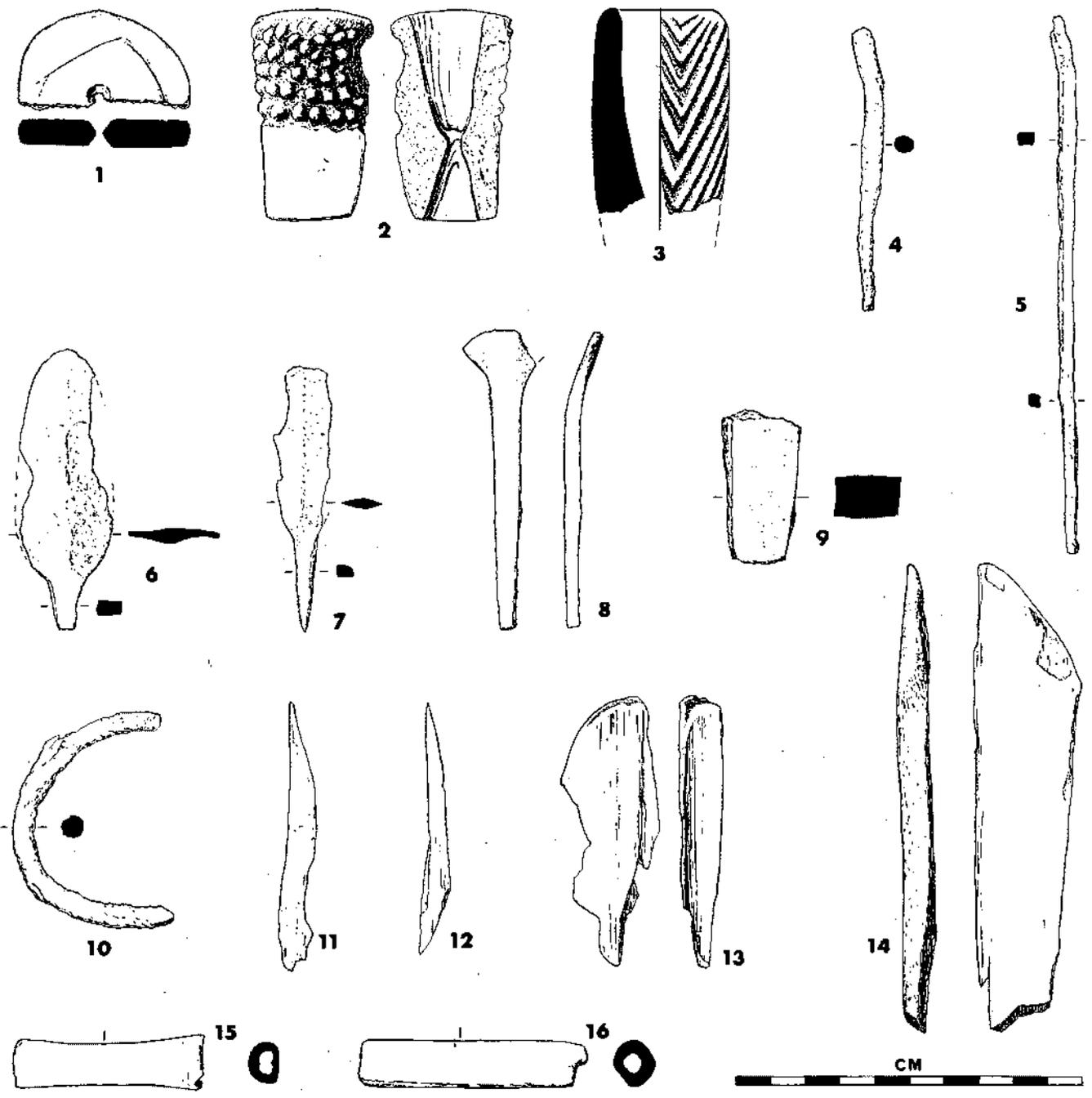


Fig. 48

Figure 48

Small finds mainly from OU'2 Midden 1

1. Perforated disc of micaceous shale, 5 cm in diameter 8 mm thick, with biconical perforation. Roughly concentric groove cut into surface on one side, circumference ground smooth. Perhaps an ornament or spindle whorl. North quadrant.
2. Half of cylindrical stone pipe 6 cm long. Upper part carved into an irregular pattern of cusps. Surface find not associated with Settlement Unit 1.
3. Fragment of cylindrical stone pipe larger than No. 2, neatly carved in relief herringbone pattern. Surface find not associated with Settlement Unit 1.
4. Iron rod of round section, bent and corroded. Function unknown but perhaps a spear tang. Midden 1, Square 4D.
5. Long iron rod of square section, tapering from 5-3 mm in thickness. Function unknown. Midden 1, North quadrant.
6. Small but relatively broad spear head with ogee section. Short rectangular tang. South quadrant.
7. Small iron implement, the blade has a midrib and the tang has a rectangular section. The sides and tip of the blade are missing therefore its function is uncertain. South quadrant.
8. Tanged iron implement with most of blade missing, curved in side view. Function uncertain. South quadrant.
9. Thick piece of iron with rectangular section, slightly tapering and broken at both ends. Perhaps part of the tang of a hoe. Square 4C.
10. Half of an iron bangle, corroded but probably of round section. Square 4C.
11. Point made from splinter of bone ground on both edges and one side and polished from use. Square 4D.
12. Point from splinter of bone, polish around tip from use. North quadrant.
13. Bone scraper made from fragment of scapula, rounded and polished at both ends. North quadrant.
14. Bone scraper made from piece of large long-bone. Well rounded at one end. Square 4C.
15. Tube made from cannon bone with ends removed by ring-and-snap method. Well polished inside and out therefore must have been worn on a cord. North quadrant.
16. Tube made from long-bone, otherwise as No. 15. South quadrant.



Plate 44. Mandibular scrapers from an Alcelaphine antelope (top) and sheep or goat (bottom 2) from Midden 1. The crowns show a flattened profile with chipping on the lingual side. The bone in front of and behind the cheek teeth has been broken off and protruding parts are rounded and polished.



Plate 45. OU 2 Burial 2, cranium crushed by overlying stone.

is as follows:-

Cattle - adult	1
Sheep/Goat - adult	2
Sheep/Goat - juvenile	2
Alcelaphine antelope:	
Total	7
cf. Wildebeest - adult	3
cf. Wildebeest - juvenile	1
cf. Hartebeest - adult	2
cf. Blesbuck - adult	1
Indeterminate bovid - juvenile	2
Springhare	1
Rodent - small	8
Viverrid - small	2
Shrew	3
Bird cf. Francolin	1
Ostrich egg (fragment)	1
Frog	1
Freshwater mussel	21
Achatina	2

The species represented are much the same as those from the other sites, but this is the only sample in which the number of antelope exceeds the number of domestic stock. This would seem to indicate that hunting, particularly of Alcelaphine antelope, was of much greater economic importance than on later sites such as OO 1 where remains of domestic stock are ten times more numerous than antelope.

CONCLUSIONS

The cultural and chronological evidence from Settlement Unit 1 agrees closely with that from OU 1. Despite the extensive robbing, the Type N pattern is clearly recognisable. Since there was no later rebuilding of this particular settlement unit evidence on the type of hut construction is more definite than at OU 1. It is certain that the huts were not built of stone, except for a paved floor or perhaps a ring of stones at the base of the walls. Instead, they seem to have been made of reeds and plastered with daga - probably hemispherical in shape.

Iron was again in fair supply for weapons, but the regular use of

bone for points and particularly scrapers suggest that whenever possible other materials were used for tools. Likewise there is little ornamental metalwork but a fair quantity of ostrich egg-shell and bone items.

The close similarity in the pottery from the two sites shows that there is a definite association between the Type N settlement pattern and the pottery tradition. The latter is characterised by relatively coarse comb-stamping in a horizontal band or in pendant triangles usually associated with red ochre burnish. A smaller proportion of decorated sherds show motifs including rim notches, applied bands and stylus impressions. These coarser types of decoration are more common at OU 2 than OU 1 but are definitely less common than comb-stamping, whereas the reverse is true of the later, Type V, sites.

SETTLEMENT UNIT 2

Towards its northern end, the ridge on which OU 2 is situated becomes lower, narrower and less steep. Here Settlement Unit 2 was built, more than a kilometre from Settlement Unit 1. The work was designed to provide more data on the Type V settlement pattern and its associated material culture, in particular to examine how much the Elongated Type V settlement unit differed from the more characteristic pattern as represented by OU 1. The position in the north-eastern corner of the Orange Free State was also of interest for it offered the possibility of finding localised cultural developments. Being typologically a variant of Type V and being situated towards the northern end of its distribution, Settlement Unit 2 seemed likely to represent a considerable degree of cultural differentiation within the Type V tradition. It was thought that the material culture might represent one extreme of the range possible within this tradition.

As mentioned above (chapter 3) the Elongated Type V settlement units present a problem of interpretation for they are quite rare and occur singly or at most in pairs. Furthermore, they are usually associated with a group of the normal Type V settlement units which are smaller; this being the case with Settlement Unit 2 and with the other elongated settlement unit in the neighbourhood, that in the Driekuil settlement to the west (fig. 45). The condition of walling of the different types is comparable which suggests that they are broadly contemporary.

A large quantity of stone has been removed from the northernmost structures - those closest to the Smaldeel farmhouse - and their walls

including those of Settlement Unit 2 are very much tumbled down. Settlement Unit 2 has suffered rather less than its neighbours and it is in much better condition than Settlement Unit 1, for all of its stone structures can be traced, although details such as entrances have in some instances been destroyed. There are, in addition, a number of stone walls which no longer form a coherent pattern and which may belong to an earlier period of occupation than the surviving settlement units.

Settlement Unit 2 with its associated middens and other features covers a long narrow strip, 150 metres by 55 metres, more or less following the crest of the ridge. The stone structures around the central secondary enclosure cover most of this length but are nowhere more than 25 metres wide which gives a particularly elongated shape to the settlement unit although it is quite characteristic and in size fairly small for its type (fig. 49).

Fifteen primary enclosures were built around the central enclosure and linked by secondary walling. The smallest of these, opposite the entrance, has a diameter of 2,5 m which is small enough to be a corbelled hut, however, the remains of the structure does not suggest that it was roofed. Indeed, like most of the other primary enclosures, its floor level is lower than the surrounding ground surface, which suggests that it was a stock pen. The larger primary enclosures would certainly have been for stock. Where their entrances are preserved they all open into the central secondary enclosure and it seems that the core of the settlement unit, which is made up of these structures, was built entirely for the use of livestock.

At the southern end of the settlement unit the secondary walls diverge to form a funnel-shaped entrance, the eastern wall of which is no longer complete. This shape, typical of the elongated units, is similar to that of a cattle crush and would certainly have facilitated the herding of stock into the central enclosure. At its narrowest the entrance is five metres across which would have permitted several animals to pass at the same time, unlike the normal Type V entrance which would have allowed only one at a time. The entrance together with the large number of primary enclosures indicate that this settlement unit was designed for the accommodation of larger numbers of stock than were the normal Type V settlement units.

Around the central group of structures are the other visible features of the settlement unit, the huts, stone circles and mounds, and the ash middens. These do not seem to be arranged with any great degree of regularity although the huts tend to be closer to the central group

than are the middens. On the other hand three of the middens formed against the walls of the central enclosure and in several cases huts are within one or two metres of middens, which shows that the inhabitants were less concerned about keeping their rubbish at a distance than were the inhabitants of Type N and many Type V sites.

The huts did not have stone walls and all that remains of them are the circular paved floors 2,5 to 4 metres in diameter. The paving is indicated diagrammatically on figure 49 but in reality it is usually less continuous and not so regular. In several cases parts of daga floors were observed on the paving and it is probable that all the hut floors were originally covered with daga.

None of the structures were excavated and therefore details of their construction are not known. However, as with Settlement Unit 1, finds of burnt daga with reed impressions in the midden indicate that the hut superstructures were of reeds and plaster. The 19 huts shown, in part or complete, on the plan (fig. 49) probably all belonged to the settlement unit. Certainly all of those on its western side are associated for there are no further settlement units in this direction. There may well have been more huts whose floors have subsequently been destroyed or covered up. But considering only the 19 huts that have been recorded it would seem that the unit may have had a population of around 60 individuals, which is clearly in excess of most Type V settlement units.

The smaller stone features include circles of small stones set upright in the ground and less regularly shaped mounds. In both cases they are about a metre in diameter. The circles are not as well made and are of rather larger stones than those at 00 1 (chapter 4) but they may also have served as the stand for a *sesiu*. Two of the mounds are on middens and it is possible that they may be graves. The other three do not have sufficient depth of soil below them to allow for a burial and, like the similar mounds from Settlement Unit 1, their purpose is unknown.

A little east of the entrance, on the lower margin of the plan (fig. 49), is a group of heavily robbed structures which probably formed a small Type V settlement unit. Three small circular structures may well have been corbelled huts but only their foundations remain. The chronological relationship to Settlement Unit 2 is uncertain.

THE EXCAVATION

The middens are rather smaller but more numerous and irregularly placed than on most sites. Midden 2 was chosen for excavation because

OU 2

SETTLEMENT UNIT 2

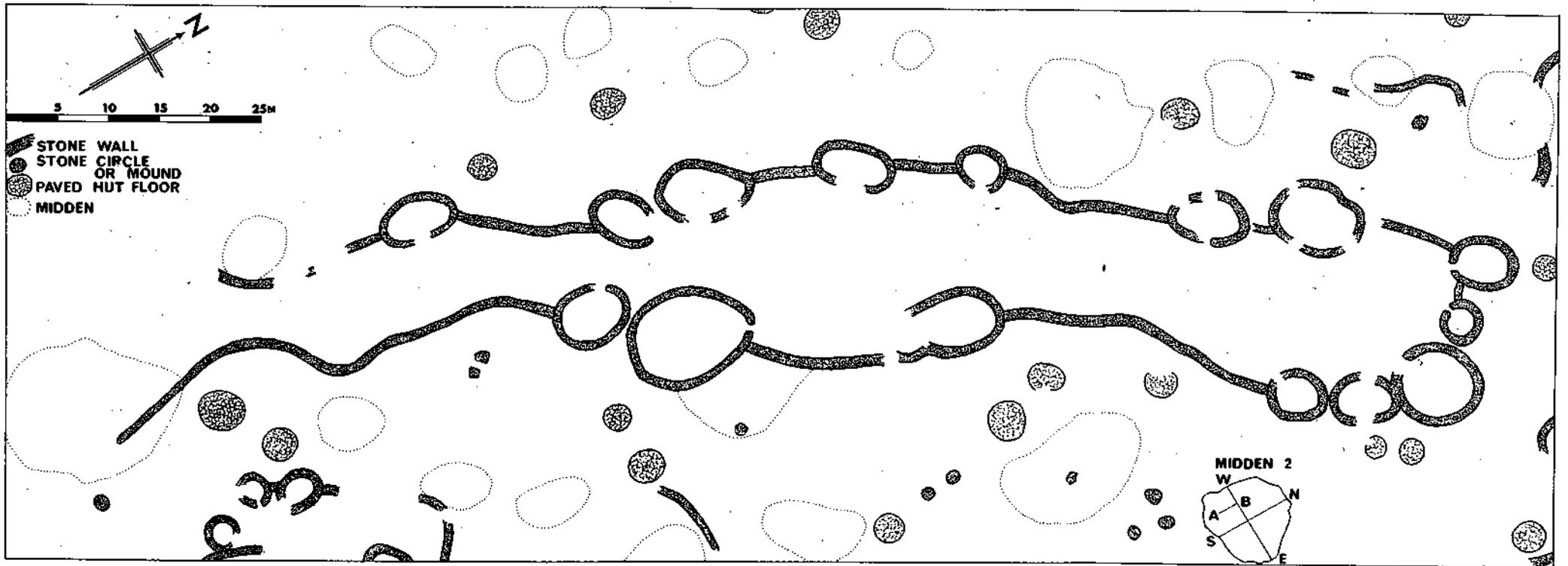
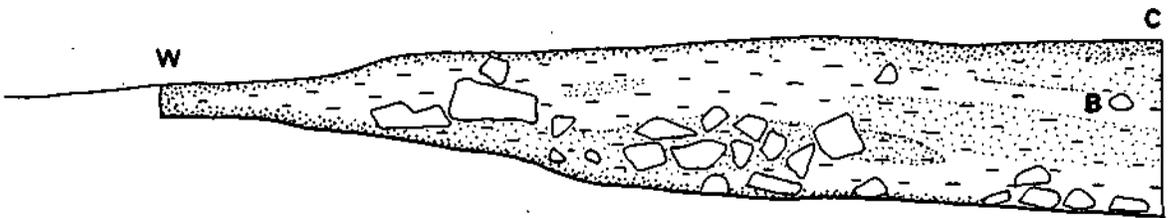
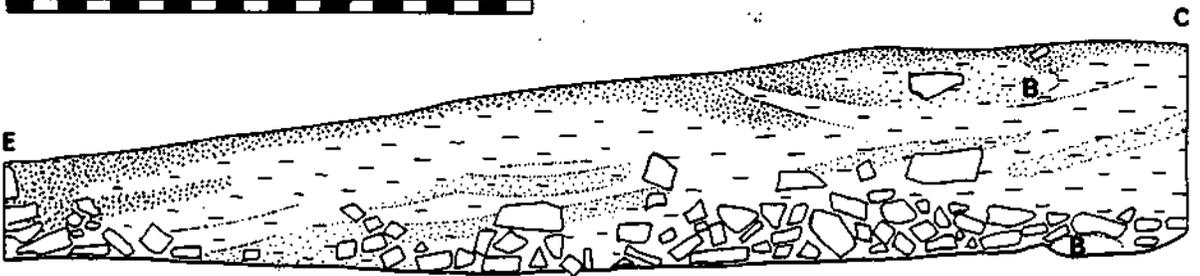
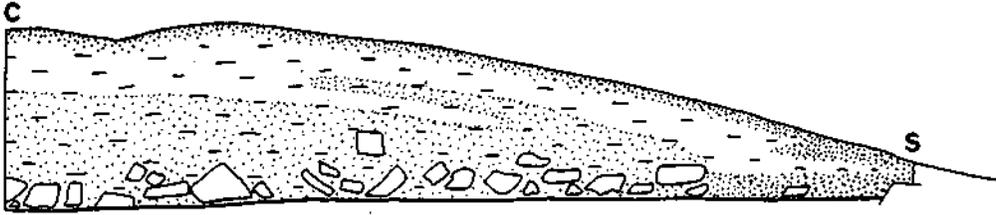
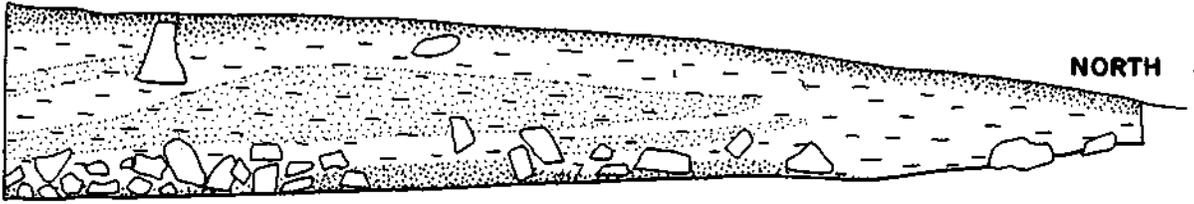


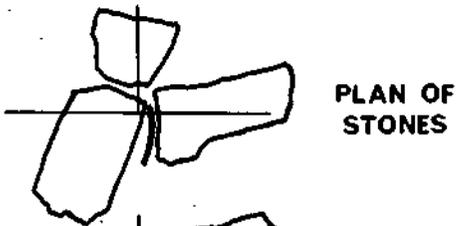
Fig. 49

OU 2 MIDDEN 2

CENTRE



- GREY MIDDEN
- · · · · BROWN MIDDEN
- · · · · BROWN SOIL



PLAN OF STONES

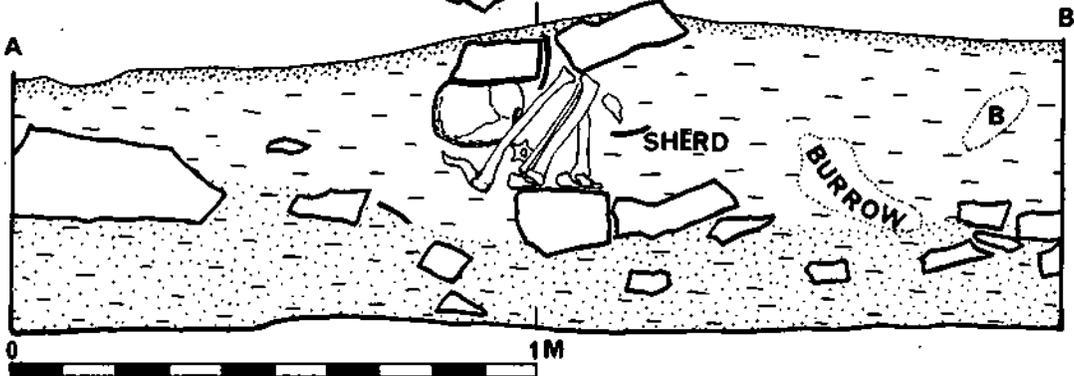


Fig. 50

it appeared to have the deepest deposit and because there was less evidence of burrowing than on the other larger middens.

As with the other Type V middens it was divided into quadrants along a north-south and east-west axis and excavated accordingly. The south-west quadrant was removed first, followed by the north-east to reveal transverse sections through the centre of the midden. As there was no distinct stratigraphy the south-west quadrant was taken as a single unit with the exception of Burial 2 which is described below. The north-east quadrant had a greater concentration of stones towards its base, and the material from among this was kept separate, the upper levels being taken as a unit.

With the sections exposed it was clear that the basal rubble persisted throughout the area, varying in depth around 20 cm and with minor gaps (fig. 50). Among and above the rubble the deposit consisted of earthy or ashy midden material and it was clear that there had been considerable disturbance for only in a few places, such as the east to centre section, are the minor lenses preserved. Nevertheless the degree of disturbance seemed less severe than in most such middens, the few apparent burrows were near the surface and there was a definite tendency for the more ashy material to give way to light brown earthy midden below about 20 cm from the surface (fig. 50, especially north-south section). This indicated that there might be some significant stratification and therefore the remaining two quadrants, the north-west and south-east, were excavated in three layers:-

1. Surface - 20 cm, consisting mainly of surface soil and grey ashy midden.
2. 20 cm - top of rubble, consisting mainly of light brown soil mixed with ash.
3. Top of rubble - bedrock, consisting of stones and rubble with midden material and soil in between. 'Bedrock' was a surface of hard brown soil derived from the underlying dolerite.

The analysis of the pottery from the different layers shows that there was no significant difference in their contents, indeed, the arbitrary horizontal divisions into quadrants produced more difference than did the stratigraphical divisions (Appendix 3 and chapter 13). This would suggest that the midden has either accumulated over a short time span or that it is more thoroughly mixed than is apparent from the sections. The former explanation is the most likely, and the lack of

architectural modifications to the settlement unit would also indicate a relatively short occupation.

The basal rubble is clearly from a stone structure which predates the midden. The base of a wall could be traced from the south-western corner of the midden, passing near the centre and then curving to follow the eastern axis where it could also be seen beyond the eastern margin of the midden. The stone collapsed and scattered from this wall would account for most of the rubble.

Two charcoal samples collected from the south-east quadrant were processed by Dr. J.C. Vogel of the C.S.I.R. with the following results:

Pta 402 285 \pm 50 (A.D. 1665)

This sample is from the second layer, from 20 cm to the top of the rubble.

Pta 403 80 \pm 50 (A.D. 1870)

This sample being from the lowest layer, top of rubble to bedrock.

Although the age sequence of these two determinations is inverted, there is no reason to doubt the validity of the earlier determination, and, in view of the known fluctuations in atmospheric radiocarbon in recent centuries, the later determination may well also be valid although its 'conventional date' is not. From the historical evidence it is clear that this settlement could not have been occupied after about 1820. Considering both the radiocarbon and the historical evidence, the occupation would most likely fall within the seventeenth or eighteenth century. As with OO 1, we are faced with the problem of establishing chronological precision outside the effective range of the C14 method and beyond the reach of precise historical evidence.

Burial 2

There were a number of stones on the surface of the midden but they were not arranged in such a manner as to suggest any features. The most noticeable concentration was a loosely scattered group in the north-east quadrant, but there was nothing beneath it. The three fairly large stones on top of Burial 2 (fig. 50) were clearly placed over the grave, but as they were partly buried the grave was not apparent until it was exposed in the wall of the excavation.

It was a shallow grave about 30 cm deep for it had only been dug down to the top of the rubble layer where some large stones were reached. The edges of the grave were not visible for its fill was indistinguishable from the rest of the midden and there has been considerable minor disturbance

as indicated by the scattering of many of the smaller bones. Material from the grave area was kept separate but nothing of significance was found; a large sherd between two of the overlying stones is probably a fortuitous occurrence as it could not be matched with any other sherds.

The skeletal remains were submitted to De Villiers who found them to be those of a South African Negro child of about eight years. The full report is included in Appendix 1 of this chapter.

The general position of the body was crouched, quite tightly flexed and facing north (fig. 50 & Plate 45). It was upright but the trunk was leaning towards the west at an angle of about 45° and the upper part of the vertebral column was dispersed; this displacement may well be due to slumping as well as burrowing. The cranium had slumped to a position just above and forward of the pelvis. The left upper portion has been crushed in by one of the stones, the fragments being recovered from the base of the cranial vault together with worm segments and small rodent bone - identifying the cause of some of the disturbance. The mandible was disarticulated 10 cm to the west of the maxilla.

The knees were raised and tightly flexed, the left crossing over so that its foot was placed immediately in front of the right foot. The right humerus lay along the vertebral column, the elbow flexed at about 45° and the hand to the north-west. The left humerus stood nearly vertically, the elbow 10 cm from the pelvis. Most of the smaller bones including those of the hands and feet were displaced.

THE FINDS : POTTERY

Fabric

In general the clay has a fine sandy texture and the ware is open although quite hard and seldom friable. Fine rounded grains of quartz sand are present in large numbers and probably occurred naturally in the clay. As with the Midden 1 pottery, grit of various forms is usually included, but there are some differences. No shale grit was noticed although some sherds included particles of a grey mudstone or fine sandstone. Dolerite inclusions are on the other hand more common than in the Midden 1 pottery; pieces up to 5 mm in diameter occurring, particularly in the coarser vessels such as figure 52, 10 & 11; figure 54, 2 & 3. The fabric of the finer vessels, such as those with comb-stamping, usually include smaller grit particles mainly of quartz. These are usually angular and often retain their crystal shapes. A few examples of pottery grog were also noted.

As in the case of the Midden 1 ware, all the materials used to make this pottery could be found within one or two kilometres of the site.

The firing conditions were similar to those described under Midden 1.

Burnish

Burnishing is not a very marked feature of this assemblage, less than 10% of sherds being burnished. Burnish without additional colouring predominates over ochre burnish, while black is less common. There is some increase in the incidence of ochre among decorated sherds but this is much less marked than in Midden 1.

TABLE OF SURFACE FINISHES AND RIM PROFILES ON THE POTTERY FROM OU 2 MIDDEN 2

	DECORATED SHERDS				UNDECORATED SHERDS				TOTALS
	Plain	Burnished			Plain	Burnished			
		Burnish	Ochre	Black		Burnish	Ochre	Black	
RIM SHERDS									
Rounded	463	7	21	1	270		4	1	767
Flattened	87	1	5		100				193
Pointed	25				45				70
Misc.	47	4			35				86
BODY SHERDS	363	11	36		8076	364	229	109	9188
TOTALS	985	23	62	1	8526	364	233	110	10304

DECORATED SHERDS FROM OU 2
MIDDEN 2

Motif	Motif No.	No. of Sherds	%
Comb-stamping in pendant triangles	1	25	2
" horizontal bands	2	5	-
" sherd too small	4	55	5
Rim notches	5	85	8
Misc. impressions on rim	6	91	8
Finger impressions on rim	7	24	2
Applied band	8	225	21
Finger impressions on body	9	133	12
Cusps and bosses	10	24	2
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11	146	14
Misc. impressions on body	12	108	10
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13	33	3
" in horizontal band	14	102	9
" in pendant triangles	15	1	-
Cross-hatching	19	14	1
		<u>1071</u>	<u>97</u>

Decoration

This assemblage produced the highest proportion of decorated pottery of the whole project. The ratio of decorated to undecorated sherds was 1:8,6, while there was also a great variety of decoration as at the other Type V sites. Again decoration is concentrated on or just below the rims; 60% of rim sherds are decorated which suggests that rather more than half of the vessels were decorated.

Comb-stamping represents a meagre 7% of the decoration, less than at the other Type V sites excavated, and quite eclipsed by the 69% figure from Midden 1. The pendant triangle was the preferred motif, while a few examples of single horizontal bands are also present (fig. 52, 1 & 6). One vessel has an elaboration consisting of compound pendant triangles made up of a series of smaller triangles beneath a band filled in by lines of stamping in a herringbone arrangement (fig. 52, 2). This vessel must have been repaired as the remaining portion preserves two drilled holes. Another variation is a chevron line of stamping beneath a horizontal band (fig. 52, 5). This has been classified with the pendant triangles as it is the only vessel in the assemblage with this motif.

Comb-stamping is again associated with ochre burnish in the majority of cases, often continuing on to and just inside the rim. A few of these vessels also have rim notches but not as commonly as at OD 1.

During sorting it became apparent that the quality of comb-stamping in this assemblage is on the whole finer than that from Midden 1. The lines tend to be applied more carefully and the areas of stamping are usually outlined with a clear line of stamping or sometimes by a grooved line (fig. 52, 1). But in particular the size and spacing of the tooth impressions is smaller. To demonstrate this the comb-stamped sherds that were large enough were measured to determine the number of individual tooth impressions per centimetre. The result is shown in the histogram (fig. 51) where the figures from Middens 1 and 2 are compared. From this it is apparent that while there is considerable overlap the modal values and even the ranges are quite distinct. The Midden 2 sample mainly has between four and seven impressions per centimetre, while as many as eleven impressions per centimetre do occur. These features show that even within the comb-stamped element, the two assemblages from this site are not identical.

Rim notches

This motif accounts for 8% of decoration, a considerably smaller proportion than that on the other Type V sites, OD 1 and OND 3. Most of

COMPARISON OF COMB-STAMPING FROM MIDDENS 1 & 2

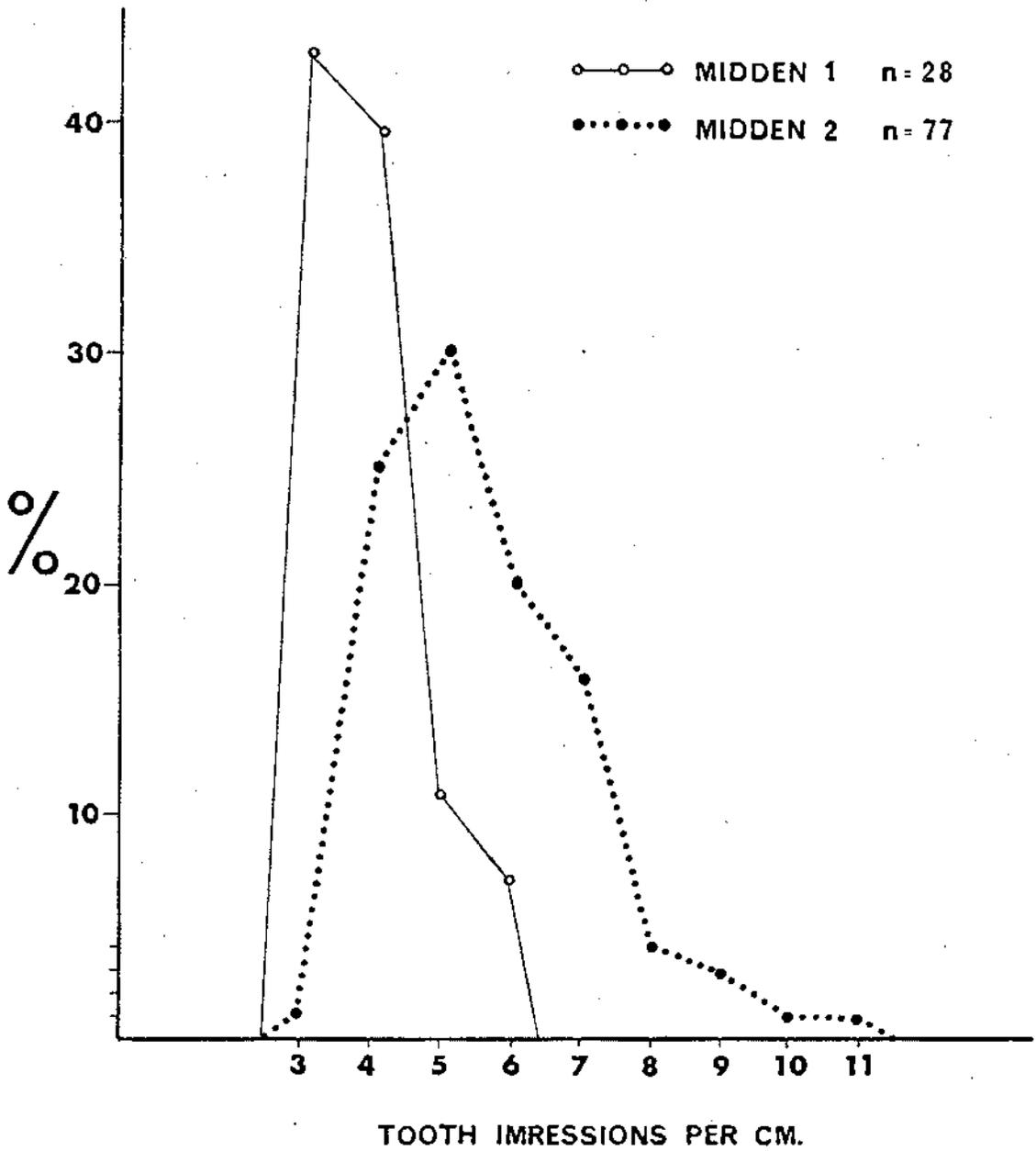


Fig. 51

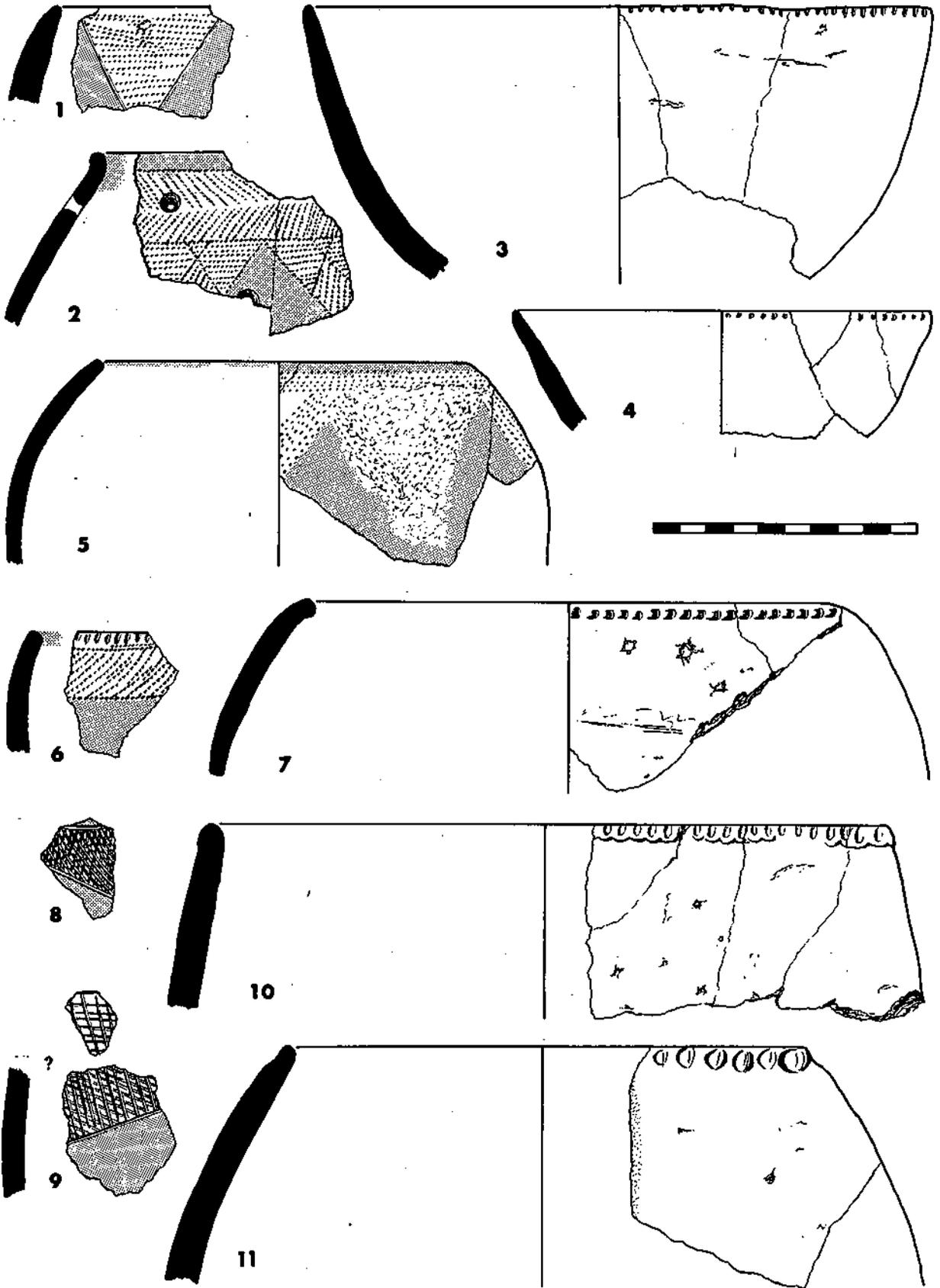


Fig. 52

Figure 52

Decorated pottery from Midden 2.

1. Sherd with rounded rim decorated with pendant triangles outlined by a groove and filled in by horizontal lines of comb-stamping. Ochre burnish. Brown with dark core and some blackening. Sand and fine grit. N.E. quadrant.
2. Pot with short upright neck and rounded rim. Intricate pattern of comb-stamping forming compound pendant triangles below a horizontal band. Red ochre on rim and below decoration. Red-brown with dark core. Sand and fine grit. Two biconical drilled holes presumably to bind a crack in the vessel corresponding with the left hand edge of the sherd. S.E. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
3. Large open-mouthed bowl with rounded rim. Vertical notches in row on rim. Grey throughout, blackened with soot. Grit. N.W. quadrant.
4. Small open-mouthed bowl with pointed rim. Single row of stylus impressions on rim. Brown with dark core. Pottery grog. N.W. quadrant, 20 cm to top of rubble.
5. Spherical pot with rounded rim. Comb-stamping in parallel lines forming chevron below horizontal band. (As this vessel was the only one from this midden with a chevron it is classified with the pendant triangles.) Burnished within triangles, extending over the stamping, ochre burnish elsewhere. Dark core, surface brown and grey, abraded in parts. S.W. quadrant.
6. Sherd with rounded rim. Notches on rim, band filled with oblique lines of comb-stamping. Ochre burnish. Brown with dark core. Grit. N.E. quadrant.
7. Pot with rounded, rolled-over rim. Row of miscellaneous impressions on rim perhaps made with broken stick. Large inclusions of grit and pottery grog. Coarsely finished. Red-brown with dark core. N.W. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
8. Sherd with fine cross-hatching outlined by grooves. Ochre burnish. Red-brown. Quartz grit and sand. N.W. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
9. Two sherd from same vessel with short everted neck and rounded rim. Cross-hatching on and below rim perhaps in pendant triangles, ochre burnish below. Brown throughout. Sand. N.E. and N.E. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
10. Large, probably bag-shaped pot with rounded rim. Row of miscellaneous impressions on rim. Grey-brown. Grit apparently of weathered dolerite. S.W. quadrant.
11. Large bag-shaped pot with rounded rim. Row of fingertip impressions on rim. Left edge of sherd abraded from use after breakage. Grey-brown with dark core. S.E. quadrant, 0-20 cm.

the notching is more or less vertical (fig. 52, 3) but oblique examples are also present. Most of the vessels are unburnished unlike those from the Caledon Valley area (OND 2 & 3).

Miscellaneous rim impressions

This category includes rims with a single row of stylus impressions as well as miscellaneous examples often too small or badly damaged to be assigned to the more elaborate motifs. It includes a considerable range in size and shape of vessel (fig. 52, 4, 7 & 10) as well as in type of impression. The motif accounts for 8% of the decoration.

Finger impressions on rim

This motif is relatively rare, being only 2% of the total, whereas at 00 1 it represents 17%. It also shows less variation, most examples being simple fingertip impressions or slight finger-pinching (fig. 52, 11 & Appendix 3). It is again associated with large, coarsely-made vessels.

Applied band

This characteristic eastern Orange Free State motif is the dominant one of this assemblage representing 21% of the decoration, a similar proportion to that from Midden 1. The great majority of this category have a single horizontal band applied just below the rim (fig. 53, 11; fig. 54, 2 & 3), but a few have double or even triple bands. Other variations include vertical or oblique pendant lines sometimes forming triangles (fig. 53, 10), and a few examples are combined with other motifs including various rim and body impressions (fig. 54, 1).

The majority of applied bands show finger-pinching, either with the finger and thumb positioned above and below the band so that the pinching produces a pointed ridge (fig. 53, 10 & 11), or with finger and thumb side-by-side which produces a series of hollows and protrusions (fig. 54, 2 & 3). During the analysis, however, applied bands without finger-pinching were noted separately and these represent 24% of the bands (Appendix 3). These bands had various other types of impressions including notches and styli of various shapes (fig. 54, 1 & 4). No examples of smooth bands or burnish were found in this category which distinguishes it from the applied band element of Midden 1.

Finger impressions on body

This category is characteristic of Type V sites and represents 12% of this assemblage. It can be subdivided into two groups; zones of

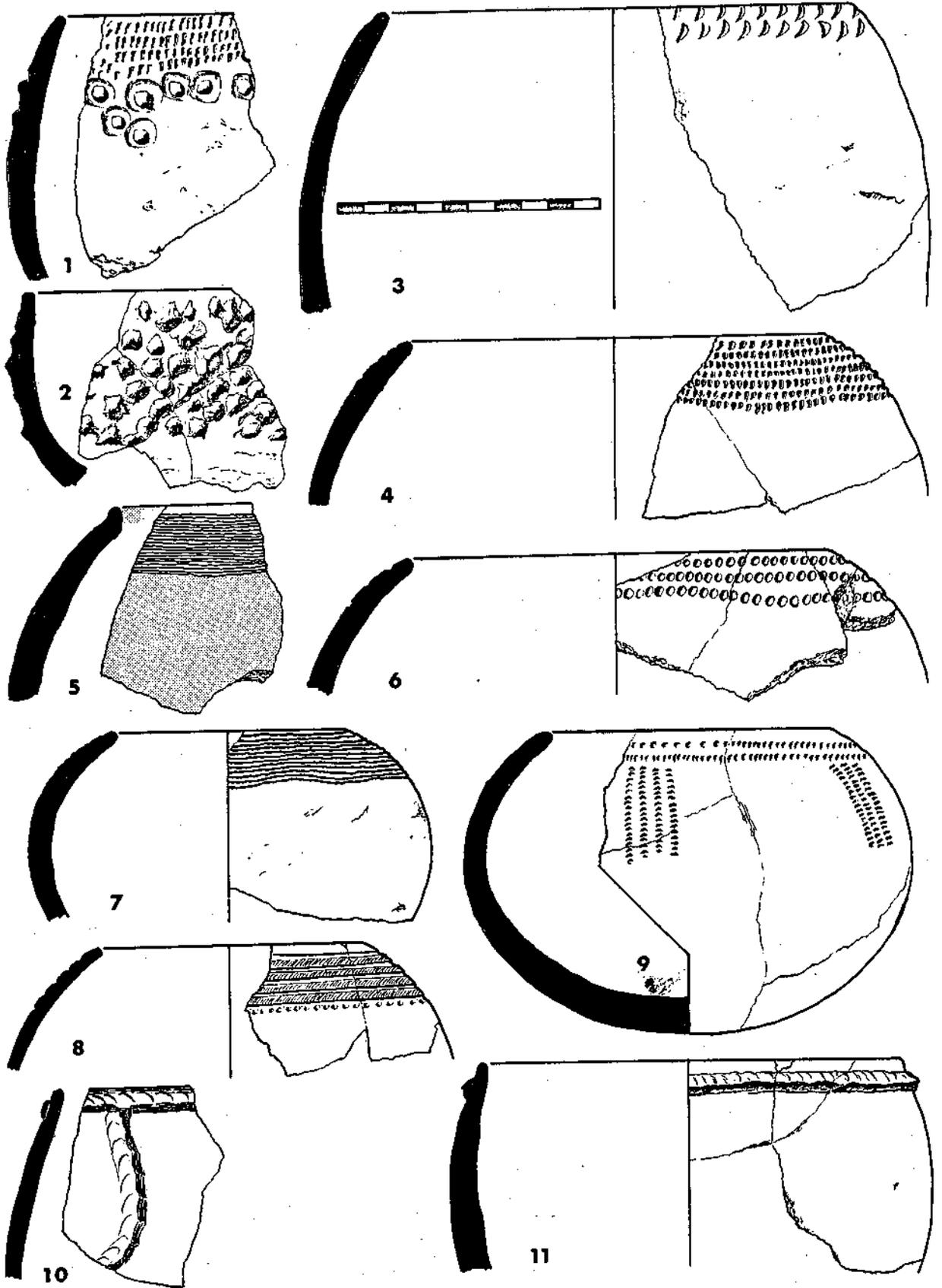


Fig. 53

Figure 53

Decorated pottery from Midden 2

1. Bag-shaped vessel with rounded rim. Four rows of stylus impressions above an irregular row of cusps pinched up from the wall of the vessel. Dolerite grit. Brown, blackened with soot on outside. Cylindrical hole drilled on right edge. N.W. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
2. Bowl with flattened rim. Irregular cusps pinched up from wall on sides of bowl. Red-brown, blackened in places. Fine grit - sand. N.E. and N.W. quadrants, above rubble.
3. Bag-shaped pot with rounded rim. Two rows of crescentic stylus impressions. Grey-brown with dark core, blackened on outside. Grit. S.E. quadrant, top of rubble to bedrock.
4. Spherical pot with rounded rim. Seven rows of stylus impressions from the rim downwards. Red-brown with dark core. Sandy. S.W. quadrant.
5. Pot with short upright neck and rounded rim. Band of fine horizontal grooves on shoulder. Ochre burnish below grooves. Buff with dark core. Fine grit. S.W. quadrant.
6. Approximately spherical pot with rounded rim. Three rows of elliptical stylus impressions below rim. Grey-brown with dark core. Grit. N.W. quadrant, 0-20 cm and rubble - bedrock.
7. Small sub-spherical pot with rounded rim. Band of horizontal grooves below rim. As with No. 5, the grooves were made by repeated impressions in a line not by a steady stroke. Brown, blackened with soot below. Grit. N.W. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
8. Small spherical pot with flattened rim. Broad horizontal grooves with rows of oblique linear impressions in between (not cross-hatching) and row of stylus impressions below. Buff throughout. Fine sandy body. N.E. quadrant.
9. Sub-spherical pot/bowl with rounded rim. Two horizontal rows of stylus impressions and groups of short vertical rows. Buff, blackened with soot below and dark core. Grit. N.E. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
10. Pot with rounded rim. Band of clay applied just below rim and in pendant line, finger-pinched with finger and thumb positioned vertically. Brown, blackened with soot on outside. Grit. S.E. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
11. Barrel-shaped pot with rounded rim. Applied band with vertical finger-pinching. Grey-buff with dark core, soot on outside. Sandy. N.E. quadrant, rubble - bedrock and S.E. quadrant, 20 cm - rubble.

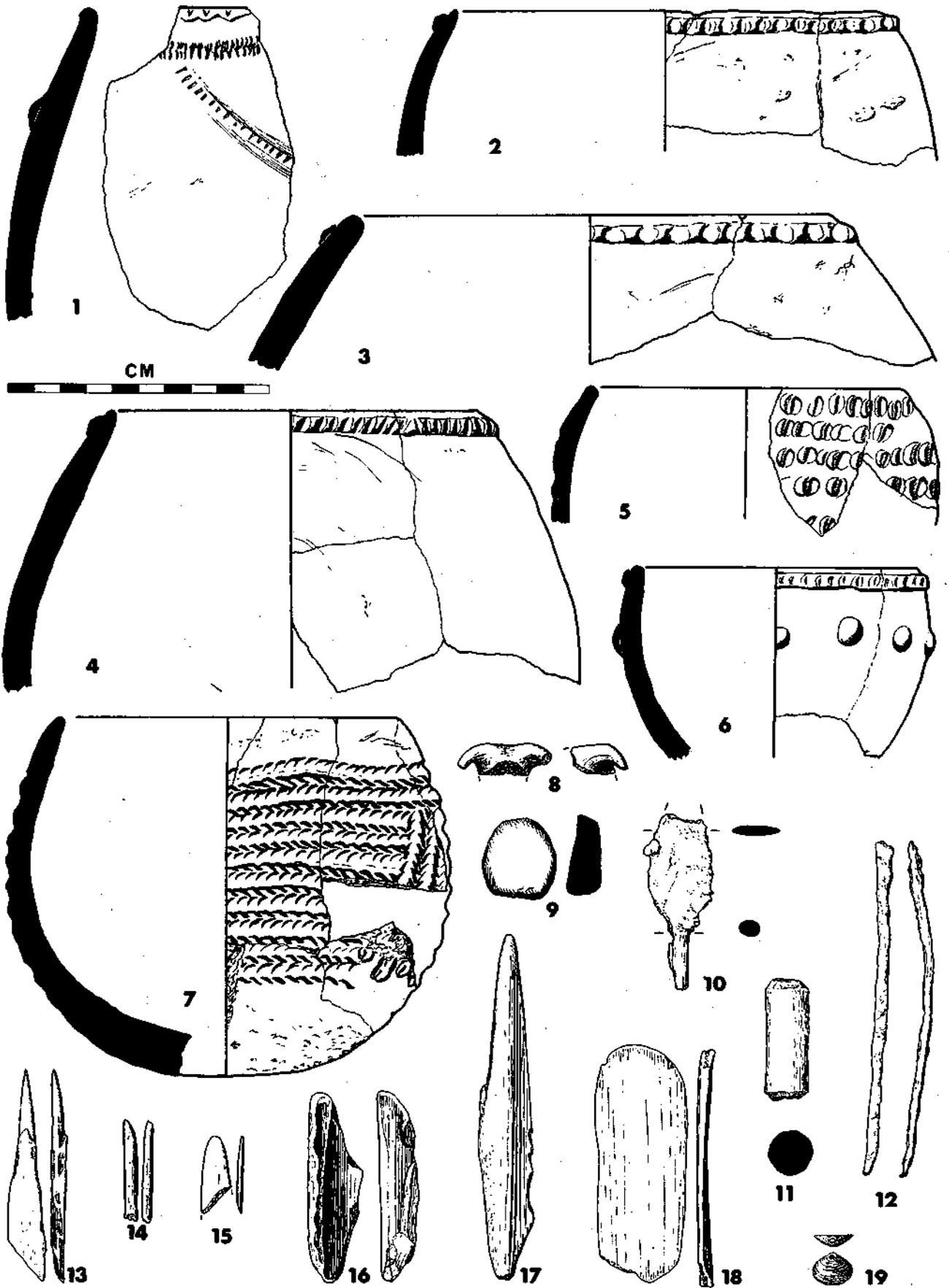


Fig. 54

Figure 54

Decorated pottery etc. from Midden 2.

1. Vessel with rounded, rolled-over rim. Oblique applied band with row of stylus impressions below a line of miscellaneous body impressions and notches on rim. Brown, blackened. Fine grit. N.W. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
2. Barrel-shaped pot with rounded rim. Applied band, finger-pinched with finger and thumb positioned horizontally. Brown with dark core and blackened. Dolerite grit. S.E. quadrant, above rubble.
3. Large bag-shaped pot with rounded rim. Applied band with horizontal finger-pinching. Grit from sedimentary and igneous sources. Brown with dark core. S.E. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
4. Bag-shaped pot with rounded rim. Applied band with impressed notches. Grey-brown, blackened with soot on outside. Weathered dolerite nodules and fine grit. N.W. quadrant, 20 cm - rubble.
5. Probably barrel-shaped pot with rounded rim. Fingertip impressions in irregular horizontal rows on body. Grey. Sand. N.W. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
6. Small deep bowl with flattened rim. Applied band with fingertip impressions just below rim and row of applied bosses around widest part of bowl. Brown, blackened on outside. Grit. N.E. quadrant.
7. Near-spherical pot with round base and rim. Rows of finger-pinching forming corrugations on sides of pot, mainly horizontal but also some vertical. Brown, blackened and soot incrustated on sides and base. Grit. N.W. quadrant, 20 cm - bedrock. N.E. quadrant, throughout.
8. Horns of animal figurine, probably cattle. N.W. quadrant, 20 cm - top of rubble.
9. Sherd with edge grinding right around to form roughly circular disc. Buff-grey with sandy texture. N.E. quadrant above rubble.
10. Head of small spear or knife, tip and end of tang missing. Tang is round in section and has preserved fibrous impressions from the handle, probably of wood. S.E. quadrant, 20 cm - top of rubble.
11. Heavy, round iron bar cut at both ends by chiselling in a ring and then breaking. N.E. quadrant, above rubble.
12. Thin iron rod of flattened rectangular section, tapering and heavily corroded. Perhaps a hand piano key.
13. Bone awl, the point being well shaped and the whole surface being highly polished. N.W. quadrant, 20 cm - top of rubble.
14. Broken end of bone point, the sides being ground round and parallel. Purpose unknown. S.E. quadrant, rubble - bedrock.
15. Broken tip of bone spatula ground to a thin well-shaped end, purpose unknown. S.E. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
16. Bone scraper made from split long-bone. Both ends have well polished facets of wear, the sides and lower end also show flaking prior to use. N.W. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
17. Large bone point, wear and polish is restricted to the area near the rounded tip. N.W. quadrant, 0-20 cm.
18. Bone scraper made from section of rib, both ends have been used. N.E. quadrant.
19. Corbicula africana shell perforated for suspension. Off-white colour, pale mauve within. S.W. quadrant.

separated finger impressions sometimes in rows (fig. 54, 5), and finger impressions, usually pinching, in rows forming corrugations. The latter are more often in vertical rows although horizontal rows also occur. The illustrated pot has a predominance of horizontal rows but includes a zone of vertical ones as well (fig. 54, 7). These vessels, like the other finger-decorated categories, are not burnished and frequently have soot and fire blackening on their sides. The parallel rows of pinching bear some resemblance to basketwork and it is possible that this was the inspiration for the motif, but on the other hand it could have developed from the simpler forms of finger-decoration.

Cusps

These may occur in one or more horizontal rows or irregularly distributed. They should perhaps be subdivided according to technique into cusps that are pinched up from the wall of the vessel (fig. 53, 1 & 2), and applied bosses (fig. 54, 6). However, as the latter are rare, indeed the whole category only accounts for 2% of decoration, they have been combined. Applied bosses were not present in the other excavated assemblages.

There is considerable variation within this category and in several cases other motifs were also present, including rows of stylus impressions (fig. 53, 1) and an applied band (fig. 54, 6), but these are rare.

Stylus impressions in parallel horizontal rows

This motif is widespread within the Iron Age of the Orange Free State and therefore its typological value is limited, but it is particularly common in this assemblage, amounting to 14% of the decoration (fig. 53, 3, 4 & 6). The impressions tend to be fairly large and coarsely applied but some finer examples also occur. Stylus shapes include circular, elliptical, rectangular, triangular, linear, crescentic and irregular, and they may be applied perpendicularly or obliquely to the wall of the pot. Variations include rows of impressions pendant from the horizontal rows (fig. 53, 9) and combinations with several other motifs (fig. 53, 1 & 8).

Miscellaneous body impressions

This category includes various types of impressions which are irregularly placed on the sides of vessels. Many of them should probably belong to other categories but because the sherds are so fragmented the original motif cannot be determined.

Parallel grooves

This category includes all sherds with parallel grooving which do not conform to the following two motifs. Most of them are again too fragmentary to establish the original motif. As with the comb-stamped categories, these vessels tend to be relatively small and thin-walled and therefore are more easily broken than some of the other categories.

Parallel horizontal grooves in band

Such bands occur just below the rims of vessels and may contain up to 25 or more grooves. Much of the grooving is relatively narrow and deep and may be U- or V-shaped in section. In some cases the grooves are produced by a series of overlapping impressions repeated along a line but in others a smooth continuous movement was used. The motif represents 9% of the decoration, a much higher proportion than from the other Type V sites examined, and it is one of the distinctive features of this assemblage.

An important feature that distinguishes this motif from the same category at the Type Z sites, for example OXF 1 (chapter 9), is that in many cases there are rows of impressions between the grooves. These occur on 69 out of the 102 sherds and may take the form of circular or other stylus impressions or linear strokes (fig. 53, 8). The latter sometimes resemble cross-hatching but in fact the strokes do not continue across the horizontal grooves. The combination of motifs was recorded during sorting (Appendix 3), but in the numerical analysis these sherds were not given a separate category as this would have been inconsistent with the OO 1 analysis where a few sherds also showed this combination (fig. 27, 5) but were classified with the horizontal grooves. (It should be noted that with the numerical analysis that has been used in chapter 13 it is not possible to take combinations of motifs into account without the creation of additional categories. These combinations are in most cases so uncommon as to be statistically insignificant.)

Apart from the quality of the grooving and the rows of impressions between grooves, this category can also be differentiated from that of the Type Z sites by seldom being associated with any kind of burnish.

Pendant triangles in parallel grooves

Only one sherd definitely showed this motif and while there were a few other possible examples, it is certainly a rarity. The presence of ochre burnish also sets this sherd apart from most of the grooved sherds.

Cross-hatching

This is the only assemblage to produce cross-hatching and even here it only represents 1% of the decoration. However, its presence raises the question of its origin. Within the category there is considerable variation from fine and evenly applied hatching, sometimes associated with ochre burnish (fig. 52, 8 & 9), to rather irregularly applied strokes on unburnished vessels. There was thus little standardization and it is possible that the more proficient examples are imports. Cross-hatched decoration is known from the northern and eastern Transvaal (Mapungubwe: Fouché, 1937; Phalaborwa: Van Der Merwe, 1971) and from coastal and inland sites in Natal (Schofield, 1948) but the regions immediately to the north-east and east of OU 2, the south-eastern Transvaal and northern Natal, are still virtually unknown in terms of Iron Age studies.

Rim form

The incidence of different rim forms is shown in the table above, the most pronounced feature being the great predominance of rounded rims over flattened ones. A minor feature is that pointed rims, although they constitute less than 10% of the total, are rather more numerous than at the other sites.

Vessel form

As at OU 1, the shape of vessels often correlates with the category of decoration. Although there are many exceptions to this, particularly in such categories as rim notches and miscellaneous rim impressions, the tendencies are sufficiently marked to be worth considering under these headings.

Comb-stamped vessels are usually medium-sized pots of spherical or sub-spherical shape (fig. 52, 5). Some have short upright necks (fig. 52, 2), but in general necks are rare in this assemblage. These pots are thin-walled and well-finished and they correspond closely to the comb-stamped element at OU 1.

Vessels with notches or miscellaneous impressions on their rims are very variable in form. They include open-mouthed bowls of various sizes (fig. 52, 3 & 4) and a range of pots including more or less spherical and bag-shaped examples (fig. 52, 7 & 10).

Applied bands are characteristic of bag- and barrel-shaped pots of thick, coarse manufacture (fig. 53, 11; fig. 54, 1-4). These include some of the largest vessels although an exception here is the small bowl with a

row of bosses (fig. 54, 6). These vessels are never burnished but are often blackened and soot encrusted from use on fires.

Pots with finger-impressed decoration on their bodies form a very consistent class here as at OO 1. They are fairly small (rim diameters around 12 cm) and more or less spherical in shape but with rather upright sides (fig. 54, 5 & 7). As with the previous category they lack burnish but are usually fire blackened and it seems that both were used for cooking.

Stylus impressions in parallel rows occur on sub-spherical to barrel-shaped pots (fig. 53, 3, 5, 6 & 9) of various sizes, some with rounded bases; the range is wider than the illustrated examples suggest. Here again burnish is rare and blackening common.

Most of the vessels with grooved decoration are small (rim diameters around 9 cm) and spherical or sub-spherical in shape (fig. 53, 7 & 8). They are often thin and well finished but seldom burnished and many are fire blackened.

Vessels with cusp decoration are very variable in shape, including small bowls and larger pots (fig. 53, 1 & 2; fig. 54, 6). The cross-hatched sherds were too fragmentary to permit reconstruction.

Fragments of at least seven flat bases were noticed, which demonstrate their presence in the assemblage albeit in small quantities. Most bases would have been round.

Drilled holes were found on four sherds, three of which were rims (fig. 52, 2). As at OO 1 they appear to be repair holes to prevent cracks which started on the rim from spreading further down the walls of the vessels.

OTHER CERAMIC OBJECTS

The only figurines were four fragments of animal horns which in two cases included parts of the head (fig. 54, 8). In one the horns curve downwards and another has a slight spiral twist, both of which suggest cattle.

Several sherds had one edge ground relatively smooth (fig. 52, 11) and in three cases small sherds had been ground right around their perimeter to produce discs about three centimetres in diameter (fig. 54, 9). The discs showed no signs of perforation and it seems likely that all the ground edges were used as abrasives.

Eight pieces of burnt daub preserve traces of reed or grass impressions and were presumably parts of the plaster of hut walls. Only

one piece comes from the rubble layer, the others are from the upper levels, but the evidence is insufficient to suggest any architectural changes.

A carbonised cucurbit seed and the impression of another on a sherd are the only botanical evidence from the site. Also of interest is a sherd with the impression of a mat. The impression is not very clear but it seems to represent a loosely woven mat made in part from plaited strands of grass.

GRINDSTONES

Eleven stones were recovered from the midden of which two were broken. The remainder were graded according to weight and formed a series varying from 0,9 kg down to 0,3 kg. The three largest, which include the only sandstone example, are natural pieces of stone each with one grinding surface. The remainder are cuboidal in shape and correspond to the medium-small stones from OO 1 (chapter 4). They usually have two main grinding surfaces on opposite sides. The intervening, smaller faces are usually battered or ground into additional surfaces which are curved while the main surfaces are relatively flat. They must have been held in one hand while grinding and they would also have been used as hammers to peck the lower stones when these became too smooth.

The two smallest stones show little or no grinding but very widespread pecking and, like the similar although broken example from Midden 1, were probably used just for roughening the lower stones. Such quern peckers, *kgekgeto*, are still widely used in the northern Transvaal (Boehrer, 1965) and on the present evidence seem to have been used by Iron Age communities of the northern Orange Free State. However, on sites further south, such as OO 1, the edges of the upper grindstones were mainly used for this purpose.

A small smooth pebble four centimetres long was brought to the site probably from a stream bed; it may have been used for burnishing pottery. The only other worked stones were two pieces of flaked and patinated Lydianite, and an outil écaillé of agate. They are presumably stray Stone Age pieces.

IRON OBJECTS

Considering the richness of the pottery assemblage there is surprisingly little metal from this site, no copper was found and there are no iron ornaments. The only definitely identifiable implement is the head of a

small spear or knife (fig. 54, 10). Like most of the iron it is heavily corroded and both ends are missing. The blade has a flat section, the tang being rounded and of particular interest as it retains fibrous impressions apparently from a wooden handle which reached to the base of the blade. Four other fragments of blades and four small rods, all heavily corroded and incomplete, were recovered from the north-west and south-west quadrants. One rod is pointed and may have been an awl. The best preserved item is the piece cut from a bar 1,6 cm in diameter. The only other item is the slender tapering rod 13 cm long and with a flattened rectangular section which may have been a key from a hand piano, however, no definite identification is possible.

On the surface of one of the other middens of Settlement Unit 2 the tang of what was probably a hoe was collected.

OBJECTS OF BONE AND SHELL

Austerity is again suggested by the presence of only three beads and no other ornaments. On the other hand bone tools are very numerous and their incidence relative to that of iron implements suggests that bone was frequently substituted for iron because of scarcity.

The only ostrich egg-shell bead is one of 7 mm diameter from the south-west quadrant. The other two beads were made from the shells of Corbicula africana, a miniature, cockle-shaped, freshwater bivalve about 1,5 cm in length. To make the perforation, the swelling on the dorsal surface just exterior to the 'beak' was ground down until it was worn through (fig. 54, 19), in the same way as, but to a lesser extent than the grinding on the dorsal surfaces of cowries. The Corbicula beads may have been worn on strings or attached to clothing. A further six unperforated shells were recovered from the north-east quadrant. Their presence is difficult to explain unless it was intended to make beads of them for they are too small to be worth eating.

Three splinters of bone ground to well shaped points at one end and showing considerable polish from use can be classified as awls (fig. 54, 13). A well worked piece with flattened profile, parallel sides and blunt point (fig. 54, 14) resembles some examples from OÜ 1 (fig. 37, 20) but is incomplete. Such objects may have been used as matting needles.

Four fragments of flat spatulate implements show careful manufacture but are too incomplete to indicate what their purpose might have been (fig. 54, 15). This type of object was not observed in the other assemblages.

The great majority of bone implements fall into the category of bone scrapers as previously described. Most of them (94) are made from the split shafts of long-bones, three of them retaining a portion of an articular end. They vary in length from 10 cm downwards, some being broken. The remainder are made from portions of ribs (33) or flat fragments probably from scapulae (7), the former being up to 20 cm long. The typical convex working edges are frequently developed at both ends (fig. 54, 18) and they sometimes show repeated fracturing or flaking (fig. 54, 16) in addition to wear facets and polish.

Twelve rather coarse, pointed splinters show wear on and in the region of their tips (fig. 54, 17). However, they are too blunt to have been used as awls and they resemble the more pointed of the scrapers with the exception that they have been used obliquely rather than at right angles to the working surface. Their crudeness and variability suggests that they are extreme forms of the rather broad category of bone scrapers.

Although no jaw fragments have the wear facets characteristic of the mandibular scrapers from Midden 1, there are three specimens which may have been used as tools. These are parts of two maxillae and a mandible of cattle in which the crowns of the molars have been shattered to the extent that their surfaces form an almost flat, albeit jagged, plane. This is clearly post-mortem damage and it is concentrated on the crowns of the teeth, for the surrounding bone is not affected except where it protrudes as in the ascending ramus. They could have been used in a similar way to the mandibular scrapers, the shattering perhaps being intended to maintain a rough surface; however in the absence of worn or polished surfaces their identification as implements is uncertain.

The only worked shell from Midden 2 is one half of a Unio caffer shell which has had its more pointed end ground down for a distance of about one centimetre. The wear was at right angles to the long axis of the shell and it has produced a striated facet much like those on the bone scrapers. It was probably used for the same purpose as the bone scrapers, and it is the only Unio shell from all the assemblages that has been put to use.

FAUNAL REMAINS

The bones from the basal rubble were less well preserved than those from the upper levels, although this is probably due to the more soily character of the deposit rather than any significant chronological differences. For the rest preservation is good although the bone is as

usual fragmented. The faunal list includes the following species and minimum number of individuals:-

Cattle - adult	6
Cattle - juvenile	5
Sheep/Goat - adult	1
Sheep/Goat -juvenile	2
Alcelaphine antelope	
cf. Blesbuck	1
Viverrid - small	1
Shrew	1
Rodent - small	12
Frog	4
Fish - <u>Barbus sp.</u>	1
Crab	3
<u>Unio caffer</u>	28 (freshwater)
<u>Corbicula africana</u>	4 (bivalves)
<u>Achatina sp.</u>	2 (land snail)
Ostrich egg fragment	1

The results are comparable with the larger OO 1 sample and suggest a similar pattern of exploitation of both wild and domestic faunal species. They differ from the Type N samples, particularly Midden 1 at this site, in having many more cattle and relatively fewer antelope. Again the smaller burrowing animals are present, particularly rodents, and a number of bones show gnawing. The riverine species were collected in small quantities but Corbicula was probably not eaten as it is so small.

The fish remains, an anterior pterygiophore and a cleithrum, were identified by R.A. Jubb. They are from a Barbus species either B.holubi or B.kimberleyensis, probably a young specimen. Young of both species would be found in the upper reaches of the Klip River with larger fish further downstream.

CONCLUSIONS

Settlement Unit 2 together with the material from Midden 2 represents the first description of an Elongated Type V settlement unit and the material culture of its inhabitants. Such settlement units clearly represent a larger concentration of people and livestock than is normally the case with Type V, but the factors which contributed to this

concentration are as yet unknown. Some form of social stratification is suggested by the fact that elongated settlement units usually have a number of the smaller and more usual Type V examples built around them. The chief or headman of the settlement could be expected to have had a larger number of relatives and dependants and of livestock than other residential groups as represented by the other settlement units. The rarity of metal goods and ornaments does not, however, suggest much economic differentiation.

Although the chronological evidence is imprecise, the date of the occupation almost certainly falls somewhere between the early seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries. It would therefore be broadly contemporary with OO 1 and no doubt with many other Type V settlements. The ceramic industry also closely resembles the OO 1 assemblage (chapter 13), although there are minor differences such as the increase in grooved decoration which may prove to be regional variations. But in general the resemblance is strong enough to establish that the elongated settlement units are part of the Type V cultural tradition and not a separate archaeological entity.

APPENDIX 1 OF CHAPTER 6

SKELETAL REMAINS FROM OU 2 by H. De Villiers

OU 2 Burial 1

The skeletal remains comprise:

Cranium - the cranial vault bones are complete but the facial skeleton, except for the right zygomatic bone, is missing and the base has been damaged and fragmented. There is no mandible.

Teeth - one premolar tooth.

Post cranial skeleton - this consists of the following bones: one lumbar vertebra, two ribs, right humerus, right ulna, shaft and proximal extremity of left radius and a fragment of scapula. The sacrum together with the right and left innominate bones - damaged in the region of the ilium and ischium; right and left femur, right and left tibia, right and left fibula, patella, nine tarsal bones, one carpal bone, one metatarsal bone and eight phalanges. Also two fragments of animal bone.

Description

The remains are those of a fully adult South African Negro female, with an estimated stature of 160 cms. The cranium is both absolutely and relatively long - dolichocranial and of moderate height - orthocranial. It is ovoid in contour. There is slight frontal narrowing. The glabella is slightly curved and the superciliary eminences are slightly developed. The superior temporal line follows a moderately high course with an anterior convexity. The sphenoparietal suture appears to have been wide and the parietotemporal suture is convex rising above pterion, the posterior limb continues the convexity. The region above asterion is somewhat flattened. The mastoid process is small and the mastoid crest marked. The digastric fossa is shallow and ridged but not exposed posteriorly in norma lateralis. The posterior root of the zygoma is rounded in contour and slightly developed as is the supramastoid crest. In all these features the cranium corresponds closely with the South African Negro female cranium.

OU 2 Burial 2

The skeletal remains comprise:

Cranium - left frontal parietal, temporal and occipital bones damaged and fragmented.

Mandible - complete.

Teeth - Maxillary: the right lateral permanent incisor and first molar tooth are present. However, the sockets for the central incisor and left lateral incisor teeth provide evidence that these permanent teeth were present at the time of death. The deciduous canines too, were probably present at the time of death. The first and second deciduous molars are as yet in situ. The crowns of the second and third permanent molars had developed, although those of the third molars are missing.

Mandibular: the permanent central incisors are fully erupted. The lateral are in the process of erupting. The first permanent molars are present, as are the deciduous first and second molars and the left canine. The right deciduous canine was probably present at the time of death.

Post cranial skeleton - this is all but complete and consists of: five lumbar vertebrae and one thoracic vertebra; scapulae, manubrium and two sternbrae; 20 ribs; humeri, ulnae, left radius; six metacarpals; 11 phalanges; one sesamoid bone; sacrum, right ilium and ischium, left ilium, ischium and pubis; femora, tibiae, fibulae, right patella, six tarsal bones and epiphyses of the long-bones.

Description

The remains are those of a South African Negro child aged approximately eight years. It is not possible to assess the sex with any degree of accuracy at this young age. The apparent ortho-ovoidy, the hypsiconch orbits, the platyrrhine nose and the large teeth are in keeping with the generally Negroid morphology of this cranium. The mandible provides no further information as to the population - its features are essentially those of an immature individual, although as in the maxilla the permanent teeth are large.

OU 2 Midden 2
N.W. Quadrant

0-20cm.

20cm. to top of rubble

Number of sherds		2	4	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2		1	1	1	4	2	1	1	2	2	9	1	5	1	4	2	2	3	1	5	3	1			
Body sherds	Motif numbers			•		•		•	•		•	•		•	•			•	•		•	•				•	•		•		•		•		•		•		•		
Rim rounded			•			•		•			•										•																				
Rim flattened																																									
Rim pointed																																									
Rim misc.																																									
Plain surface		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Burnished surface																																									
Ochre burnish																																									
Black burnish																																									
Comb-stamping, pendant triangles	1																																								
" horizontal band	2																																								
" alternating diagonal panels	3																																								
" sherd too small	4																																								
Rim notches vertical	5																																								
Rim notches diagonal	6																																								
Misc. impressions on rim	7																																								
Finger-nail impressions on rim	8																																								
Finger-tip " " "	9																																								
Finger pinching " " "	10																																								
Applied band with pinching	11	•																																							
Applied band, other	12		•																																						
Finger impressions on body in zone	13			•	•																																				
" " parallel corrugations	14																																								
Cusps	15																																								
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	16																																								
Misc. body impressions	17																																								
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	18																																								
" " horizontal band	19																																								
" " pendant triangles	20																																								
" " chevron or arcade	21																																								
Ochre lines	22																																								
Dragged wavy lines	23																																								
Cross hatching	24																																								

OU 2 Midden 2
S.W. Quadrant

Number of sherds		2	5	2	1	1	4	5	2	4	2	1	2	1	10	5	6	23	1	1	1	4	6	20	3	3	7	2	1	3	11	7	5	28	6	17	1	2			
Body sherds	Motif numbers	•				•	•	•							•	•		•	•				•				•	•	•		•		•		•		•				
Rim rounded			•		•					•	•			•	•					•				•																	
Rim flattened				•												•								•																	
Rim pointed																•								•																	
Rim misc.																										•															
Plain surface					•		•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Burnished surface						•																																			
Ochre burnish		•	•	•				•	•																																
Black burnish																		•										•													
Comb-stamping, pendant triangles	1	•	•	•																																					
" horizontal band	2				•	•																																			
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" sherd too small	4						•	•	•																																
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" " chevron or arcade	16																																								
Ochre lines	17																																								
Dragged wavy lines	18																																								
Cross hatching	19																																								

S.W. Quadrant

OU 2 Midden 2

S.E. Quadrant
0-20cm.

Number of sherds		3	1	4	3	1	6	1	2	2	5	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	4	1	3	1	2	3	3	4	2	2	6	4	2	1	2	1	3	1	2	10	
Body sherds		•							•	•					•	•			•	•							•	•	•						•	•				
Rim rounded			•				•															•	•																	
Rim flattened							•															•	•																	
Rim pointed																							•																	
Rim misc.		•																																						
Plain surface		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•																											
Burnished surface																																								
Ochre burnish																																								
Black burnish																																								
Comb-stamping, pendant triangles	1																																							
" horizontal band	2																																							
" alternating diagonal panels	3																																							
" sherd too small	4																																							
Rim notches vertical	5																																							
Rim notches diagonal	5																																							
Misc. impressions on rim	6	•																																						
Finger-nail impressions on rim	7																																							
Finger-tip " " "	7																																							
Finger pinching " " "	7																																							
Applied band with pinching	8																																							
Applied band, other	8	•																																						
Finger impressions on body in zone	9		•	•	•																																			
" " parallel corrugations	9																																							
Cusps	10																																							
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Misc. body impressions	12																																							
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13																																							
" " horizontal band	14																																							
" " pendant triangles	15																																							
" " chevron or arcade	16																																							
Ochre lines	17																																							
Dragged wavy lines	18																																							
Cross hatching	19																																							

OU 2 Midden 2
S.E. Quadrant

0-20cm.

20cm. - top of rubble

Number of sherds		1	4	4	3	5	2		1	2	3	2	4	1	2	1	3	7	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1		
Body sherds	Motif numbers					•	•			•		•	•				•			•		•		•		•		•					•	•	•	•	•		
Rim rounded		•		•					•		•		•	•				•			•		•		•		•		•					•	•	•	•	•	
Rim flattened					•										•					•																			
Rim pointed			•													•																							
Rim misc.																	•																						
Plain surface		•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Burnished surface									•			•																											
Ochre burnish													•	•																								•	
Black burnish																																							
Comb-stamping, pendant triangles	1								•																														
" horizontal band	2																																						
" alternating diagonal panels	3																																						
" sherd too small	4									•	•	•	•	•																									
Rim notches vertical	5														•	•																							
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Finger-tip " " "	7																																						
Finger pinching " " "	7																																						
Applied band with pinching	8	•	•																																				
Applied band, other	8			•	•																																		
Finger impressions on body in zone	9					•																																	
" " parallel corrugations	9						•																																
Cusps	10																																						
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11																																						
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Dragged wavy lines	18																																						
Cross hatching	19																																					•	•

OND 3, T I H E L A

"Mekoatleng is inaccessible now, owing to the farmers' fences. It is still a beautiful place; and must have been indeed a happy hunting-ground for the Baroa five hundred years ago.... There one might have gazed upon a thousand scenes of beauty; there one could have watched the Moroa and his lively children enjoy the care-free day. And from such a place the Eye of the Child might have been flung, soaring in the heavens to become immortal through t'Kaggen's magic."

A.A. Moletsane.

The Mequatling area was a focus of settlement in Iron Age times as well as during the nineteenth century. It is the southernmost extent of Type V sites, being 150 km south-west of OO 1 and almost twice that distance from OU 2, while other types of settlement are also found here and further south. A number of sites were examined in the field, and in this connection the kindness and assistance of Mr. and Mrs. B. Amm and Dr. and Mrs. J. Geertheen is gratefully acknowledged. Mequatling has been spelt in various ways by different authors. According to the Lesotho orthography Mekoatleng would be correct, but Mequatling is used here as it is the current local form.

Viervoetberg forms part of the watershed between the Caledon Valley to the east and the headwaters of the Vet to the north-west. Although we are still within the region of Cymbopogon-Thameda grassveld, the slopes support a generous growth of bushes and small trees while true ravine forest develops in protected situations (Van Zinderen Bakker, 1971) such as on the farm Sherwood immediately north of OND 3.

In this area it is particularly noticeable that the Iron Age sites do not extend westwards below the 5 000 foot (1 500 m) contour which corresponds broadly with a change in topography to the open plains and also a decrease in annual rainfall to below 600 mm. West of Thaba Nchu settlements were not observed on the air photographs and it is an interesting but unanswered question to what extent the Sotho made use of this area before the advent of White settlers. There are traditions of habitation in the area from Bloemfontein to the Orange-Caledon confluence by the 'Bacouta' (Orpen, 1957, 5) and mention of the Ramokhele Taung on the Modder River, while Sotho place names extend beyond the limits of known Iron Age settlement in these areas (Webb, 1950). But a more intensive examination of the evidence, both archaeological and historical,

would be needed to establish whether there was permanent settlement on any scale or whether there were merely outposts, especially the cattle posts, of groups based on the better watered lands around Thaba Nchu and Mequatling.

The topography of the Caledon Valley and its fringes is dominated by the massive Cave Sandstone and associated sandstone strata of the lower Stormberg series which stand out as flat-topped ranges of hills or isolated mesas. On hillslopes the alternating bands of sandstone and softer sedimentary rocks weather to form a series of large natural terraces, their scarpe standing out boldly as lines of low cliffs or krans. These structural terraces and the mesas were favoured locations for Iron Age settlements for they offered a number of advantages. The near-vertical and sometimes overhanging krane would serve as an effective defence against attack from below and therefore such positions were chosen particularly during the troubled times of the Difaqane and after. Perhaps of more importance was the availability of stone on top of and on the slopes below the outcrop which would have meant a minimum distance for carrying building material. Cold air drainage at night time is more pronounced in this area of high relief than it is further north. The present inhabitants avoid building in the valleys for this reason.

Viervoetberg runs southward from Mequatling and its numerous projecting spurs produce a complex land form rising 300 m (1 000 ft) or more above the surrounding, undulating countryside (fig. 55). OND 3 is the southernmost Type V site; it is situated on the western slopes of Viervoet at Tihela, the scene of the Battle of Viervoet in 1851 when the forces of Moshweshwe and Molletsane defeated those of Warden (Webb, 1950; Tylden, 1950). As the historical evidence is crucial to the interpretation of the archaeological evidence from this area we will examine it in more detail after the descriptions of OND 2 and OND 3.

The OND 3 settlement is fairly extensive (fig. 55) and falls on several portions of the cadastral unit Strealfontein No. 117. It is cut by the road on the western side of Viervoet, and the settlement unit chosen for excavation is immediately on the west side of this road on the farm Kroonfontein (S29° 04' 08" E27° 18' 35"). The units are rather dispersed, often separated from each other by more than 100 m, and spread out on the natural terraces above or just below the low sandstone kranses which provided building material. The main Cave Sandstone bed forms the top of Viervoet 200 m above the settlement. The neighbouring streams are headwaters of the Vet River (Tikoane); one of them, about 700 m north of the excavations, seems to contain a perennial supply of water.

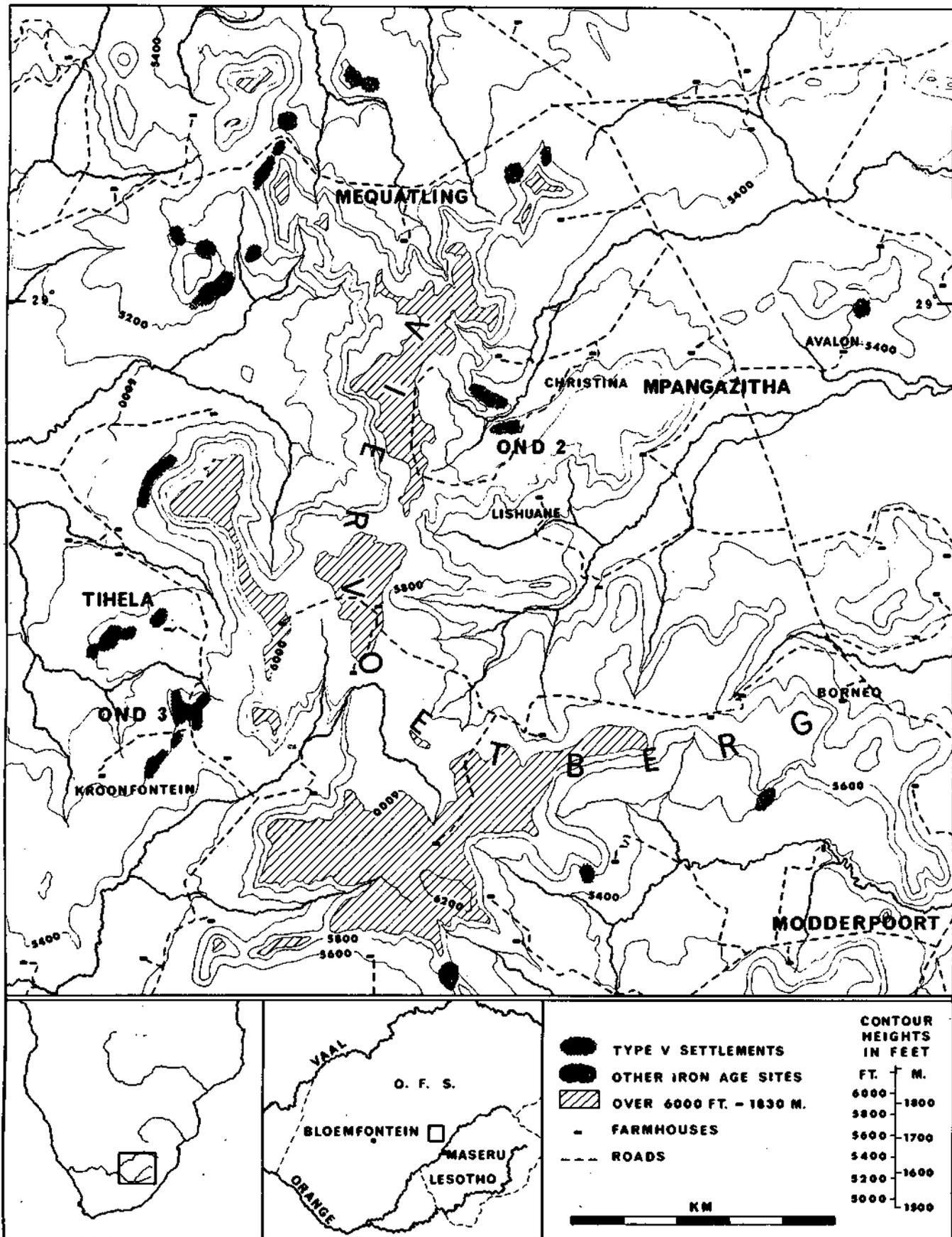


Fig. 55

The light soils of the area, particularly the Red Beds immediately above the site, have suffered considerably from erosion in recent years and the invasion of Karroo vegetation into the natural grassveld as a result of prolonged overgrazing was particularly evident. Trees and bushes have grown through the walls causing them to collapse, and livestock, taking advantage of the shade, have furthered the damage.

There are a variety of trees, among which Rhus species predominate, particularly the Karee (R.lancea). There appears to be a greater variety growing on the rocky slopes and in ravines than on the ruins (chapter 2, section 4) such that in Iron Age times wood must have been available both for building and for fuel. This is in marked contrast with the environment of the sites described in the preceding chapters and is certainly reflected in the architecture, for no corbelled huts were observed on the site nor indeed anywhere else in the Mequatling area.

THE SETTLEMENT UNIT

A week was spent on the site in August 1966, during which the settlement unit was surveyed and a small trench was dug through part of Hut 1 and the midden. Further work was carried out during November 1969 because a larger pottery sample was needed as well as more information on hut construction, for comparison with the other sites.

From the air photographs and from field inspection OND 3 seemed to be the best preserved Type V site in this area. There was no indication from the remains preserved above ground level to suggest white settler or missionary influence, although finds of glass beads on the surface did suggest a late date. The settlement unit chosen was the largest in this, the most accessible part of the site, and its smaller components such as hut floors remain in fairly good condition.

The unit covers an area of 115 by 90 metres. The centre consists of a characteristic Type V arrangement of primary enclosures linked with secondary walling around the large secondary enclosure. The walls are damaged to the point where details such as entrances are not always clear. The largest primary enclosure, on the north-west side (fig. 56) shows the lowering of floor level typical of Iron Age stock pens. The smaller enclosures do not seem to have been affected in this way but they too were apparently pens. On the eastern side the walling is most damaged and in several places it is discontinuous. The apparent wide and outward facing entrance of one enclosure on this side may be the result of damage or robbing, for the enclosure is more likely to have opened inwards.

OND 3

- STONE WALL
- STONE BASE OF WALL
- STONE PAVING

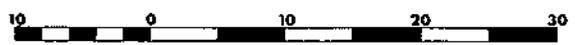
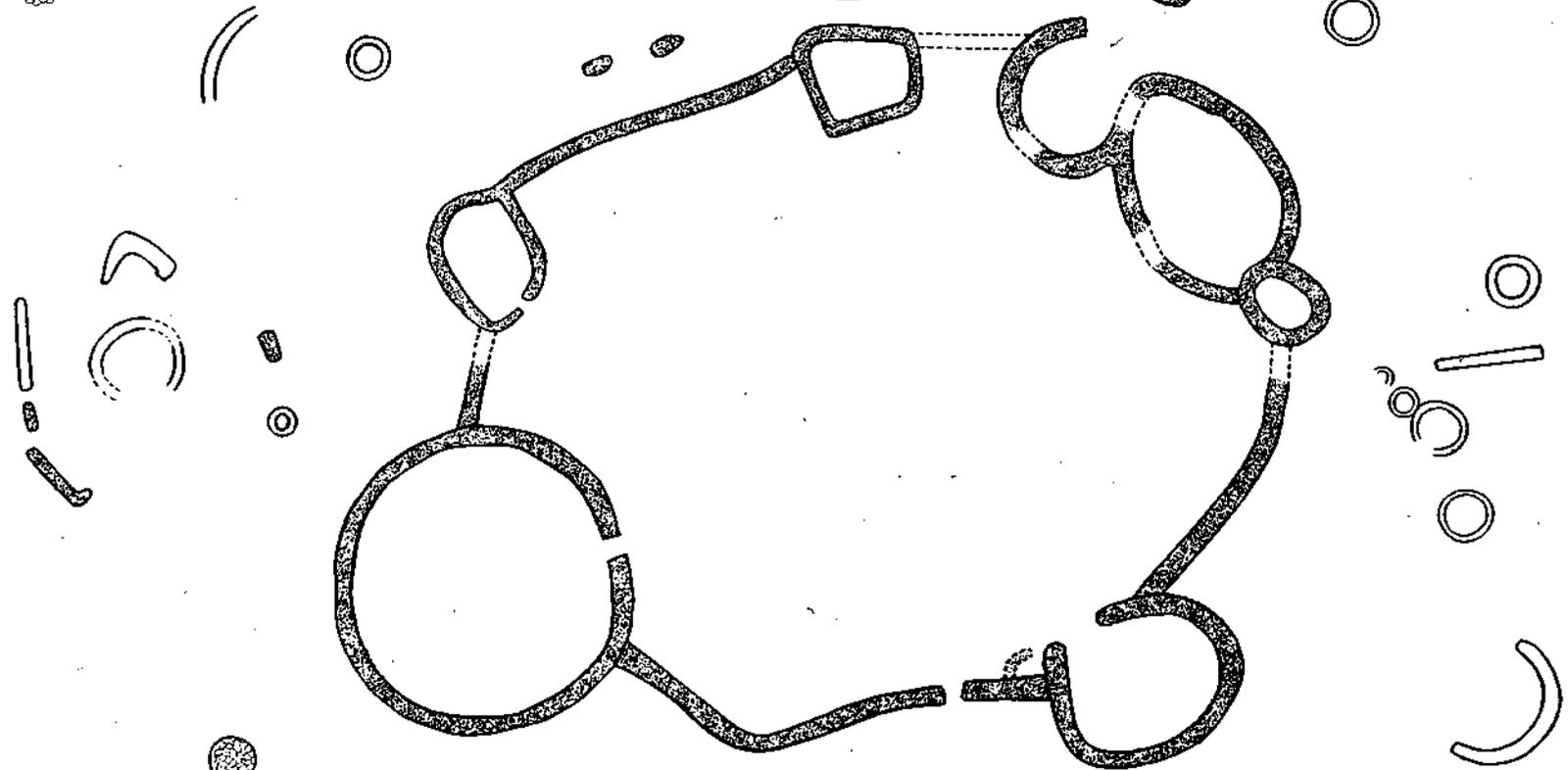
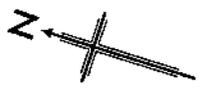
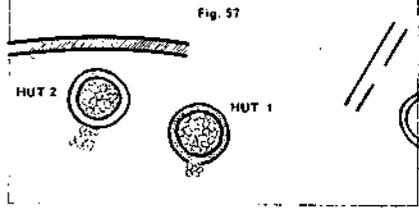


Fig. 56

The central secondary enclosure has a characteristic simple entrance to the west, although it was not possible to establish for certain that there were no other entrances. It is interesting to note that by using this entrance the livestock would have gone in and out without passing close to the huts, which are concentrated on the other three sides of the settlement unit. Immediately to the right of the entrance on entering is a small, roughly built secondary feature which may have served as a shelter for herders.

Three types of structure occur in the area around the central complex: hut floors, stone platforms and short double rows of stones. Although their arrangement is not entirely regular it does show a pattern of ordering. The platforms tend to be closest to the central complex and they usually have hut floors adjacent to them but further from the centre. The rows of stones are at the periphery of the unit but usually beside one or more hut. These stones are all that remain of some sort of screening walls whose superstructure was perhaps built of mud and reeds.

The platforms are two or three stones high, up to about 40 cm, a metre or more wide and from about two to five metres long. Although their upper surfaces are not very level, there is no evidence to indicate any superstructure and it therefore seems that they were platforms. One of them, the closest to the large primary enclosure towards the northern end of the site, was cleaned up and photographed (Plate 46). Numerous sherds were found beside it, most of which belonged to a pot with tall neck and unusual decoration (fig. 59, 18) but there were no other significant finds. The evidence is therefore insufficient to establish what their function was, but from their form and position relative to the other structures it is most likely that they were sesiu stands. Although they differ from the stone circles at 00 1, similar stone platforms are sometimes used to support a sesiu in Lesotho today (Walton, 1956a, Plate 106). During fieldwork we obtained a modern sesiu which showed that the platform was of suitable dimensions to accommodate two such grain baskets.

The hut floors appear from surface indications to be of three types. Some are mere paved circles, some in addition have a row of stone marking their periphery while the third group have the ring of stones but seem to lack the paved floor. No example of the latter type was excavated and therefore the absence of paving is not certain. In one case there are more stones than just a single row, suggesting that there may have been two or three courses of stonework at the base of the wall.

Three of the smallest circles have an internal diameter of 1,5 m or less which is very small for a hut so they may have served some other



Plate 46. Stone platform at OND 3 probably built to support two large grain baskets (seeiu).



Plate 47. OND 3, Hut 2. Paving exposed on near side and entrance, far side showing daga floor with pottery in situ.

purpose. Excluding these, twelve are considered to be huts although there may have been a few more which are no longer visible on the surface. No evidence of rebuilding was noticed and the unit seems to have had a single and not very prolonged occupation as there is only one midden of any size. A minimum population of about 35 individuals would seem a reasonable estimate. In several cases the huts are grouped in pairs usually in association with a screening wall and stone platform. This pattern would reflect some aspect of the kinship structure, perhaps polygamous households.

Although no traces were found of reed courtyards enclosing the huts there may have been some such features as described by Backhouse (1844) from Mequatling and by other early writers on the Caledon Valley.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Hut 1

During 1966 a line of one metre squares was laid down from the centre of the hut extending into the adjacent midden. It was hoped thus to learn something of the hut construction and its relationship to the midden. The squares numbered in figure 57 were excavated.

Within the hut there was a thin layer of yellow sandy soil which contained much pottery (Layer 1) over a hard grey clay (Layer 2) which in turn rested on the paved floor. Layer 2 is clearly a daga which formed the actual floor of the hut. Towards the centre there was a red discolouration and some carbonized seeds indicating a fire. Layer 2 becomes thicker towards the centre as the paving slopes downward in this direction. In Square 5 the edge of the paving and daga was reached about 20 cm before the circle of larger stones but there was no sign of a wall construction in the gap. Some ashy soil was noted beneath one of the larger stones but as there has been some disturbance this is no reason to suggest that the hut is not contemporary with the midden. The original ground surface is a hard yellow-brown sandy soil. Squares 9 and 10 consisted of grey-brown midden material which had been extensively disturbed by burrowing and showed no trace of stratigraphy. The pottery from them has been included with that from the north-west quadrant of the midden for the purposes of analysis. However, that from Hut 1 has been excluded as it consists of a large number of minute ochre burnished sherds from one or perhaps two vessels whose inclusion skewed the sample.

OND 3

EXCAVATIONS

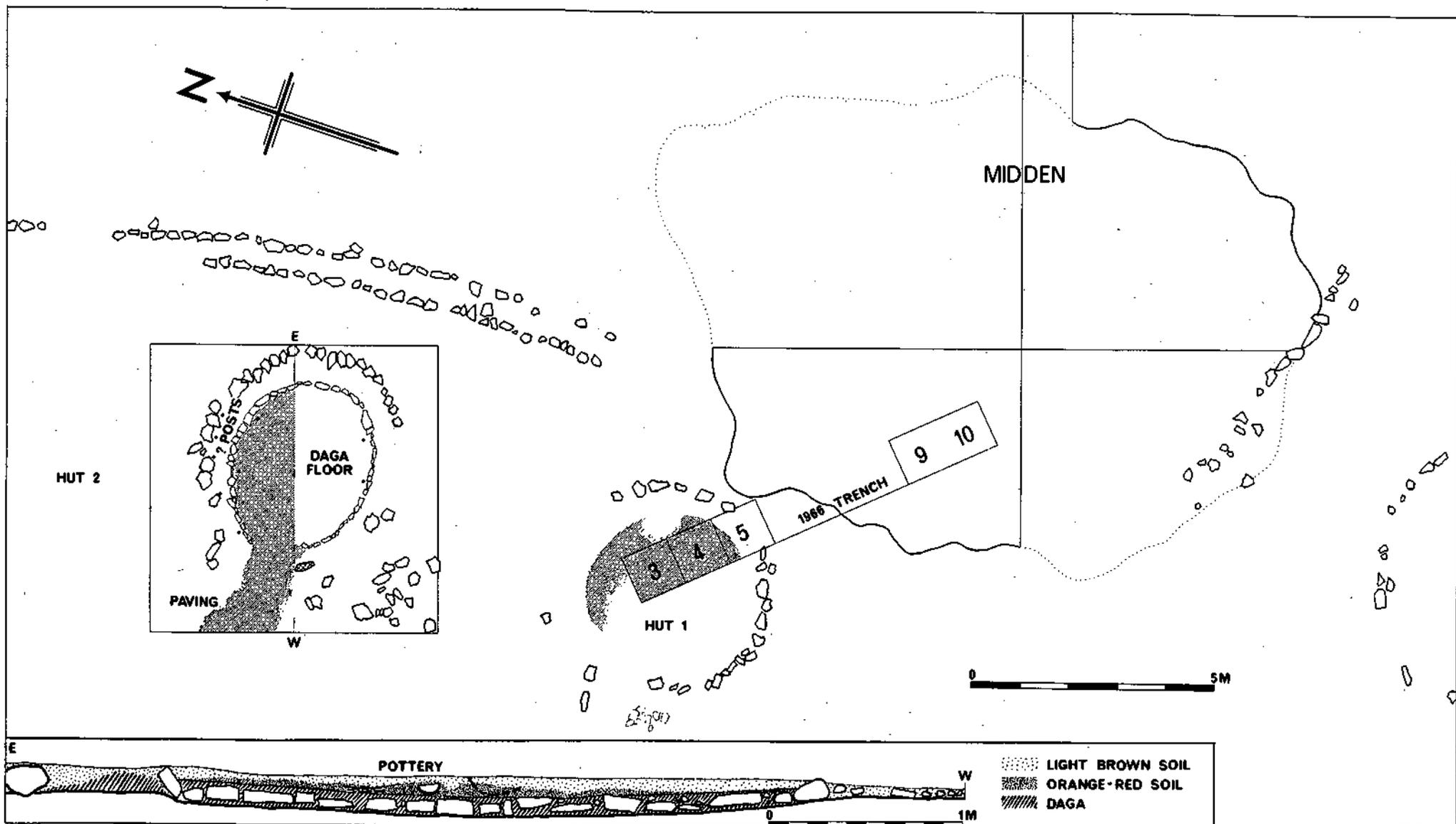


Fig. 57

Hut 2

During the 1969 visit an area of 17 by 30 metres was marked out to include Hut 1, the midden and the adjacent hut to the north (Hut 2) together with two of the screening walls (fig. 57). Hut 2 was examined in detail to see how far its construction differed from huts on other sites, notably OXF 1 (chapter 9).

The periphery of the hut was marked by a row of angular sandstone blocks which rest on the original ground surface, with perhaps a little daga below some of them. The oval shape of the hut thus indicated was bisected by an east-west line and the northern half was excavated first. The stratigraphy within the hut consisted of a few centimetres of light brown, sandy but firm soil with little cultural material above a redder and softer sandy layer 2-5 cm thick which contained much cultural material, particularly in the centre and rear parts of the hut. This rested directly on a hard daga floor which covered and filled the gaps between the paving. Further daga was found beneath the paving, followed by the hard, light brown sandy material of the natural soil.

It is evident from the section (fig. 57) that a gentle hollow was excavated into the original ground surface before the floor was laid down. The daga beneath the paving and between it and the peripheral row of stones was of the same grey-green colour and waxy texture as that from Hut 1. It appears to be a partly weathered shale which produces a hard daga and may in addition have helped to exclude dampness. By contrast, the daga above the paving, which formed the floor, seems mainly to be weathered dolerite which is available from a dyke which cuts through the site a couple of hundred metres to the north.

The edge of the paving is marked by a row of slabs tilted at about 45° and protruding above the daga floor (Plate 47). These must have leaned against the inside of the wall; they stand on the edge of the hollow and appear to be supported by the daga. The peripheral stones must have rested against or been incorporated into the outer face of the wall as is sometimes the case in Lesotho today (Walton, 1956a, Plate 91). The gap between inner and outer stones is around 40 cm which suggest, together with the daga found in the gap, that the hut had a thick daga wall. This is more in keeping with the cone-on-cylinder shape than with the hemispherical shape described by early visitors to the area.

The hut was elongated in the direction of its doorway and the paving continues through the entrance and for a distance in front, although it becomes more like cobbling here. The peripheral stones are disturbed but there is some indication that they may have extended forward on either side.

of the entrance to form a short passage entrance about a metre in length. The evidence for such passages on hemispherical huts has been discussed above (chapter 1) while in Lesotho today many cone-on-cylinder huts have passages.

Among the reddened sandy material on the floor were numbers of carbonized pieces of stick. Some thicker ones about three centimetres in diameter were found in more or less upright positions, two on either side of the hut and others among the peripheral stones of the north side. They are not strong enough to have been major structural items but may have been part of the wall construction. Those within the hut may have been stands for clothing and other items as illustrated by Casalis (1861, 126-7) from Rolong and Sotho huts. However, none were in definite post holes and they did not extend through the paving or to any depth, therefore their identification as posts is not certain. Like the smaller sticks they may be fallen parts of the roof structure.

There was much scattered pottery but sufficient remained relatively undisturbed to enable the reconstruction of four large storage pots and a smaller one (fig. 58), a small bowl and a pedestal cup (fig. 59). Some of the largest must have contained plant seeds, for carbonized remains of at least three species were recovered from among the remains of these vessels towards the back of the hut. Towards the centre a string of glass beads, a metal button and a gun flint (Plate 48) were found on the floor. The latter is of particular importance as it fixes the period of the hut between about 1835 and 1865 on historic evidence which will be discussed below. Towards the rear on the south side a small patch of soft, grey-white shale may have been collected for colouring matter.

That the hut burnt down is attested by red and black discolouration on the floor as well as the material above it, the carbonized botanical remains and the altered colour of some of the glass beads. Yet it would not have been voluntarily abandoned with the quantity of pottery, food and the string of beads left behind. The evidence of fire in Hut 1 suggests that this was not merely an accidental fire in a single hut.

The Midden

As with the other Type V sites the midden was divided into four quadrants for excavation. Two of these, opposite to one another, were excavated, Squares 9 and 10 of the 1966 trench falling within the north-west quadrant.

Disturbance by small mammals and ants was so extensive that none of the deposit seems to be in situ and the limits of the midden have probably

spread as a result. The material is a grey-brown ashy soil typical of disturbed middens. The sections showed so many recent burrows that it was not considered worth drawing them. Unlike the sites further north this midden contained numerous pieces of charcoal which reflects the environmental difference. A sample was collected for dating but in view of the evidence for a nineteenth century date it was not submitted for processing.

The pottery is particularly fragmented and only about 2% of the sherds are decorated, however sufficient was obtained to give a coherent picture of the assemblage.

Although the midden is adjacent to only four of the huts it was probably the rubbish dump for several others as well, for apart from one or two patches of ashy material no other middens were noted in this settlement unit. The bases of two walls next to the midden are similar to those elsewhere on the site. There is a gap between the two rows of stones of about 40 cm, similar to that of the huts which would again suggest a mud wall, however the possibility of a reed structure supported by a daga kerb (Plate 36) cannot be excluded. There is no rubble in the vicinity so they could never have been stone walls. The wall on the south side has been disturbed and is now partly covered by the midden but it would originally have been beyond or on the margin of the midden. Indeed the positions of both walls would have helped to screen the huts from dust blowing off the dump. This suggests a link with the Type N sites where rubbish was dumped just outside the surrounding walls. Although at OND 3 these walls were not continuous their functions may well have been similar, that is to define the living area rather than for defence.

THE FINDS : POTTERY

Fabric

The pottery from this site is made from clay which includes some sand and rounded pieces of grit. It is not clear whether these were deliberately added to the clay or occurred naturally in it, although the former seems more likely. Such clay could be found in the valley below the site or elsewhere in the vicinity. In many cases pottery grog has been added, but only in small quantities. Small nodules of soft calcareous material is sometimes included. These sometimes break down leaving hollow spaces.

Many sherds have a dark core indicating a relatively short and low temperature firing. Two of the large pots from Hut 2 (fig. 58, 1 & 2) have an additional dark layer about one millimetre thick close to their inner surfaces. In places this has scaled off to expose what seems to be a previous surface and it looks as if a thin layer of clay about two millimetres thick was smeared on the insides of these two pots after an initial firing. The fabric of these pots is particularly friable so the second layer of clay may have been added in an effort to refurbish them.

The colour of the ware varies from buff to brown or grey and in some vessels this continues throughout the thickness of the walls. The large pots from Hut 2 have darker patches on their sides or within from contact with the fuel during firing, but none of them seem to have been used for cooking as there is no fire blackening or soot incrustation on the reconstructed vessels.

Burnish

All sherds from the midden were examined for surface treatment and the details are included in the table. The majority of burnished sherds, some 466, also have ochre, while 332 show burnish without the addition of any colouring matter and 32 have a black burnish. Only a small proportion of sherds show any burnish but among decorated sherds this increases to half of the total with a great predominance of ochre burnish.

Among the pottery from Hut 1 there was a large number of ochre burnished sherds. These are thin and probably come from one or two small vessels but they are so fragmented that no reconstruction was possible. A rim sherd has, however been illustrated in figure 59, 9 and it is apparent that the vessel had a short upright neck, flattened rim, lacked decoration and may have been of approximately spherical shape. Although a high proportion of the burnished vessels were also decorated, there were some small, well made and burnished vessels of the shape described, which were undecorated.

Decoration

The numerical data on decoration, burnish and rim profiles were obtained only from the sample of pottery excavated from the midden. The sherds from Huts 1 and 2 derive from a very limited number of vessels and therefore their inclusion would bias the results in favour of the characteristics of these few vessels.

The degree of fragmentation of the OND 3 pottery as well as the relatively small sample of decorated sherds has meant that little can be

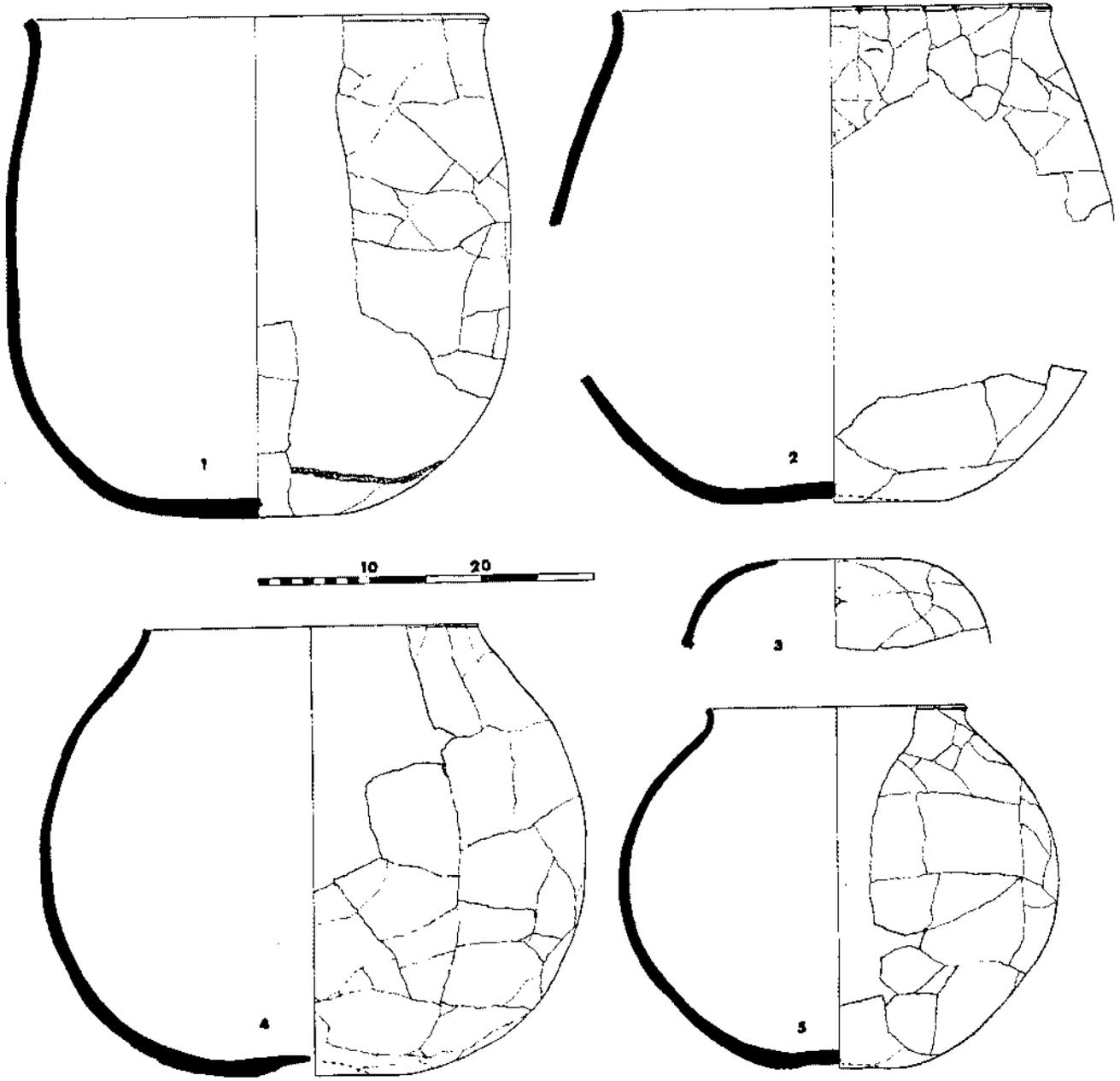


Fig. 58

Figure 58

Large vessels from Hut 2

1. Large bag-shaped pot with short everted neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Flat base and flattened rim. Buff-brown, blackened in places with dark core and second dark layer near the surface on the lower portion of the inside indicating the addition of another layer of clay some 2 mm thick. Clay mixed with grit and calcareous nodules. Hut 2, extreme rear.
2. Large bag-shaped pot with slightly hollowed base, otherwise very similar to No. 1. Hut 2, rear.
3. Sub-spherical pot with rounded rim. Grit and crushed pottery grog. Buff-brown. Hut 2, south side.
4. Large bag-shaped pot with short inward-sloping neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Dimpled base and flattened rim. Brown with dark core. Grit. Hut 2, centre rear.
5. Large near-spherical pot with short upright neck and poorly defined point of inflection. Dimpled base and flattened rim. Buff throughout. Fine grit and pottery grog. Hut 2, centre.

TABLE OF SURFACE FINISHES AND RIM PROFILES ON THE POTTERY
FROM OND 3 MIDDEN

	DECORATED SHERDS			UNDECORATED SHERDS				TOTALS
	Plain	Burnished		Plain	Burnished			
		Burnish	Ochre		Black	Burnish	Ochre	
RIM SHERDS								
Rounded	5	1	11	72	1	6		96
Flattened	28	4	16	264	11	30		353
Pointed				7				
Misc.	32		5	21				58
BODY SHERDS	32	3	10	5785	312	388	32	6562
TOTALS	97	8	42	6149	324	424	32	7076

DECORATED SHERDS FROM OND 3 MIDDEN

Motif	Motif No.	No. of Sherds	%
Rim notches	5	12	19
Misc. impressions on rim	6	17	27
Finger " "	7	26	41
Applied band	8	4	6
Finger impressions on body	9	3	5
Cusps	10	1	2
Ochre lines	17	1	2
		64	102

said of the shape of the decorated vessels and only small sherds could be used to illustrate the range of decoration.

Comb-stamping accounts for 14% of decoration but because of the fragmentation it was only possible to establish the actual motif used in two cases. These were two adjacent sherds from the concave neck of a vessel where the comb-stamping forms a horizontal band filled in by oblique lines of stamping (fig. 59, 3). It is likely that horizontal bands and pendant triangles were the main comb-stamped motifs, although no definite example of the latter was recovered. As is generally the case in the Orange Free State, a considerable proportion of the comb-stamped sherds have an ochre burnish.

The predominant type of decoration, amounting to 33% of the total, consists of a row of V-shaped notches on the rim. These may be vertical or more commonly oblique (fig. 59, 5-8); they tend to be applied to relatively thin, well-made vessels, many of which are also burnished with red ochre.

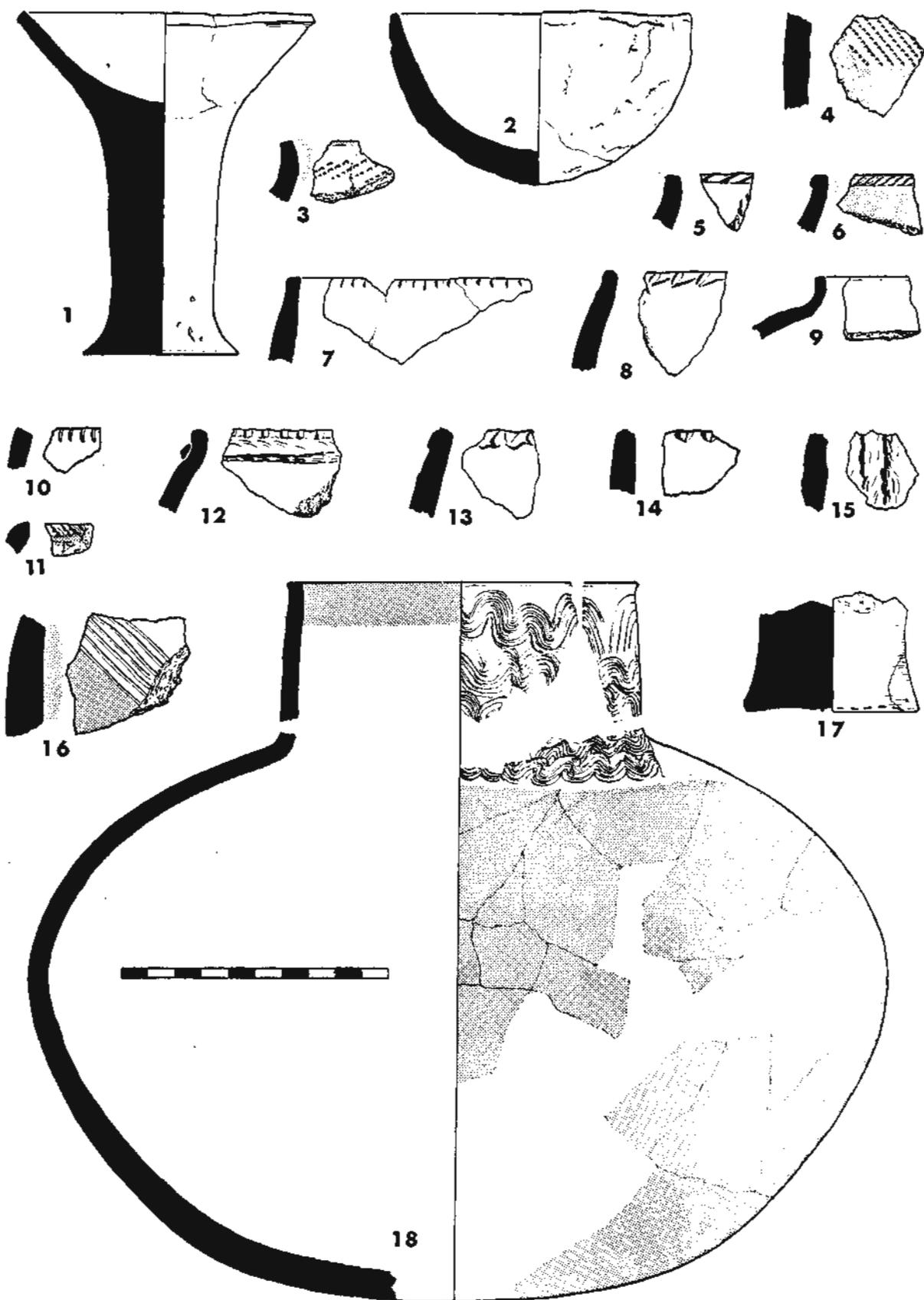


Fig. 59

Figure 59

Pottery from Hut 2 and Midden.

1. Pedestal cup of chalice shape and with flattened rim. Buff-brown throughout, some fine grit and calcareous nodules. Hut 2, centre rear.
2. Hemispherical bowl of small size and coarse manufacture. Buff. Pottery grog and grit. Found intact and right-side-up in the centre of Hut 2.
3. Sherd with curved neck and flattened rim. Band of comb-stamping in oblique lines on neck and red ochre burnish. Buff with dark core. Midden, S.E. quadrant.
4. Sherd with comb-stamping but too small to determine the motif. Ochre burnish. Dark grey. Midden, S.E. quadrant.
5. Sherd with flattened rim and oblique notches on rim. Burnished. Orange with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
6. Sherd with flattened rim and oblique notches. Red ochre. Buff with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
7. Sherd with flattened rim and vertical notches. Grey-brown with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
8. Sherd with slightly rolled-over rim with oblique notches. Grey with dark core. Midden, S.E. quadrant.
9. Sherd from vessel with upright neck and poorly defined point of inflection. No decoration but well burnished. Brown to grey with dark core. Hut 1, Square 4.
10. Sherd with flattened rim and row of miscellaneous impressions made with a curved object on the rim. Buff with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
11. Sherd with rounded rim and row of miscellaneous impressions perhaps made with a comb held obliquely. Red ochre. Buff with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
12. Sherd with flattened rim, row of vertical notches and applied band of clay which has been pinched between fingers. Buff with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
13. Sherd with finger-pinching on rim. Grey-buff with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
14. Sherd with fingertip impressions including nail marks on rim. Buff with dark core. Midden, N.W. quadrant.
15. Body sherd with parallel rows of finger-pinching forming corrugations. Buff with dark core.
16. Body sherd with shallow parallel grooves but too small to determine the motif. Red ochre. Grey with dark core. Midden, S.E. quadrant.
17. Pedestal base of a vessel perhaps similar to No. 1 but the pedestal is considerably thicker. Grey-brown with dark core. Pottery grog. Hut 1, Square 4.
18. Sub-spherical pot with tall upright neck and fairly well defined point of inflection. Round base and flattened rim. Dragged decoration in a series of wavy lines, one above the other on neck and shoulder. Ochre burnish inside rim and below decoration of body. Buff with dark core. Some pottery grog and grit. Beside stone platform towards north end of site.

Somewhat similar to the rim notches are the miscellaneous rim impressions which form 18% of the decoration. These are made in a variety of ways, usually by a stylus (fig. 59, 10) while some seem to have been made by a comb held obliquely (fig. 59, 11).

A variety of finger-impressed decoration occurs on rims, applied bands and bodies of vessels. Most commonly this is on the rim and three variations are found here: fingernail impressions, fingertip impressions and impressions from pinching between thumb and forefinger (fig. 59, 13 & 14). Altogether these form 14% of decoration, the two latter types being most frequent. The applied band with finger-pinching motif is represented by only one sherd, that being a rim with a row of notches in addition to the band (fig. 59, 12). Finger impressions on the body form 6% of the decoration and consist of rows of finger-pinching forming corrugations (fig. 59, 15); no examples of individual fingertip impressions on the body were recovered as was the case at the other Type V sites.

Parallel rows of stylus impressions on or below the rim occur on 5% of decorated sherds. The shapes of the impressions are variable but triangular ones are most common. Miscellaneous body impressions include various forms which do not fall within the other categories and also examples where sherds are too small for the complete motif to be determined.

One sherd had a series of parallel grooves on it in association with an ochre burnish (fig. 59, 16).

The only motif recorded from QND 3 which does not occur at the main Type V site, QD 1, is the dragged wavy line decoration (fig. 59, 18). This accounts for only 3% of decorated sherds from the midden and it is not yet known from any other Orange Free State site. While clearing one of the stone platforms at the northern end of the settlement unit for photographing a large number of sherds with this decoration were found and it was possible to reconstruct the vessel. The decoration consists of seven or eight parallel grooves about one millimetre wide forming a wavy band about 11 mm in width. Several of these bands occur one above the other on the neck and shoulder of the pot; the lines may have been made with a bunch of grass stems, but in view of the regularity in size and spacing of the individual grooves it seems more likely that a dentate object, such as the comb used in comb-stamping, was used. The shape of this pot is also unusual with its tall upright neck, and on present evidence it is not clear whether this combination of features is a purely local development or perhaps one that has been introduced from somewhere else.

Rim form

The most prominent characteristic of the rims is the predominance of flattened profiles. At most of the sites examined, flattened rims are less common than rounded ones, and even at OND 2 which is only a few kilometres distant (chapter 8) the two forms have nearly the same frequency, whereas at OND 3 almost 70% of rims are flattened. This is not the result of inverting the pot for drying, for in many cases the flattening does not occur in a horizontal plane but slopes inwards or outwards (fig. 58, 1, 2, 4 & 5). Quite often the rim is slightly thickened on the outside as a result of this process.

Most of the remaining rims are rounded while a few are pointed or irregular in profiles as indicated in the table above.

Vessel form

The sherds from the midden are too fragmentary to give much information on vessel form, but the reconstructed pottery from Hut 2 helps to fill this gap, although it does not cover the full range of vessels. The three largest pots (fig. 58, 1, 2 & 4) are very similar; they are bag- or barrel-shaped with slight necks and poorly defined points of inflection. The other large pot, although somewhat smaller and more spherical in shape is similar. The flat base of No. 1 is in character with pottery from other Iron Age sites in this region and also with ethnological material from the Sotho (Lawton, 1967). Four fragments of flat bases were recovered from the north-west quadrant of the midden and one from the south-east. The concave 'dimpled' bases of figure 58, 2, 4 & 5 are, however a rather unexpected feature and one that was not observed on other Orange Free State sites.

None of these four large pots showed signs of fire blackening on the outside which would normally be the case if they had been used for cooking. However, the quantities of carbonised seed that were found on the floor of Hut 2 in the rear section from which these pots came, suggests that they were used for storage.

Sub-spherical pots are represented by one from the southern side of Hut 2 (fig. 58, 3) which has no neck nor decoration, and the example with dragged wavy line decoration and a tall upright neck from the stone platform already described.

A small, coarsely made hemispherical bowl was recovered from the middle of Hut 2. Similar bowls occur at OO 1 but their function is unknown.

Of considerable interest is the chalice-shaped pedestal cup, also

recovered from the floor of Hut 2 (fig. 59, 1). Its shape is reminiscent of European metal or glass vessels and in view of the evidence on the date of Hut 2 it is possible that the potter was influenced by an imported vessel, perhaps seen at the nearby Mequatling Mission.

Part of another pedestal was recovered from the floor of Hut 1. It is thicker than the other and curves outwards more steeply and therefore was probably not as tall. It is too fragmentary for anything to be said about the shape of the upper part but it was probably a pedestal cup of some sort.

These two occurrences raise the question of the origin of pedestal cups in our area. Among ethnological collections pedestal-based cups are very characteristic of the Sotho (Lawton, 1967, 130) and they are still a prominent feature of the pottery of Lesotho and the eastern Orange Free State. The pedestals are around five centimetres or more in height and the cups are usually tulip-shaped (Plate 79).

Pedestal cups from Iron Age contexts are rare; Schofield illustrates two from his M2 ware at Mapungubwe (Fouché, 1937; Plates 25 & 30) but the pedestals are much lower and the shape is different. Parts of two pedestals were recovered from middens at OO 1 (fig. 31, 5 & 6) but they are too fragmentary for the shape of the cups to be established. This is also true of the pedestal from OU 1 (fig. 43, 4), but in all three cases the shape and size are comparable with recent pedestal cups and the writer knows of no other pottery object made in this area, which might have a similar pedestal. Therefore, although the evidence is not conclusive, it is very likely that pedestal-based cups were a part of the pottery tradition of the southern Highveld before the advent of direct European influence in the nineteenth century.

Certainly the Sotho potters of the latter nineteenth century and more recently had a vigorous attitude to external influences which they readily adopted and developed along their own lines (Lawton, *op.cit.*, 113 & 118). The zoomorphic lidded pots of hens sitting on nests are said to be developed from similar vessels in glass or porcelain used by the French missionaries (Amm, pers.comm.). If this was also the origin of the OND 3 chalice-shaped cup it shows that this adaptability was already present by the mid-nineteenth century. Apart from these cups, however, there are no signs of external influence in the OND 3 pottery assemblage.

Two sherds of glazed earthenware and a chip of glass were recovered from the north-west quadrant of the midden. The sherds are of a soft white ware with white glaze. They were identified by H. Fransen of the South African National Gallery as Dutch or German Boerebont of the nineteenth

century and the other piece as probably English blue and white ware also of the nineteenth century.

A short piece of a clay pipe stem with the letters GOUD stamped on it, found on the surface, is clearly of Dutch origin.

OTHER CERAMIC OBJECTS

Apart from some fragmentary pieces of fired clay whose original forms can not be determined, there is only one figurine from this site. The head and forequarters are missing so that it is not possible to determine what sort of animal was intended (fig. 60, 4) but it is comparable in shape and size with the smaller cattle figurines from 00 1 (fig. 60, 1).

A sherd has had its edges ground down to produce a disc, without perforation, about 3,5 cm in diameter (fig. 60, 1).

Fragmentary remains of two spoons were collected on the surface, one from within a hut. One has a complete handle 6 cm long, cylindrical but slightly tapering (fig. 60, 2). Both had large bowls one of which was at least 9 cm in length, but they are too damaged to determine the exact size or shape.

A single spherical pottery bead 1,5 cm in diameter was recovered from the midden (fig. 60, 5). It may have been an attempt to reproduce the large round imported beads in a local material.

Impressions of plant remains in fired clay include a single piece of daga with reed impressions from Square 5, at the edge of Hut 1; two sherds with seed impressions, one of a cucurbit and the other of sorgum, from the midden, and finally a basket or mat impression. The latter shows the impressions of at least four parallel rows of plaited material (Plate 48). The fibre was about one millimetre thick and it appears that three fibres were used for each of the three strands of the plaiting. The sherd with the impressions is too small to give any idea of the original form of the object.

OBJECTS MADE OF STONE

A flat rounded pebble from Hut 1 was probably used as a burnisher as it is well polished on either side.

The most interesting stone implements are the gun flints, one from the floor of Hut 2 and four from the midden. The former is the most regularly shaped example; it is rectangular, apparently made from a longer blade and it has been well used on all four edges (Plate 48). It

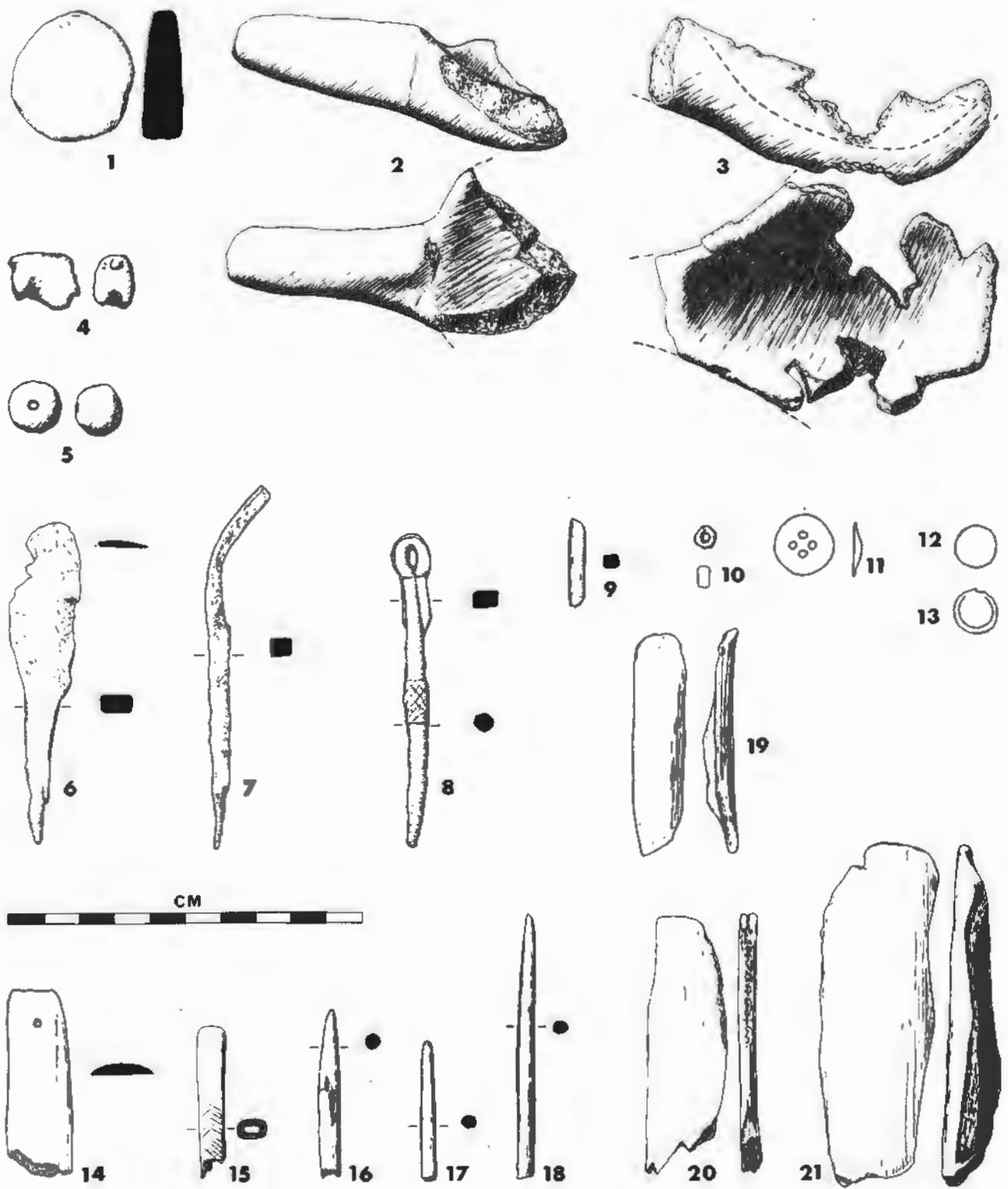


Fig. 60



Plate 48. Sherd with pleated impression and two gun flints from OND 3. Centre from Hut 2, left and right from midden. Scale in cm.



Plate 49. View across OND 2 site looking northwards. The three poles mark the centres of the three larger enclosures.

has patinated to a dull grey which obscures the original colour but it may well be an imported flint. Of the other four, two are made on flakes and two on irregular chunks. Each has only two used edges and they are made from stone resembling the local agate. The two on flakes in particular could well be re-used Late Stone Age debitage.

Several stone flakes and chunks and a backed crescent found in the midden and on the surface are probably unrelated to the Iron Age occupation.

METAL ITEMS

The excavations were too small in scale to yield a representative collection of metal work.

Several flat pieces of iron were recovered from the midden and from the surface, but they are too corroded or incomplete for any reconstruction to be attempted. A small knife or spear head from the south-east quadrant of the midden has a rectangular, tapering tang and flat blade from which the tip is missing (fig. 60, 6). A tapering iron rod with square section may have been a tang (fig. 60, 7).

A tang of a lebeko with its blade missing came from Square 10 of the midden. Its identification was a problem until it was compared with specimens collected from Lesotho in the late nineteenth century (Lindsay Fairclough collection in the Natal Museum). These are shorter and heavier than the examples from OO 1 (fig. 35) and have a well made eye like the present specimen (fig. 60, 8). Furthermore, they have a thicker portion towards the centre of the tang which is decorated with cross-hatching, on close examination the same feature can be seen on the OND 3 example.

An iron bead, 6 mm in diameter is much corroded but similar to examples from OO 1 (fig. 60, 10).

Finds of copper included several small pieces of sheet and two short pieces of 4 mm diameter wire, flattened on two sides and cut at either end (fig. 60, 9), but no finished articles.

Several imported buttons, made of brass or some other copper alloy, were found. They are of two basic types, discs with four central holes (fig. 60, 11) and sub-spherical hollow buttons made from two pieces (fig. 60, 12 & 13). The latter may be attached either by a metal loop or by two holes in the under side. Similar buttons may be seen in early collections of ethnological material.

The imported metal items and glass beads were shown to Roger Summers who was kind enough to prepare a list of comments.

GLASS BEADS AND METAL BUTTONS

Locality	No	Colour	Shape	Diameter mm	Ref. No
Hut 2	24	Pink-red on white	Oblate	3,5-4	1
"	19	White	Oblate	3-3,5	2
"	1	Greenish	Cylinder	5	3
"	1	Metal button	Disc	16,5	4
"	1	Metal button	Disc	17	5
Midden N.W. Quadrant	1	Pink-red on white	Oblate	3,5	6
"	1	Yellow on white	Cylinder	3	7
"	2	Blue and white stripes on white	Cylinder	5-5,5	8
"	2	O.E.S. beads		5-6	9
"	1	Brass ? button	Half sphere	6-7	10
"	1	Light blue	Cylinder	3,5	11
S.E. Quadrant	1	Brass button	Half sphere	12	12
North-western hut	1	Blue	Oblate	12,5	13
Hut north of Hut 2	1	Brass button	Sub-sphere	12	14
Surface	1	Turquoise with white dots	Oblate	9	15
"	1	Blue	Oblate	6,5	16
"	1	Black-red	Facetted	5	17
"	1	Lemon yellow	Cylinder	3	18
"	2	White	Cylinder	2-2,5	19
"	1	White	Cylinder	3,5	20
"	1	Brass ? Button	Half sphere	7,5	21
"	1	Clay pipe stem marked GOUD		7	22

BEADS AND BUTTONS - comments by R. Summers

1. This is of transparent red ('ruby') glass which has been corroded. It does not appear in Beck's lists from Rhodesia or in Schofield's lists from Inyanga or Mapungubwe.

It is made at the present time in Italy and has appeared in trade lists throughout the nineteenth century - probably first made in the eighteenth century..

2. Common at all periods. Still manufactured.
3. This has a copper incrustation, could it be a composition bead such as I suspect 17 to be?
- 4-5. These are not attracted by a magnet, probably a copper alloy (fig. 60, 11).
6. See 1.
7. The colour might better be described as 'orange' as it seems to have some red in it. Much corroded, I don't recognise this one.
8. These are sometimes called 'candy stripes'. They are made of opaque

white glass with blobs of cobalt blue glass drawn out to form stripes. They never appear in old collections and I have never seen any from deposits earlier than the nineteenth century.

9. Both have been partially drilled, with 'countersunk' effect, and then punched through - see tiny scale split off on side where hole is smaller. Schofield claimed that these were not Bushman but 'Bantu'-made beads.
10. I think that it is incomplete and that the whole thing consisted of two hollow hemispherical pieces clenched together. It would be applied close to the cloth by sewing through the two holes.
11. Very corroded. Looks white when dry but steel-blue/grey when wetted. Has a large bore in relation to its size and bore is very regular.

It looks very like the Venda 'Bead of the Water' which Van Riet Lowe described.

It is not the same as the pale blue beads which Robinson has described from Leopard's Kopje.

12. As 14 but lacking loop for attachment (fig. 60, 12).
13. Probably originally a sphere or spheroid, the ends are very much worn - so I'd be hesitant to call it an oblate.

This sort of glass was produced in quantity in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Annular blue beads of this colour were made in the Netherlands (now Belgium) and hexagonal ones came from England a little later. This one is not likely to be older than 1780 but could be 1820 or 1830.

I don't think they have been made for a good while.

14. I think you are right to describe this as brass. It looks like the decorative buttons worn on cuffs or coat sleeves (fig. 60, 13).
15. These large beads with inserted dots seem to have been made in Venice and date from late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. In Rhodesia they are associated with Ndebele (after 1838).
16. Same glass as 13.
17. This is softer than glass, can be scratched with a pin. I'm not at all certain that it is glass, anyhow I can't see any red in it although there are some metallic flecks.

Possibly made of some composition having metal filings in it.

- 18-20. Despite differences in colour these all look alike. Could be any age.
21. Two pieces which look like 10.

Summers continues:-

"The whole group looks very recent, the first half of the nineteenth century would be my guess so far as the beads are concerned, but the European items 4, 5, 10, 12, 14 and 21 suggest a rather late date during this half century - say 1830-1850. All this is very tentative!"

BONE ARTEFACTS

The ivory 'pendant' (fig. 60, 14) somewhat resembles those of bone from OO 1 (fig. 37, 1 & 2) but is more carefully shaped. The curved surface is smooth and well polished while the reverse side has striations as if it has been cut by a saw. The neatly drilled hole at one end suggests that it was a pendant but this is not certain.

A bone tube with its surviving end well rounded off and polished was made from a bird bone (fig. 60, 15). The hatched decoration on one side was not found on any other bonework from the sites examined, but comparable examples have been found in Late Stone Age contexts on the Cape coast (e.g. Deacon, 1966) although the functions may vary.

The bone points from this site differ from those of the other sites and resemble rather the characteristic Late Stone Age arrow heads (fig. 60, 16-18). However, of the five examples none is complete so no conclusion can be reached. They are clearly contemporary with the occupation for one of them was on the floor of Hut 2 and has been affected by the fire.

The great majority of bone artefacts consist of the typical bone scrapers. Of these 16 were made on parts of long-bone and nine on ribs (fig. 60, 19-21). Clearly the use of this type of tool continued despite the introduction of trade goods.

FAUNAL REMAINS

The faunal sample is small and consists almost entirely of domestic animals. The following identifications have been made:

Cattle - adult	2
Cattle - juvenile	1
Sheep/Goat - adult	3
Sheep/Goat - juvenile	3
Viverrid - small	1
Rodent - small	4
Freshwater mussel	2

This would imply a greater dependence on domestic stock than at the earlier sites, although the sample is too small to confirm this. Part of a horn cone appears to be from an antelope of medium size and therefore there may have been some hunting.

Only two individuals of Unio caffer, the freshwater mussel, were present which suggests that it was not commonly eaten as was the case on the sites further north. The fast-flowing streams of the Mequatling area are probably less suitable as a habitat than the slower and more muddy rivers near the other sites.

CONCLUSIONS

The historical context of OND 3 and the detailed historical evidence as to its date of occupation are bound up with the events of the nineteenth century in the Mequatling area. These aspects will therefore be examined after the neighbouring OND 2 site has been described in the following chapter.

Archaeologically OND 3 is clearly very much a part of the Type V cultural tradition in terms of both architecture and ceramics. The decorative motifs on the pottery from OND 3 and OO 1 are very similar, although there are minor differences such as the absence of dragged wavy lines and the smaller proportion of notched rims at OO 1. Cultural continuity is also displayed by such small finds as the animal figurine, some of the metal items and the numerous bone scrapers. This is of ethnological as well as archaeological interest for it shows that the rich variety of pottery decoration characteristic of Type V assemblages, was still being produced as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. The evidence not only supports what Lawton (1967, 130-31) has said about the relative richness of earlier southern Sotho ware compared with that of today, but it also establishes that the period of most rapid change was the second half of the nineteenth century - between the time that Tihela was abandoned and the commencement of ethnological collections of southern Sotho pottery about the end of the nineteenth century.

The glass beads and other imported ornaments indicate a later date than the OO 1 assemblage and support the other evidence which points to the mid-nineteenth century. Despite the late date, the only major technological change reflected in the archaeological evidence is the introduction of firearms. No signs of horses or the recently introduced grains - maize and wheat - were found, although from the historical evidence they could well have been present.

Although Tihela falls outside the time range of the Iron Age it is nevertheless significant in demonstrating the southernmost known extent of the Type V architectural and ceramic tradition and its survival into well documented historical times. It is an example of the link between archaeology, ethnology and history, of the sort which is necessary for the interpretation of earlier Iron Age sites.

OND 3
Midden
South-East Quadrant

		1	1	2	4	1	4	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	4	1	2		
Number of sherds																								
Body sherds	Motif numbers	•		•	•													•		•	•	•		
Rim rounded						•	•					•												
Rim flattened			•					•	•	•					•					•				
Rim pointed																								
Rim misc.											•	•		•		•	•							
Plain surface					•	•		•			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	
Burnished surface										•				•										
Ochre burnish		•	•	•			•			•			•										•	
Black burnish																								
Comb-stamping, pendant triangles		1																						
" horizontal band		2	•	•																				
" alternating diagonal panels		3																						
" sherd too small		4			•	•																		
Rim notches vertical		5																						
Rim notches diagonal		6					•	•	•	•	•	•												
Misc. impressions on rim		7										•	•	•										
Finger-nail impressions on rim		7														•								
Finger-tip " " "		7															•							
Finger pinching " " "		7																•						
Applied band with pinching	8																							
Applied band, other	8																							
Finger impressions on body in zone	9																							
" " parallel corrugations	9																	•						
Cusps	10																							
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11																					•		
Misc. body impressions	12																					•		
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13																							
" " horizontal band	14																						•	
" " pendant triangles	15																							
" " chevron or arcade	16																							
Ochre lines	17																							
Dragged wavy lines	18																							
Cross hatching	19																						•	

"Broken earthenware, fallen walls overgrown with brambles, the easily recognised boundaries of fields formerly cultivated, revealed to us frequently that we were on the site of a once populous village. There were still some left which were inhabited, but they were much smaller and on almost inaccessible heights."

Casalis in 1833 in the Caledon Valley.

In addition to the Type V sites, which occur as far south as Tihela, there are numerous other Iron Age settlements in the Mequatling area and extending further southwards to around Wepener. Air photographs were examined and several sites were visited in the field, but there did not seem to be a sufficiently distinctive settlement pattern for classification in terms of a clearly defined type. For this reason the sites have not been given a specific classification but will be referred to loosely as Caledon Valley sites, for most occur within this drainage basin. Many of them probably do belong to a single archaeological entity but more intensive fieldwork would be needed to establish this for certain.

The air photographs of Caledon Valley sites reveal groups of primary enclosures of various sizes, loosely clustered into settlement units but apparently with no regular arrangement of structures and with relatively little if anything in the way of linking or secondary walling. On inspection in the field the stone enclosures seem to be either huts or livestock pens. The huts sometimes have stone walls up to nearly a metre in height, but in other cases they only have a single foundation row of stones as at OND 3. The huts sometimes have a lelapa attached to them. No corbelled huts were seen on any of the sites, nor indeed were they found on Type V sites as far south as this.

The present research project has concentrated on the clearly defined settlement types which occur mainly in the northern Orange Free State. OND 2 is the only Caledon Valley site that has been investigated and even here the work was small in scale. Also, as this was the first Iron Age site on which the writer had worked, the main aim was to determine as much as possible about the pattern of the occupation from the surface features; excavation was kept to a minimum, the intention being merely to obtain a sample of the pottery and some material for radiocarbon dating. The work was carried out in July 1966 and Mrs. S. Mittag very kindly assisted for part of the time.

SITUATION

The Mequatling area must have been particularly favourable for Iron Age settlement. Its richness and its relatively concentrated population in the nineteenth century led to the establishment of a mission station here by the Paris Missionary Society in 1837. The history makes mention of several groups living here at various times previously (see below) but it is not clear when Iron Age people first arrived.

There are a number of sites with stone walling in the area and these are shown on the map (fig. 55). Several of them, especially those nearest to Mequatling itself, were regarded as unsuitable for further work because they included rectangular structures which are indicative of missionary influence; some sites have suffered from erosion. Because it showed neither of these features OND 2 was chosen as representative of the Caledon Valley sites. Furthermore the amount of pottery on the surface of the midden suggested that a suitable sample could be obtained by excavation.

OND 2 is on the farm Christina which is situated on the Mequatling-Modderpoort road some 14 km from the latter; $S.29^{\circ}01'10''$, $E.27^{\circ}22'20''$. The site is reached by following the track indicated on figure 55 past the farmhouse for about two kilometres to the south-west.

The dominant feature of the landscape is Viervoetberg. A spur from this range projects eastwards on the farm Christina, the OND 2 site being on a relatively level area on the north side of the spur where it joins the main line of the range (fig. 55).

A thick stratum of sandstone within the Stormberg Series forms a line of krans below the site to the north (fig. 61, Plate 49) while its upper surface forms the natural terrace on which the settlement was built. The situation would have offered similar advantages to those of the OND 3 site, while it is somewhat more elevated and being on the east side of Viervoet, some eight kilometres north-east of OND 3, it receives direct sunlight earlier in the mornings.

OND 2 also has the advantage of a perennial source of water close at hand. A stream which rises on the gentle upper slopes has cut a steep-sided ravine through the sandstone terrace immediately to the north and west of the settlement and the resulting line of krans continues into that of the spur itself. In places along this krans there are rock shelters, some of which contain late Stone Age rock paintings and traces of low stone walling, probably of the same period.

The OND 2 settlement was built along the terrace between the point

where the track climbs up the hill and where the ravine starts (fig. 55). On the continuation of the terrace north of the ravine, further groups of structures were found. This site was called OND 1 but, as it included several rectangular enclosures and as it is less accessible, no work was done here.

THE SETTLEMENT

The central portion of the settlement was selected for detailed examination as it included the midden and a range of structural features which probably formed a settlement unit. Immediately to the west is another compact group of structures but they have been altered by the building of a later wall. To the east the structures become more scattered, spreading irregularly along the terrace over a distance of several hundred metres.

The central portion comprising an area 120 metres long was surveyed tachymetrically and figure 61 was prepared from this, showing the structures and relevant natural features. The largest enclosure and the three smaller ones attached to it form a group which dominates the site. At first glance this arrangement resembles the Type V settlement pattern, but in fact it is the reverse of this pattern for the largest enclosure is a primary one, as is shown by its relatively even, oval shape. Furthermore the three smaller enclosures were built subsequently; one is indeed a secondary enclosure with its walls abutting on to the large enclosure and it uses part of the large enclosure's wall as its south-eastern wall. On a Type V settlement the smaller enclosures would have been the primary ones and the large one linking them together would have been secondary. The smaller enclosures would have opened into the large one, not into the open as they do here. Although this would not have made very much difference to the plan of the group, it shows a totally different emphasis in the minds of the builders and therefore the superficial resemblance to Type V is probably fortuitous.

The three larger enclosures of this group were probably livestock pens and the small one was probably a hut, conveniently sheltered by the walls of the larger enclosures and the lightly built wall curving around it. There are two other short secondary walls attached to the largest enclosure; the internal one may have served as a shelter, while the external one beside the entrance seems to have been a platform rather than a wall, possibly used in connection with grain storage. All the stone walls are built of loosely piled, angular blocks of sandstone and

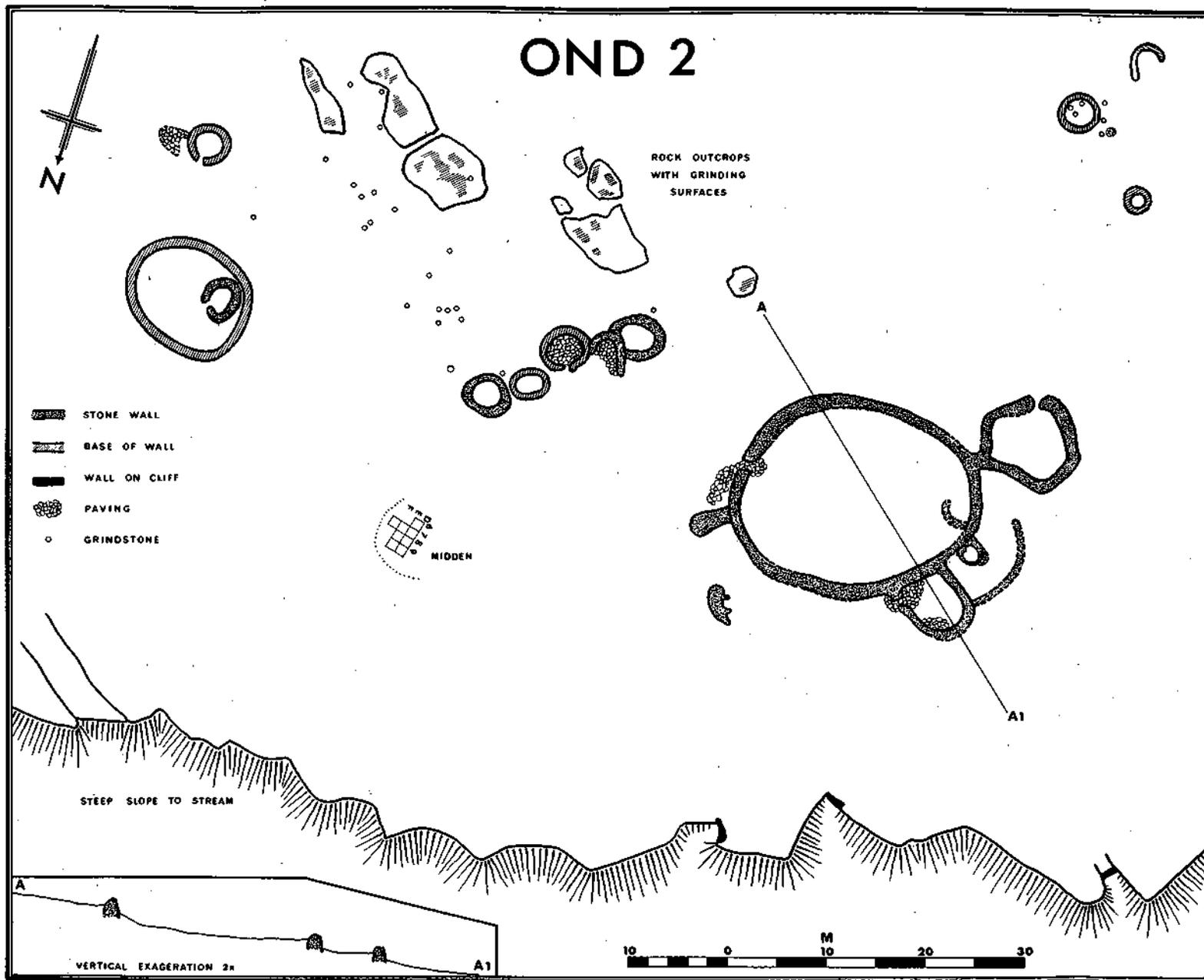


Fig. 61

they have been extensively damaged by grazing animals and the growth of bushes, so that many of the details have become obscured. This applies to the small feature just to the north of the largest enclosure, where the original form is not known although it may have been a hut. From the amount of fallen rubble and the few pieces of walling that are better preserved, it would seem that the walls on this site were never more than about one metre in height.

The group of four small enclosures a little to the east of the main group just described, would have been huts, and from their proximity these two groups must have been part of the same settlement unit (fig. 61). Likewise, the midden is almost certainly the result of domestic activity in and around these four huts. The group of three small structures, again probably huts, to the south of the largest enclosure, may have belonged to this same settlement unit, but this is not certain as they are almost as close to the adjacent group of structures just off the plan to the west.

The hut with paved lelapa and the larger enclosure towards the eastern side of the settlement seem to have formed a small separate unit, perhaps belonging to a single primary family. This larger enclosure predates the hut built within it, for the walls have been extensively robbed to provide stone for the hut.

Most of the structures on this site fall into the two categories, huts or larger primary enclosures used as livestock pens, which are also the essential structures on other Orange Free State Iron Age settlements. There is in addition some secondary walling which in places forms further enclosures. However, there does not appear to be any formal or regular arrangement of the primary enclosures, nor does the use of secondary walling follow any regular pattern. This casual layout is in marked contrast to the regularly repeated patterns of Types V, N and Z from further north, and it will be necessary to examine the implications of this difference after the other aspects of the site have been described.

STRUCTURAL DETAILS AND ACTIVITIES

During the surveying, a profile A - A1 (fig. 61) was drawn of the ground surface running through the largest enclosure and the smaller one beside it. This was done to indicate the general slope of the site, and more particularly to show how the ground surface has been lowered and levelled within these enclosures. A number of factors would have contributed to this process: trampling by livestock, especially during wet weather, would tend to level the floor and rain water would wash

material downhill depositing it against the lower wall or washing it out of the enclosure. The inhabitants would have added to the process by removing dung for use as fuel and perhaps also mud for building. Sufficient material has been removed to expose the bedrock in places.

The huts on OND 2 are of two types: one consists of stone walls which would have stood to a height of a metre or more, while all that survives of the other is a single ring of angular stone blocks on the ground surface. At least one of the latter type had a paved floor and others may also have been paved but none were excavated. From the evidence provided by other sites, notably Hut 2 at OND 3, it is almost certain that these rings of stones formed the bases of mud walls. The internal diameters of the huts vary from 2,5 up to 4 metres with the exception of the two smallest ones which are only 1,6 m.

The group of four huts near the midden include two of each hut type, and although it is not known whether these were all contemporary, their relative positions suggest that this was the case. One has a small, semi-circular walled and paved area attached to it, which was probably a *lelapa* used for cooking and other domestic activities. The paved area beside the isolated hut further east was clearly a *lelapa*.

The three enclosures in the south-west corner of the plan consist of rings of stones and were probably huts of the second type, although one is very small and another does not form a complete ring. Between these three is a small paved feature, more or less circular and varying from 0,72 to 0,8 metres in diameter. The paving stones rest on bedrock and are set in a few centimetres of soil. They are relatively flat but their more protruding edges have been smoothed off by rubbing of some sort. The smoothed portions have been marked with white chalk in the photograph (Plate 50) and it is apparent that they do not form a flat plane, nor is the smoothing extensive enough to be described as grinding. In the soil between the stones and around the edge of the circle large numbers of finely comminuted pot sherds less than 2 cms in size were found. The only reason known to the writer for deliberately breaking up sherds so finely would be to make grog for mixing with the clay used in potting. As the pottery from this site does include grog as temper, it is possible that the paved circle was used at some stage in the manufacture of pots. However, in view of the ethnological evidence, the circle was most probably the stand for a *sesiu*. The smoothing of the stones would have been done to prevent their cutting the basketwork, and several grindstones were found nearby.

The sandstone krans on the north side of the OND 2 settlement forms



Plate 50. Stone circle probably built as a seaiu stand. Smoothed areas marked with white chalk.



Plate 51. Small wall at top of krane in front of the OND 2 site. Wall blocks natural pathway up krane.

the top of the ravine as mentioned above. It is a fairly effective barrier against access from the ravine immediately in front of the surveyed area, with the exception of three natural gaps which serve as pathways. The gaps have each been blocked near the top of the krans by a small wall of loosely packed stone about a metre in height (fig. 61); the most easterly of the three is shown in Plate 51. Originally they may have been slightly higher but they could hardly have been serious obstacles to a determined attacker unless they were guarded. Defence would seem to be their most likely explanation and there is historical evidence for the use of defensive walling in similar situations, for example by the Tlokwa at Marabeng during the Difaqane (Arbousset, 1846). On the other hand the walls would only have been of marginal use and of course the settlement would have been quite open to attack from other sides, so they may have served some other purpose such as to control the movement of livestock.

There are few lower grindstones at this settlement for the sandstone outcrops near the huts provided suitable alternatives (fig. 61). The outcrops are up to a metre in height and the surfaces chosen for grinding are often slightly sloping; grinding was particularly concentrated on the sides of a natural hollow on one rock. The textures of the various surfaces show some variety, most have been smoothed to a fine polish or have been pitted to make them rough again. Others show a few fine peck marks probably made by a metal implement, but for what purpose is not known. Again some surfaces show fine striations, criss-crossing each other, which may also have been done to rejuvenate a used surface, while several groups of parallel grooves, rounded in section, a few millimetres wide and around 15 cm long were probably used to sharpen pointed implements of iron or bone. The majority of the surfaces would have been used in the grinding of cereals, which would have been a major element of the diet, especially as this portion of the Orange Free State is particularly suited to cereal cultivation. Numbers of upper grindstones used in this process were recorded in the vicinity of the outcrops and the huts (fig. 61), showing that the preparation of meal must have been one of the regular activities of the inhabitants.

THE EXCAVATION

The midden shown on figure 61 was the only one observed in this area of the site, and it is small compared to the middens on many other sites further north. It is a low mound about 20 cm high, with indistinct margins which could only be recorded with any confidence on the north and

east sides. Its position close to the main group of huts suggests an association with them, although this could not be demonstrated. Several sherds, including some decorated ones, on the surface confirmed the presence of cultural material.

As this was the first excavation of the project the procedure adopted was more cautious than was the case on subsequent sites. A grid of one metre squares was laid out and an attempt was made to follow the natural layers of the midden as far as possible (fig. 62).

Stratigraphy

Layer 1 - A hard surface layer, a few centimetres thick, of grey sandy soil with numerous grass tussocks and roots. It included pottery and some bone in poor condition.

Layer 2 - A thicker layer, up to 12 cm of softer, light grey, ashy material with some charcoal. The bone was better preserved.

Layer 3 - A soft layer, up to 10 cm thick, of grey-brown soil and ash with some charcoal lenses. In places the interface between Layers 2 and 3 was marked by a band of brown soil. Eastwards the differentiation between Layers 2 and 3 became fainter until in Square F7 the two could no longer be separated and were therefore combined.

Layer 3a - Within Layer 3 a lower component was recognised in Squares D7, E7, F7, E8 and E9, which was called Layer 3a. It was only about 5 cm thick and consisted of similar ashy soil but was noticeably browner than Layer 3. Layer 3a was rich in well-preserved bones, mainly from bovids, which were especially concentrated in Square E7.

Bedrock - Excavation was stopped when a hard surface of brown soil was reached - the original ground surface prior to the formation of the midden. To confirm this the excavation in square D9 was deepened until the weathered sandstone was reached some 8 cm below the old ground surface.

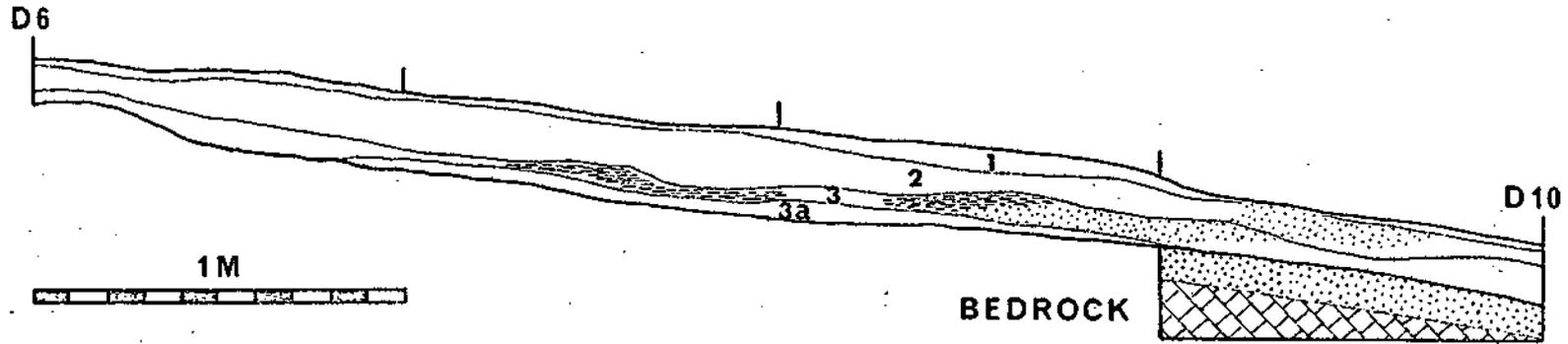
The old ground surface was brushed clean and a number of holes and channels filled with soft midden material were revealed. These were rodent or insectivore burrows which were no longer visible on the surface. The number of burrows preserved by the hard ground below the midden, however, shows that burrowing must have caused considerable disturbance to the midden.

A charcoal sample from Layer 3a in Square E8 yielded the date:

GX 1463 215 ± 85 (A.D. 1735)

Although a radiocarbon date as recent as this is not of very much value,

OND 2 MIDDEN



- b BONE
-  BROWN SOIL
-  CHARCOAL

PLAN OF MIDDEN

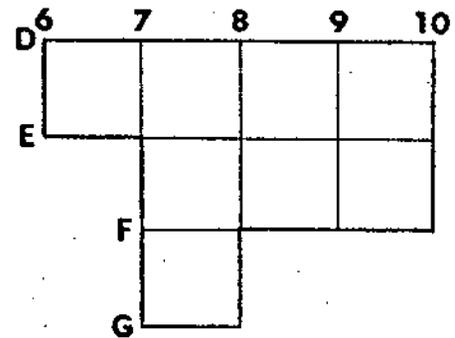


Fig. 62

with red ochre or burnished black. Only 18% of sherds showed any burnish and of these the great majority were with ochre.

TABLE OF SURFACE FINISHES AND RIM PROFILES ON THE POTTERY FROM OND 2

	DECORATED SHERDS			UNDECORATED SHERDS				TOTALS
	Plain	Burnished Burnish Ochre	Black	Plain	Burnished Burnish Ochre	Black		
RIM SHERDS								
Rounded	15		7	10	1	2		35
Flattened	7	6	6	11		4		34
Misc.	15		3	1				19
BODY SHERDS	3		2	445	18	64	3	535
TOTALS	40	6	18	467	19	70	3	623

DECORATED SHERDS FROM OND 2

Motif	Motif No.	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3	Layer 3a	Total excavated	Sur-face	Total
Notches on rim : Vertical	5		2		1	3		3
: Diagonal	5	4(2)	4(3)	1		9		9
Miscellaneous rim impressions	6	3(1)	8(7)	5(4)	1	17		17
Fingernail impressions on rim	7		6	2		8		8
Fingertip impressions on rim	7		3		2	5	1	6
Finger-pinching on rim	7	1	6	5	1	13	1(1)	14
Applied band & finger-pinching	8		1		3	4	2	6
Finger impressions on body	9			2	1	3		3
Cusps	10		1			1		1
Ochre bands	17		1(1)			1		1
		8	32	15	9	64	4	68

Numbers in brackets refer to sherds with ochre burnish.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the OND 2 pottery is the high proportion (92%) of the decoration that occurs on the rims of the vessels and the high proportion (60%) of all rims that are decorated. The decoration consists mainly of various types of impressions repeated to form a row along the rim. It includes vertical or diagonal notches with 'V'-shaped section (fig. 63, 5, 6 & 9), shallow, round impressions of various sizes in somewhat rolled-over rims (fig. 63, 1; fig. 64, 2 & 10), impressions resulting from pinching the rim between forefinger and thumb (fig. 64, 1 & 4) or from impressing the fingernail (fig. 63, 2) or fingertip including nail (fig. 64, 3). The miscellaneous impressions include

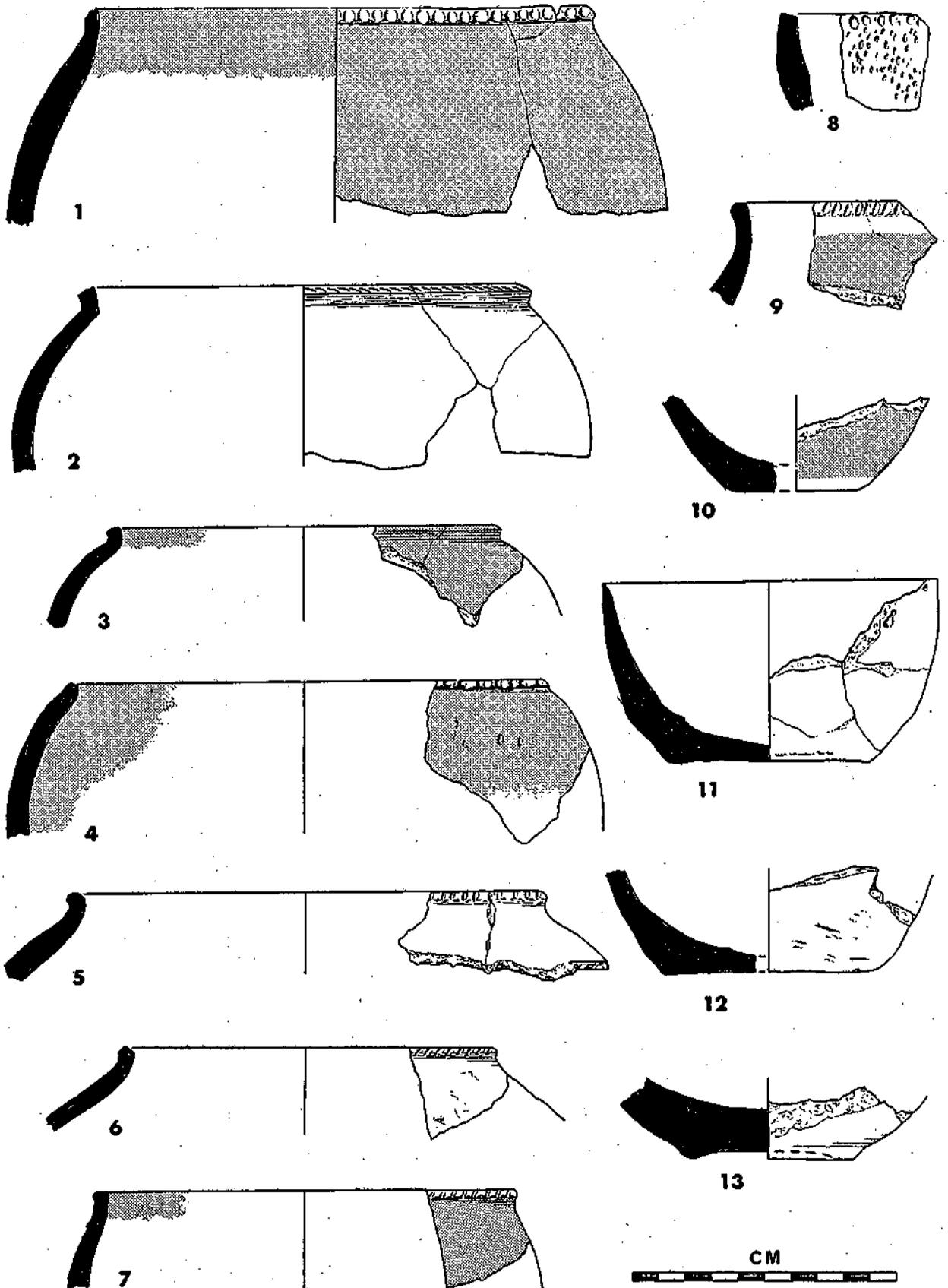


Fig. 63

Figure 63

Finer decorated pottery and flat bases.

1. Near-spherical pot with short upright neck and rounded rim. Miscellaneous impressions on rim from a cylindrical object, perhaps a stick. The surface is sandy and friable and has been burnished with red ochre on the exterior and for some 3 cm below the rim on the interior. Squares D7-9, Layers 2 and 3.
2. Sub-spherical pot with short everted neck. Row of fingernail impressions on the flattened upper surface of the rim. The body is buff and has been well burnished on the outside and to a lesser extent inside. Squares D7 & 8, Layer 2.
3. Sub-spherical pot with short upright neck. Well made with flattened rim. There is no decoration but the exterior and just inside the rim are burnished with red ochre. Squares D7 & E7, Layer 2.
4. Spherical pot with shallow finger-pinched impressions on rim. The upper portion is red but lower the sherd has been blackened by fire. Surface of the midden.
5. Pot with short upright neck and rounded rim decorated with vertical 'V' shaped impressions. Exterior grey. Square D8, Layer 2.
6. Pot with short upright neck. Rim rounded and decorated with diagonal 'V' shaped notches. Coarse texture and no surface finish, orange-buff. Square D8, Layer 3.
7. Bag-shaped pot with short everted neck and flattened rim decorated with shallow impressions. The pot is burnished inside and out with red ochre. Square D6, Layer 2.
8. Bowl with impressions on rim and numerous small stylus impressions below. Crudely made and light buff in colour. Square E8, Layer 3.
9. Pot with everted neck, rim flattened and decorated with diagonal 'V' shaped impressions. The surface is burnished with red ochre below the rim on the exterior and lightly on the interior. Squares D6 & E7, Layer 2.
10. Flat base of small vessel. Ochre burnish extends to just above base. Square E7, Layer 3a.
11. Small bowl with flat base and slight suggestions of a foot-ring. Very coarse manufacture and no surface finish. Yellow-buff. Square E9, Layer 2.
12. Flat base of vessel perhaps similar to No. 11. Square D9, Layer 3.
13. Foot-ring of large vessel. Foot shows considerable abrasion. Light grey-buff. Square E9, Layer 2.

some made with a cylindrical object, several on sherds which are too small or damaged for it to be possible to classify them more exactly, while one sherd has a row of crescentic stylus impressions. There is, however, no comb-stamped decoration in this assemblage which differentiates it from all the assemblages from Type V sites (OU 1, OND 3 and OU 2).

A variation on the finger-impressed decoration is seen on four sherds (fig. 64, 7-9) where bands of clay have been applied to the vessels while they were still wet, on or just below the rims. The bands were then pinched into a series of protruding points. Three other sherds have zones of impressions where the fingertip has been repeatedly pushed into the wall of the pot (fig. 64, 6), while another has a zone of cusp-like protrusions raised from the wall of the pot by pinching, but rather haphazardly made and spaced (fig. 64, 5).

The majority of the decoration has been made by using the fingers, whether it be by impressing the nail or fingertip, by pinching or by raising cusps. Some impressions were produced by pressing a small cylindrical object such as a twig on to a rolled-over rim (fig. 63, 1 & 4). One sherd has in addition to its row of miscellaneous rim impressions an irregular spread of small, more or less rectangular stylus impressions (fig. 63, 8).

In the second table the decorated sherds are shown divided into the layers from which they came. The quantity from each layer is small and therefore the differences between the layers, which are in any case not very large, are probably not significant. The lack of ochre and the predominance of the coarse, finger decoration in Layer 3a is noticeable, but even this may be the result of a small sample rather than an actual change in the pottery.

Form

The shape of the upper surface of the rim was examined on all rim sherds and it was found that they have rounded and flattened profiles in about equal proportions. In several cases the rims had been altered by the application of decoration and these were placed in the miscellaneous category.

It was possible to reconstruct sufficient of 19 vessels to be able to establish something of their shapes. They consist of:

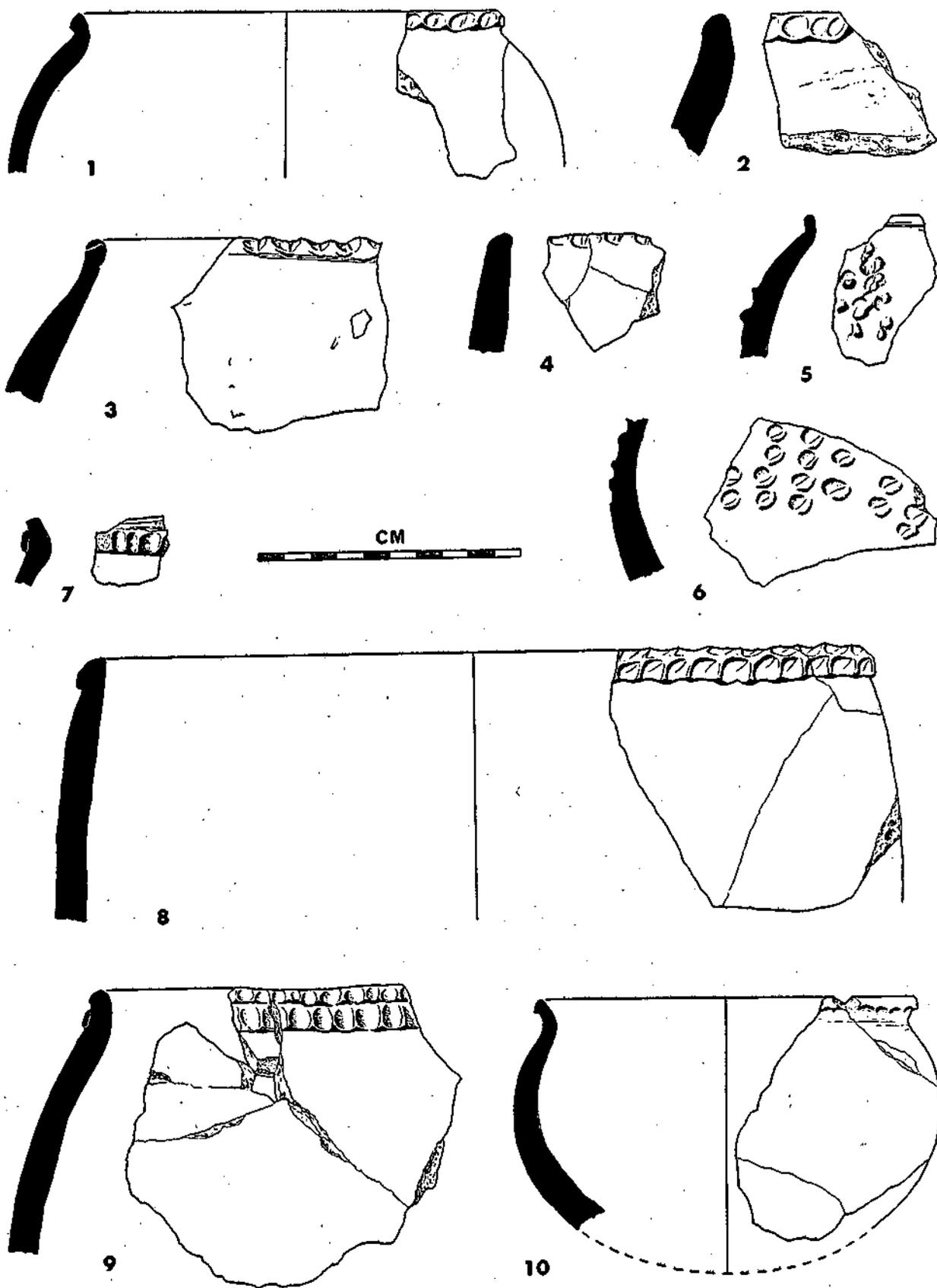


Fig. 64

Shape	No.	Illustration
Spherical pots with short upright necks	5	fig. 63, 1-3; fig. 64, 1
Spherical pots	1	fig. 63, 4
Other pots with short upright necks	3	fig. 63, 5 & 6
Bag-shaped pots	7	fig. 63, 7; fig. 64, 8 & 9; fig. 65, 1
Bowls with straight edges	2	fig. 63, 11; fig. 65, 2
Spherical, necked bowls	1	fig. 64, 10

The spherical pots are fairly standardised in size, their external diameters at the rim ranging from 15 to 19 cm and at the widest part of the body from 20 to 25 cm. This category includes sub-spherical and near-spherical pots; most do not approach a true spherical shape but are flatter or taller respectively. The bag-shaped pots are more variable in size; the external rim diameters of the three measured ranged from 16 to 30 cm and this category includes the largest vessels of the assemblage. The rim diameters of the bowls are around 13 to 14 cm but they vary greatly in shape from the flat base and diverging sides of fig. 63, 11 to the spherical, necked shape of fig. 64, 10.

The two main vessel types, the more or less spherical and the bag-shaped pots have several features other than shape which differentiate them. The spherical pots tend to be thinner and most of them have been burnished, usually with ochre. Almost all of them have been decorated, and the decoration is usually of the finer types of rim impression such as notches or miscellaneous impressions. The finer impressions are often associated with burnish whereas the coarser ones are not. Only one spherical pot shows blackening on the exterior from use on a fire whereas most of the bag-shaped pots are blackened.

The bag-shaped pots are somewhat thicker and coarser in manufacture and only one of them is burnished. This particular pot (fig. 63, 7) is clearly an exception in this category and, but for its shape, has more in common with the spherical pots, as it has an ochre burnish, fine impressed decoration, thin walls and no fire blackening. Apart from this one the decoration on bag-shaped pots is coarser, consisting of finger impressions and pinching, while about half of these pots were not decorated at all. When these factors are all considered, it is evident that the bag-shaped pots served for the rougher functions of the household, in particular cooking, whereas the better finished and decorated spherical pots would have had more refined uses perhaps in the preparation and consumption of beverages.

The bases of some of these vessels would have been round, but an

interesting feature of the assemblage is the three flat bases (fig. 63, 10-12) and the foot-ring (fig. 63, 13). In only one case can the whole vessel be reconstructed, this being a small bowl (fig. 63, 11), but the base with ochre burnish (fig. 63, 10) may have been from a spherical pot. The foot-ring although low is quite definite and well formed. From the thickness and curvature, it seems to have come from a fairly large pot.

Pottery spoons

The handle of a pottery spoon or ladle is illustrated in figure 65, 5. The end of the handle is shaped into a knob, round in section, but towards the bowl it becomes broader and oval in section. The bowl itself is missing but when the handle is compared to the pottery spoons from other sites, it seems certain that this was its function. The upper surface is decorated with several rows of finger-pinched impressions.

A cylindrical piece of pottery broken at both ends (fig. 65, 4) may have been part of the handle of another spoon but it is so fragmentary that this is by no means certain. It could perhaps have been part of a figurine or some other object.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER POTTERY ASSEMBLAGES

No other Caledon Valley sites were excavated during this project but several small collections from sites in the neighbourhood were examined. Foundation trenches dug in 1965 during the building of a new farmhouse on the farm Borneo just north of Modderpoort (fig. 55) uncovered a small collection of sherds now in the possession of B. Amm of Ladybrand. The fabric is similar to that of the OND 2 pottery, being rather thick and with a black core. Only four sherds were decorated of which two have applied bands with finger-pinching, and the other two have multiple rows of fine impressions, perhaps made by a string of beads, associated with ochre burnish. The writer did not visit the site and there was no mention of stone structures, but these could have been removed previously as it has been a farm for some time.

Another small group of sherds, collected by D. Kamansky in 1965 and given to the writer came from a rock shelter in the Orange Free State a few kilometres across the border from Maseru. The rock shelter contained the remains of Iron Age structures. Of 21 sherds there are at least four spherical pots and three flat bases. Decoration included rim notching and rows of stylus impressions on the rim. A piece of moulded glass and an iron spur with pointed rowel were also found, so this site must have been

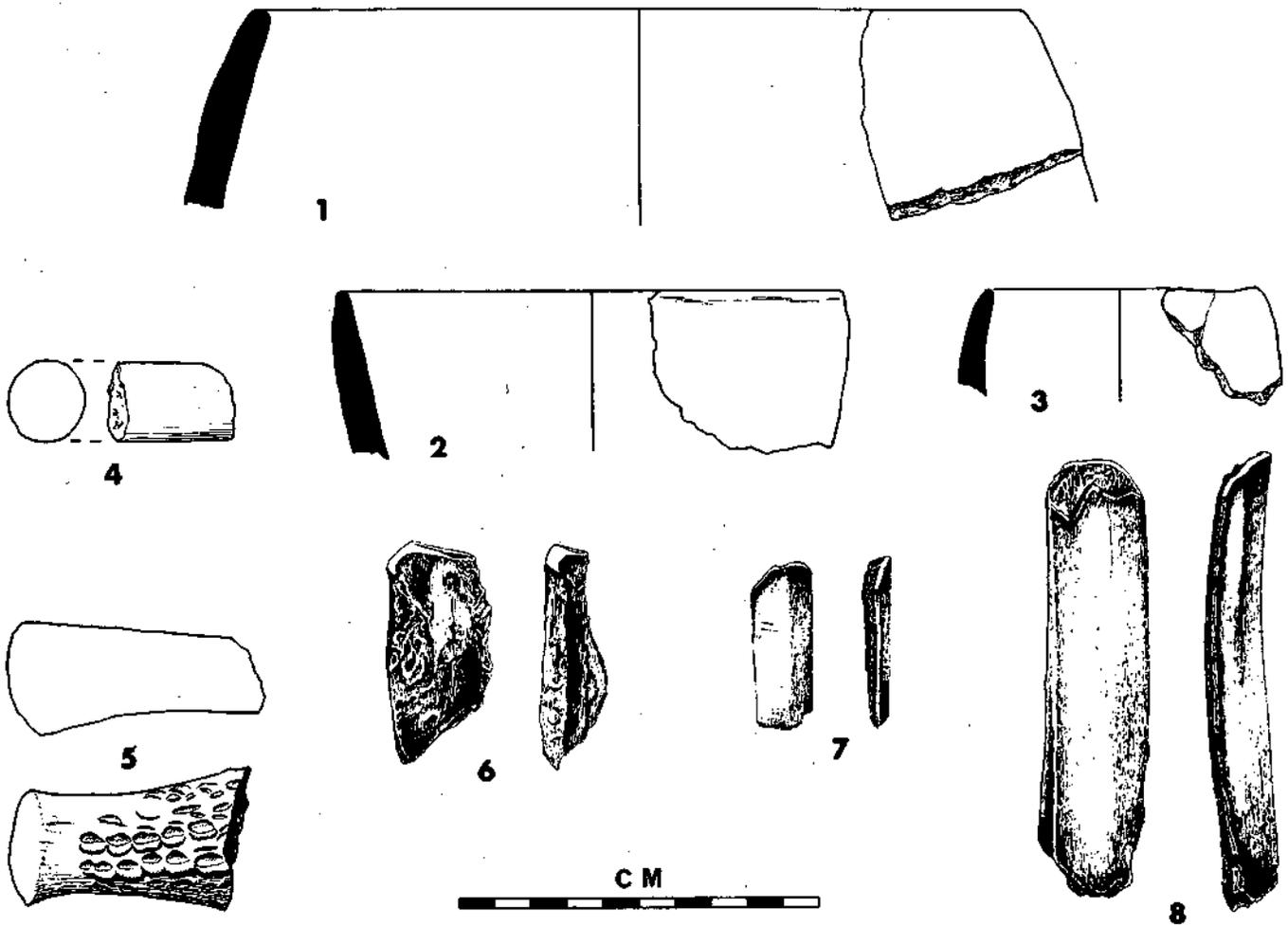


Fig. 65

Figure 65

Undecorated pottery and small finds.

1. Bag-shaped pot, undecorated, with rounded rim and blackened by fire. Square D9, Layer 2.
2. Bowl, undecorated, with rounded rim crudely finished and blackened by fire. Square D9, Layer 3.
3. Small vessel with near-vertical walls, crudely made and buff-coloured. Square E7, Layer 2.
4. Cylindrical piece of pottery slightly tapering and broken at both ends. This could be part of a figurine but is more likely part of the handle of a pottery spoon or ladle as is shown more clearly by No. 5. Square D6, Layer 3.
5. Pottery handle to a spoon the bowl of which has broken off. The upper surface is decorated with several rows of fingertip impressions. Square D6, Layer 3.
6. Splinter from large bone worn obliquely at one end from scraping. Square D6, Layer 2.
7. Portion of a rib split and worn at one end almost at right angles to the long axis. Square D6, Layer 2.
8. Portion of a large rib broken at both ends and again worn at one end by holding the bone perpendicular to the surface being scraped. Square D6, Layer 2.

occupied well into the nineteenth century. Both these assemblages are too small to indicate anything more than a general similarity to the OND 2 pottery.

From the Lesotho side of the Caledon River, Walton (1953a & 1956b) has described two stone settlements, Qoaling near Maseru and Metlaeeng near Morija. In general the settlement patterns and architectural features seem to correspond to those of OND 2. The Qoaling pottery is mainly decorated with rim impression, including finger impressions and rim notches. Fingertip impressions on the body of the vessel and stylus impressions also occur, but comb-stamping is virtually absent. The larger pots are unburnished while the smaller ones often have an ochre burnish. This is clearly very similar to the OND 2 ware.

Less can be said of the Metlaeeng pottery. It includes the large, unburnished, bag-shaped vessels which again may have finger-impressed decoration or applied bands with finger-pinching on the rims. The two smaller pots illustrated (Walton, 1956b), however, are rather different from their counterparts at OND 2 for they are undecorated, unburnished and more shouldered than spherical in shape. As the assemblage is small, the difference may be more apparent than real. Flat bases are again a common element, so for the most part the pottery is similar to that from OND 2.

These five sites cover a distance of some 75 km in a line running almost due south from OND 2 to Metlaeeng, with Maseru as the centre point. This line runs diagonally across the basin of the middle Caledon River so we may conclude that for at least a part of the Iron Age, this area was characterised by pottery that is essentially similar to that from OND 2.

Comparisons between the pottery assemblages from all the sites excavated during this project are made in chapter 13. It is necessary, however, to point out here that there is a definite connection between the OND 2 pottery tradition and that of the Type V sites OND 3, OO 1 and OU 2 Settlement Unit 2. Using the largest excavated midden, No. 5, at OO 1 as a basis for comparison, since it contained a sample of 1 300 decorated sherds, two main features are immediately clear. Firstly, some 30% of decorated sherds have comb-stamping, usually applied with an ochre burnish; this type of decoration is quite absent from OND 2. Secondly, the remaining 70% are decorated with various types of impressions which include all the categories present at OND 2, such as rim-notching, the various finger impressions and pinching sometimes on applied bands and the various other rim impressions. In terms of vessel types, the large, bag-shaped pots, frequently with finger decoration on the rims, are also a feature of OO 1 whereas the finer, spherical pots with smaller rim impressions and with

ochre burnish are more or less the counterpart of the finer, comb-stamped and ochre burnished pots of 00 1. The difference is not radical but is quite sufficient, when confirmed at several sites and supported by the associated change in settlement patterns, to necessitate a separate classification for the two types of assemblage.

BONE IMPLEMENTS

Apart from the pottery, no implements, ornaments or other small finds were obtained from the midden with the exception of a few utilised pieces of bone. In view of the limited size of the excavation this is not surprising and it is clear that several aspects of the material culture are not represented at all.

The bone implements are all typical bone scrapers; three are portions of ribs (fig. 65, 7 & 8) and the other three are flat pieces broken from large bones (fig. 65, 6). They vary considerably in size from 38 to 120 mm and are irregular in shape. All have one or more edge that has been worn smooth by holding the bone more or less at right angles to the surface being worked. The abraded portions of the edges, produced by this scraping action, vary in extent from a few millimetres up to 20 mm or more; they are sometimes straight but more often convex.

FAUNAL REMAINS

The diagnostic remains of fauna from the midden are shown in the table below. The bovids were identified by Q.B. Hendey and only portions of jaws with teeth were used. A sample as small as this cannot be considered to be fully representative, but several general trends are apparent. Domestic stock especially cattle, were the main source of meat, although there was some hunting of the larger antelopes. The diet was supplemented by the collection of ostrich eggs and freshwater mussels, but in terms of quantity, they were of little importance. The minimum number of each species present is as follows:

	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3	Layer 3a	Sum
Cattle		1	1	2	4
Sheep/Goat				2	2
Alcelaphine antelope cf. <u>Connochaetes quu</u>				1	1
Elephant shrew				1	1
Ostrich egg-shell			1		1
Freshwater mussel	1	1	1	1	4

DISCUSSION

Chronology

There is little evidence as to the age of OND 2, apart from the radiocarbon date in the first half of the eighteenth century. No imported objects were found, and although the small scale of the excavations could be the reason for this, there is no sign of missionary or settler influence in the plan of the settlement nor in its economy and pottery. These factors would indicate a date no later than the early nineteenth century. The flat bases are not necessarily indicative of a late date as they do occur, as do occasional foot-rings, on other Iron Age sites such as Mapungubwe (Fouché, 1937). Indeed, flat bases are a regular feature of the Caledon Valley sites as also the Type V sites.

As yet little can be said about how far back in time Caledon Valley sites and their associated pottery tradition extend; however, some were occupied up to the mid-nineteenth century, such as Metlaeeng which was destroyed in 1868 (Walton, 1953a), and some may have been more or less continually occupied up to the present day, particularly in Lesotho. The influence of this pottery tradition is still visible in some of the contemporary ware of Lesotho, in particular the large, unburnished, U-shaped or bag-shaped pots, usually called nkho, which are still being produced (Lawton, 1967, e.g. Nos. 95 & 102). Similar pots seen by the writer at the Kolonyama Pottery near Teyateyaneng in 1969 even had rows of fingertip impressions on the rims. Kolonyama is only about 35 km east of OND 2 which is indicative of the persistence of this tradition within the area.

Settlement patterns

The Caledon Valley sites visited in the course of this project and those described by Walton (1953a & 1956b) show such variation that it is not possible at this stage to distinguish a definite settlement pattern characteristic of them. One is a rock shelter and another, Qoaling, has walled up shelters in addition to the stone-built structures. However, Qoaling, Metlaeeng and OND 2 have a general similarity in that the larger enclosures, both primary and secondary, form a compact group while the huts tend to form another group somewhat separated from the first. Huts with paved floors or with a ring of stones around the edge are a feature of the three sites. There are also similarities in architectural details to those of Type V sites, for instance both these hut types also occur on OND 3, and the lelapa attached to the hut as at OND 2 and on the farm

Avalon a few kilometres to the east (fig. 55) are common on Type V sites.

The lack of a formal and regularly repeated settlement pattern sets the Caledon Valley sites in marked contrast to Type V settlements, yet there is clearly some relationship between them as is shown by the shared architectural features and more particularly by the common elements of the ceramic traditions and by the geographical overlap in the distribution of the two kinds of settlement. The most likely explanation based on the present scanty information would seem to be that the Caledon settlements represent a simplification from Type V in which the characteristic secondary features, linking the primary enclosures into a ring, have been discarded, and thus the need to position these enclosures carefully around a central area no longer applies.

This explanation is persuasive, for in both the architecture and the pottery it is the more refined aspects that have been lost. The primary enclosures - the huts and livestock pens - remain broadly the same but their careful arrangement and inter-connection with secondary features is lost. And it is the refined element of the pottery - the thinner, comb-stamped and ochre-burnished ware - that is absent from the assemblage.

The alternative explanation would be that the Caledon Valley sites are part of a long tradition which grew from origins similar to those of Type V, but developed separately. This seems less likely since all other settlement types in the Orange Free State which had fairly long periods of development, had achieved standardised settlement patterns. The OND 2 pottery could possibly derive from an early tradition of finger and stylus impressed ware devoid of comb-stamping but as yet no such assemblage has been recognised in the Orange Free State and indeed the earlier sites, those of Type N have a predominance of comb-stamping and less of the other types of impressions (chapters 5 & 6). An important aspect of future research will be to determine whether the finger and stylus impressed ware represents a separate tradition or whether, as now seems to be the case, it was part of the same tradition as the comb-stamping.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF OND 2 AND OND 3

Even if we provisionally accept that the Caledon Valley sites are likely to be derived from Type V, this does not explain why the refinements of settlement pattern and pottery are discarded. The present archaeological information is inadequate in this respect but a consideration of the historical evidence gives some insight into the nature of Iron Age settlement in the area.

Some of the Caledon Valley sites were occupied as late as the outbreak of the Difaqane in 1822, and even later. The political, economic and demographic disruption that characterised the Difaqane was so severe that the old order was never to be resumed on the Highveld. The Caledon Valley was the scene of much of this turmoil, so it is to be expected that settlements built during or shortly after this period would only include the bare essentials and lack the refinements of more peaceful times.

One effect was that, since exposed settlements were open to attack, many groups moved to natural strongholds or Qhobosheane (Lye, 1969, 194), which were often mesas surrounded by precipitous *kranses* such as Thaba Bosiu and Marabeng. Although in some cases the natural defences were augmented (Arbousset, 1846, 32), there does not seem to have been any incorporation of fortifications into the pattern of the settlements themselves.

While the Difaqane could explain the lack of refinement in the later sites, those such as DND 2 which appear to be earlier in date show similar characteristics. It is not certain when Iron Age peoples first arrived in the Caledon Valley but historical evidence indicates that Sotho groups had been here from at least 1670 (Wilson, 1969, 134). This means that there was at least a century and a half, and perhaps a longer period, of occupation before the Difaqane broke out, and many of the Caledon Valley sites must surely belong to this period. At present there is no archaeological evidence of Iron Age settlement much earlier, and although this may merely reflect the paucity of research, the seventeenth century may prove to be the earliest, as this area is approaching the southern limit of Iron Age expansion on the Highveld. There is also historical and archaeological evidence to demonstrate the presence of vigorous Late Stone Age groups in the Valley and in Lesotho well into the nineteenth century, which suggests that the Iron Age occupation had not been very dense or prolonged.

The history of the settlement of Bantu-speaking peoples in the Caledon Valley is a patchwork of small autonomous groups arriving, establishing themselves, subdividing and moving to new sites. According to Ellenberger (1912, 31) and Bryant (1929) the first to settle east of the Caledon were the Phetla in about 1600, followed by the Polane and Phuti, three Nguni-speaking peoples from the Tugela Basin. Both authors record that these groups met Bushmen when they arrived, but some sections of the Sotho particularly of the Fokeng were also early arrivals and claims to priority among the Bantu-speaking groups must remain in doubt.

The Fokeng and the Kwena were among the most fissionary of Sotho peoples of the southern Highveld and it was they who formed a large part

if not the majority of the Valley's population by the end of the eighteenth century. It is not possible to establish the exact number of autonomous divisions within either the Fokeng or Kwena, but the latter were comprised of four major sections - the Molibeli, Monaheng, Hlakwana and Makhoakhoa - each of which might be further subdivided. The Fokeng seem if anything to have been even more fragmented and living in smaller groups.

Apart from those already mentioned there were a number of other peoples in the Caledon Valley by the end of the eighteenth century; the Ramokhele branch of the Taung around Mequatling, Maphuting further east, Taueneng near modern Marquard and so forth.

In some cases the subdivisions tended to concentrate in one part of the Valley, particularly the Kwena to the north, but others like the Fokeng were scattered as widely as is suggested by their name - the dew. As Lye (1969, 191) has said, "this dispersion assured the widest possible occupation of the arable lands within the area, and the maximum freedom for each community but, at the same time, rendered the Sotho vulnerable to potential enemies".

North of the Caledon Valley the Taung and Tlokwa had established some degree of political cohesion over quite large areas, but the Valley itself remained hopelessly subdivided up to the outbreak of the Difaqane. In or about the year 1822 the convulsions in Zululand drove two groups of people over the Drakensberg and into our area. The Hlubi of Mpangazita and the Ngwane of Matiwane were both Nguni-speaking peoples well practised in the new type of total warfare and, moreover they were already sworn enemies. The Hlubi first attacked the Tlokwa of the Namahali (Wilge) Basin but soon moved southwards to the Caledon pursued by the Ngwane. The Tlokwa, left semi-destitute, also took to raiding on a large scale and became notorious as the Mantatees. These three groups proceeded to ransack the Valley repeatedly attacking the earlier inhabitants and one another. The lack of political cohesion among the Sotho groups is evident in Arbousset's words that Mpangazita "ruined them one after another, without their ever dreaming of combining to oppose the common foe".

The Hlubi drove the Ramokhele Taung from Mequatling and others from the neighbourhood and took occupation of it, with their base at Maboletla (Arbousset, 1846, 294; Ellenberger, 1912; Wilson & Thompson, 1969, 394). The Ngwane occupied Senyotong on the east bank of the Caledon a mere 25 km to the south-east and fatally close considering the old enmity. Their final battle came in 1825 when Mpangazita was killed and his Hlubi were dispersed, although quite a number remained in the area acknowledging Matiwane as their chief. The battle took place at the "rock which etands

in the valley between Mekuatleng and Lishuane" (Ellenberger, 1912), which is the eastern end of the spur on which OND 2 is situated, a few kilometres from the site. The battlefield acquired the name Mpangazita and it is thus marked on the 1949 map (1:250 000 Sheet Bloemfontein 2926). Both this name and Lishuane, a Wesleyan station, are shown on figure 55 although neither appear on the recent map (1:50 000 Sheet 2927 AB Ladybrand of 1965). With two of the most powerful forces of the southern Highveld in the immediate vicinity, OND 2 could hardly have been occupied at this time. Some idea of the desolation wrought in this area is apparent in the quotation at the head of this chapter, recorded by Casalis in 1833 on his journey between Thaba Nchu and the Caledon.

Matiwane and his Ngwane followers remained at Senyotong until 1827 when they suffered two attacks and retreated southwards and out of the Valley. By this time Moshweshwe was emerging as the dominant political figure and for the first time the Caledon Valley, with the exception of the Tlokwa territory towards its northern end, was being united under one political system.

Moshweshwe built up his power by encouraging groups displaced by the Difaqane to settle in or on the fringes of his realm (Sanders, 1969, 441 & 445; Lye, 1969, 197). He settled the larger groups under their own leaders further from the centre, thereby increasing the territory under his suzerainty and providing outposts against attack. One such group were the Taung of Moletsane who settled at Mequatling where the Paris Missionary Society established a station in 1837.

Moletsane's Taung had been living in the Maphororong (Doringberg), Matloang (Steynsrus) area up to the outbreak of the Difaqane (Moletsane, 1967). Moletsane, although not the paramount chief, was a more able and determined man than 'Makhoana his uncle. With a large body of followers he was indeed one of the most powerful Sotho leaders in the early years of the Difaqane. However, in 1830 a combined attack on the Ndebele ended in disaster (Smith, 1939, 384; Omer-Cooper, 1966, 98) and Moletsane retreated southwards with a depleted following. He found refuge for a time at Philippolis while many of the scattered Taung drifted towards the more secure region under Moshweshwe's control. Encouraged by the Paris Missionary Society in 1837 he settled at Mequatling at the head of several thousand Taung (Casalis, 1861, 77). His great place 'Mutu haMoletsane was about 15 km west of Mequatling and, according to the sketch map of 1837 (*Journal des Missions Evangéliques*, 12), most of the villages were southwards or westwards of the mission station. However, it has not yet been possible to identify specific villages of this period with specific archaeological sites.

Apart from Moletsane's immediate following there were other groups of Taung, refugees from further north and remnants of the Ramakhele, who had been settled here 15 years before, as well as other Sotho groups (Casalis, 1861, 74). As we have seen in chapter 1 there were also Kubung under Moletsane, some of whom were living at the localities named Tumotumo and Makhata on the 1837 map, which were on the western slopes of Korannaberg (Webb, pers.comm.). In addition there were a number of San families living in amicable association with the Taung (Moletsane, 1967, 4). Of the Hlubi who survived Mpangazita's defeat, two of his sons and about one or two thousand had remained in the Mequatling area under the protection of Moshweshwe (Arbousset, 1846, 298). Thus with the establishment of the mission there was already a considerable local population, probably of more than 5 000 people.

Moletsane's first experience of firearms was in April 1824 when a pistol and some gunpowder were found in the abandoned missionary house at Matluaesie after the Rolong had been driven off (Ellenberger, 1912, 167). Since the function of these objects was unknown there was some disastrous experimentation around the camp fire. The first guns and horses were obtained a year later when the Taung defeated a Griqua cattle raiding party (op.cit., 1969). Likewise the Sotho of Moshweshwe first obtained guns and horses by defeating a Kora band in about 1830 (Casalis, 1889, 173 & 176; Ellenberger, 1912, 215). Thereafter a regular trade in arms grew up and by 1850 most of the Sotho were armed with guns and were mounted (Atmore & Sanders, 1971).

Other changes were also taking place in the years following 1837. Material changes included the introduction of new crops, especially wheat. Non-material changes particularly the introduction of Christianity had far-reaching effects which were reflected in such things as architecture. By 1840 some people at Mequatling were "building cottages of clay and stone" (Backhouse, 1844, 389) but at Moletsane with its 100 huts retained the traditional hemispherical form made of sticks and reeds with mud plaster (op.cit., 390).

The decade of the 1840's was one of relative peace and even prosperity in the Caledon Valley, compared to the chaos of the Difaqane, but tensions were building up as a result of white settlement following the Great Trek. The fertility of the Valley made it one of the most desirable Highveld areas. At the risk of straying from our immediate subject we must briefly examine the historical events.

In the same way that Moletsane had become established as a semi-independent ruler but under Moshweshwe's suzerainty, so had the Rolong under

Moroka settled at Thaba Nchu with their Wesleyan missionaries. Unfortunately the political cleavage coincided with differences in the denomination of the missions. Moshweshwe and Moletsane, who remained loyal to him, were served by the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society while the Tlokwa of Sekonyela and several Kora groups near Mequatling as well as the Rolong had Wesleyan missionaries. Sekonyela and Moshweshwe had been bitter enemies since the early Difaqane while the animosity between Moletsane's Taung and Moroka's Rolong was of similar duration and perhaps even stronger for each leader had lost close relatives in battles with the other. Indeed it was largely on account of Moletsane's attacks that the Rolong had moved from what is now the south-western Transvaal. Nor would the Wesleyans have been well disposed towards Moletsane for it was the house of their representative, Broadbent, that was sacked after the battle in April 1824.

The Rolong at Thaba Nchu had all along thrown in their lot with the white settlers and their missionaries obtained Moshweshwe's signature to a document (Mears, no date) which they claimed gave them freehold ownership and complete independence. Although this was certainly ^{not} Moshweshwe's intention for he regarded them in the same light as the Ramokhele Taung under Moseme who were already living at Thaba Nchu and who were subject to him. Moreover Moshweshwe, unlike Moroka, was determined to maintain the independence of Lesotho against white expansion.

In an attempt to bring some order to Transorangia, Britain annexed it as the Orange River Sovereignty in 1848. One task for the British resident, Warden, was to establish boundaries between the various groups in the Caledon Valley. But in this he was clearly biased against Moshweshwe and was influenced by the Wesleyans (Wilson & Thompson, 418). The resulting Warden Line was unacceptable to the Sotho and relations deteriorated with an increase in stock raiding. Matters came to a head in 1851 when Warden, leading a composite force, attempted to humble Moshweshwe. He marched to Platberg on the Caledon and when his demand for six thousand cattle remained unfulfilled after several days, he prepared to fight. The Battle of Viervoetberg took place on 1st July 1851 and as it closely concerns the OND 3 settlement we must examine it in some detail.

The object of the attack was to capture Viervoet, which Moletsane was using as a stronghold for his cattle. The proximity of Thaba Nchu and Mequatling, some 55 km apart, had inevitably led to renewed strife between the Taung and Rolong, especially when the Warden Line awarded much of the lands of Mequatling to the Rolong and placed many Ramokhele Taung living near Thaba Nchu under Rolong authority. The extent of Warden's bias and

the reasons for his attack on Viervoet are apparent in his report of a meeting held the day before the battle where it is repeatedly stated that "Molitsane must be punished" and he must be "driven out of the country" (Theal, 1883, 415-419).

Warden's force moved west from Platberg to Camp Ridge, 15 km south-south-west of OND 3 (S.29°11' E.27°13'30", Webb, 1950), from which a three pronged attack was launched against the south-west and west sides of the mountain range. Accounts of the battle, particularly with regard to exact localities, are not entirely clear, however the centre of the advance must have passed close to if not over the OND 3 settlement. The attackers were initially successful and taking the mountain top captured thousands of the Ramokhele cattle. The Barolong and some Kora "remained on the mountain for the purpose of plundering the huts and regaling themselves on Kaffir beer" (Warden to Smith in Theal, 1883, 421). But Moshweshwe sent up reinforcements who "retook the cattle, and cut in pieces a body of Barolongs and Korannas who offered resistance. This part of the battle was fought on an extensive flat-topped mountain which is edged with perpendicular rocks. The Basutos, after having thus killed a great number of their opponents on the flat above, drove the rest to near the brink of the precipice. There a desperate struggle took place, the assegai, the battle axe, and the gun making incessant execution among the Barolongs and Korannas, who fought bravely; those of them who did not fall by those weapons were hurled down on the awful crags below" (Paris Missionary Society to British Authorities in Theal, 1883, 423). About 150 were killed in this encounter which gave rise to the name Tihela - we pushed them down - (Webb, pers. comm.). It applies to the cliffs immediately overlooking the OND 3 site on the farm Straalfontein, which are still remembered locally as the scene of the fight.

Viervoet was a triumph for Moshweshwe but it led to the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty by Britain and the establishment of the Orange Free State Republic which was to become a greater threat to Sotho independence. War broke out again in 1858 and from 1865-8 when it was only concluded by the declaration of a British protectorate over Lesotho. By the Convention of Aliwal North the boundary of Lesotho was fixed at the Caledon River. Moshweshwe's subjects living west of the river including Molitsane's Taung were forced to move and the 'Conquered Territory' was divided up into white farms.

CONCLUSIONS

Having sketched in the historical background to the Mequatling area we must now attempt to fit the archaeological sites into this framework. The dating evidence for OND 2, as we have seen, indicates a pre-Difaqane occupation. Although it is not possible to establish a firm correlation between the site and the historical sequence it is most probable that the occupants were one of the small Sotho groups who were living in the area before the nineteenth century. Stone structures destroyed during the Difaqane were seen by Backhouse (1844, 392) a few kilometres to the north-west beyond Mequatling. The Caledon Valley sites in general are likely to be the work of these smaller groups as is the case with Metlaeeng, a Fokeng and Hlakwana settlement (Walton, 1953). Hlakwana were indeed living a little to the north of OND 2 up to the time of the Difaqane (Ellenberger, 1912, 71). The fissiparous nature of such groups and perhaps also their character as pioneering Iron Age communities in an area still partly occupied by Late Stone Age peoples, may be the reason for the lack of refinements in settlement pattern and ceramics.

At the present stage of research, we can only regard OND 2 and related sites as a general expression of the Iron Age in the Middle Caledon Valley. The extent of its distribution northwards and southwards is not entirely known although stone ruins do occur throughout the valley to south of Wepener (fig. 7). There may be other ceramic traditions and other types of settlement, perhaps built of timber and mud, that have not yet been identified. Certainly, the number of sites located from the air photographs is less than one would expect in view of the fertility of the area. During the fieldwork a number of sites which could not be seen on the photographs were pointed out by local inhabitants, something that did not happen in the more open country of the northern Orange Free State. More intensive fieldwork might reveal settlements built with little or no stone. The excavation of rock shelters with Iron Age deposits might be the best way of establishing the length of occupation in this region.

For OND 3 the evidence is much clearer. The imports and particularly the gun flints fix the occupation securely between the limits of 1830 and 1868 - the only period when there were fairly large Sotho settlements equipped with firearms in the area. Both excavated huts were destroyed by fire with the valuable items and food they contained also being destroyed. This suggests warfare, and since Tihela was the scene of the Battle of Viervoet, 1851 is the most likely date. The Rolong are recorded as "plundering the huts and regaling themselves on Kaffir beer" (Theal, 1883). Since the

OND 3 settlement is the closest known to the scene of the Rolong downfall, it seems most likely that it was the source of the beer. It may well have been set on fire at the same time.

We have already seen (chapter 7) that OND 3 belongs to the Type V tradition both in terms of settlement pattern and pottery. Further north this tradition is in many cases associated with the Taung people and it is therefore significant that OND 3 dates to the period of Taung domination of the Mequatling area. From the historical evidence alone it is possible to establish that it must have been occupied by Moletsane's people or their allies. Taken with the archaeological evidence this means that it was almost certainly a Taung settlement. The contrast with OND 2 and the other Caledon Valley sites indicates a rather different but related people who had more recent connections with the northern part of our area. Indeed the present evidence suggests that the Type V tradition may only have reached this southern limit of its distribution during the nineteenth century. The southward movement of many Taung during the Difaqane could well have been the mechanism by which this change took place. Both Type V and Caledon Valley sites are securely linked with Sotho groups at a number of localities. The latter appear to be settlements of the pre-Difaqane population of the Caledon Valley itself, while the Type V pattern may only have been introduced by the later refugees.

"As we advanced nearer, and gained higher ground, the multitude of houses which continued rising into view as far as I could see, excited astonishment; while their novel form and character seized my whole attention, as my eager eyes surveyed and examined their outline though yet at a distance. They occupied, in detached groups, a portion of the plain, not less than a mile and a half in diameter"

Burchell in 1812 on entering Dithakong.

Such might have been the reaction of an observant traveller on first seeing OXF 1 in its heyday, for it was in many ways similar to Dithakong if somewhat smaller. The settlement is on a low dolerite ridge from which the flat plains of the western Orange Free State stretch northwards and westwards towards the Vaal River. The ridge, Vogelersand, is part of the minor escarpment running down the centre of our area as described in chapter 2. The relief in the neighbourhood (fig. 66) is therefore more marked than in general on the southern Highveld, at around 125 m, but much less so than in the Caledon Valley. The escarpment seldom consists of a single scarp face but rather a series of spurs and re-entrants governed by the pattern of local streams. It is this more broken ground and especially the hillslopes that support patches of bush and woodland vegetation in contrast to the monotonous grassveld to the east and west. Although a variety of trees and shrubs are represented the balance is perhaps delicate and it seems likely that there would have been more extensive woodland before the centuries of Iron Age exploitation followed by the more intensive commercial farming of the past century.

Today on the slopes of Vogelersand there are patches of Acacia karroo while individual trees of Ziziphus mucronata and Celtis africana are scattered sparsely over the site. Perhaps it was better wooded formerly for, to revert to the analogy with Dithakong:

"A town of similar construction can, it seems, be erected only in a wood or grove, in which, therefore houses take the place of trees; and consequently it cannot conveniently, and I believe, never is, on a subsequent removal, re-erected exactly on the same place where it formerly stood" (Burchell, 1822, 361).

Vogelersand is formed by an extensive and thick dolerite sill which has been dissected by tributaries of the Erasmusspruit. Extending south-westward along the ridge from OXF 1 are a number of smaller settlements

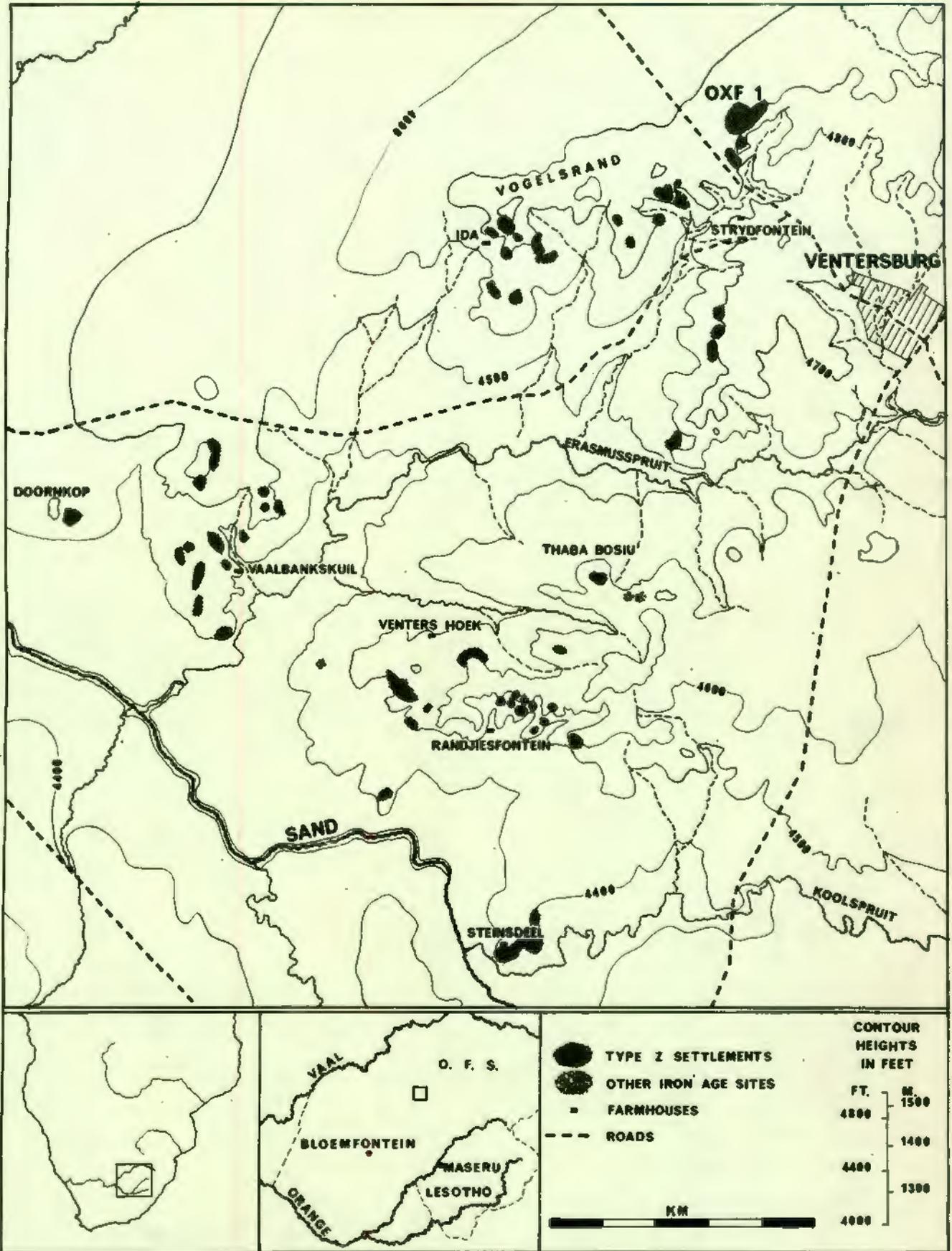


Fig. 66

also of Type Z (fig. 66). These are also found on the south side of the Erasmusepruit Valley and they continue down to the Sand River. No further sites were observed to the west nor for some distance to the north of those shown on the map (fig. 66), however they do continue up the Sand River to the south-east where concentrations were noted at Sandrivierspoort and Maphororong (Doornberg), both well-wooded areas with flat hilltops. This cluster of Type Z settlements is the greatest concentration in our area (fig. 8 in end pocket) and it merits a far more intensive research program than has been possible here.

All sites visited in this area, with the exception of Maphororong where there are also some of Type V, had the same type of pottery and the same architectural elements - structural details and settlement pattern - as those at OXF 1. However, most sites are smaller, of simpler construction and show less evidence of rebuilding and the accumulation of deposits, factors which suggest a socio-economic differentiation between sites. There may have been a few large settlements occupied or reoccupied over a considerable time span. The neighbouring smaller sites may have been subordinate villages or in some cases cattle posts, occupied for shorter periods. But, since the fieldwork of this project was limited to the OXF 1 site, no conclusions can yet be reached on inter-site relationships.

THE SETTLEMENT

The neighbourhood of OXF 1 has the Sotho name Matloang which also applies to the Erasmusepruit (Webb, 1950 and 1969 amendments). The recurrence of this name at several localities is, however, liable to cause confusion, so it is necessary to state which locality is intended when using the name. In particular, this site must not be confused with the Matloang visited by Arbousset (1846, 204) which was historically of great importance to the Taung and which contains the remains of Type V settlements ($527^{\circ}59'$ $E27^{\circ}33'$).

The fieldwork was carried out during March and April 1967 and I am very grateful for the assistance of C.A. Poggenpoel and, for part of the time, A.J.B. Humphreys. The settlement is on the present farms Strydfontein No. 211 and Main Reef No. 375, the boundary fence of which bisects the densest part ($528^{\circ}03'$ $E27^{\circ}06'$). This fence, which does not correspond with the cadastral boundary (1:50 000 2827 AA Ventersburg), is of some importance to the site, for the Wessels family, owners of Strydfontein, have not allowed the extensive robbing of building stone that has taken place on the other side of the fence.

The settlement extends for 1,2 km along the ridge; it is 0,5 km across at its broadest and much more concentrated than the Type V sites. The north-western portion is densest and best preserved and therefore most work was done here (Plate 9). The work consisted of surveying a section of the site to examine the settlement pattern (fig. 67), excavating a portion of a midden deposit and the excavation of Dwellings 1 and 2. In addition, an isolated corbelled hut at the southern end of the settlement was excavated to examine its relationship to the rest of the site which has quite distinct architecture.

Just to the south-east is a small tributary of the Eraemusepruit which presumably was the water supply, although it may only be perennial a little lower down, towards the Strydfontein farmhouse. The dolerite ridge has little soil and the grass cover it supports, partly for this reason and partly from recent overgrazing, is poor in quality and mainly unpalatable "ateekgras". The broader portions of the valleys and the plains to the north would have offered the best potential for both grazing and agriculture.

In the description of the Type Z settlement pattern in chapter 3 it was mentioned that the settlement units are sometimes crammed closely together but that there is usually sufficient space for easy circulation between them. The northern part of the OXF 1 site is particularly concentrated and on the ground it is difficult to work out the individual settlement units. The densest part is on the relatively flat crest of the ridge overlooking a low scarp some 15 m high facing north-westwards. Some of the largest and best built structures occur in this area, together with considerable evidence for prolonged occupation - midden deposits and alterations to the stone structures.

The settlement as a whole was too large to be surveyed with the limited means available, therefore a representative section 96 by 175 metres was chosen (fig. 67). This extended from the densely built-up ridge top, including the largest of all the primary enclosures, down the scarp slope to include the structures at its foot, and beyond to the edge of the settlement. Contours are drawn at two metre intervals to indicate the scarp slope and to show that although the steepest slopes were avoided some structures were built on quite steep ground.

At first sight the plan may appear to have little pattern to it but on looking closer we can see parts of several Type Z settlement units. The largest enclosure together with the two adjacent ones on its southern side, partly off the plan, are the nucleus for a large settlement unit of which some 12 dwellings are visible as a fringe around the central stock pens.

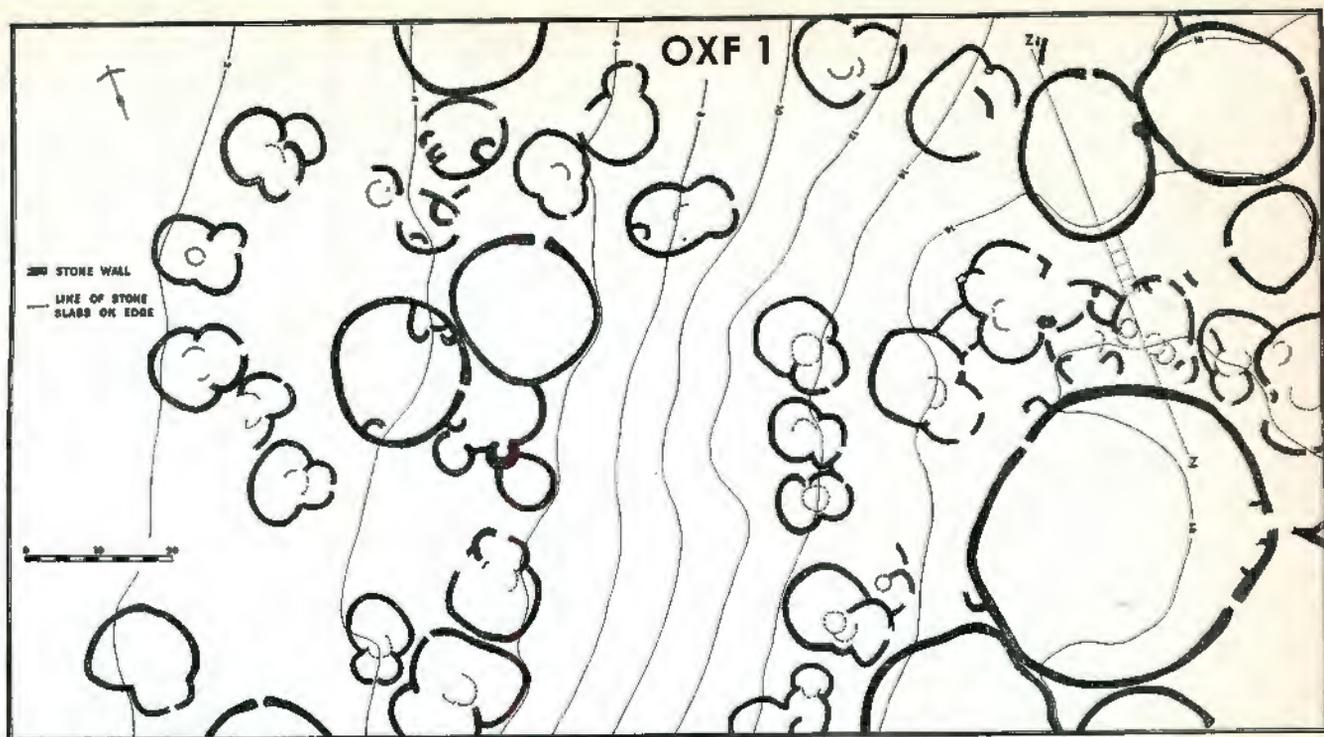


Fig. 67. Survey of part of OXF 1.

From its size and position this settlement unit must have been one of the most important in the hierarchy of the settlement. Immediately to the north a second group of three primary enclosures seem to be part of a second settlement unit although only two dwellings are visibly related to them, others being off the plan to the north and east. Below the scarp, two large and several smaller primary enclosures are linked by secondary walling, one of the smaller ones may have been the men's meeting place or *kgotla*. Eight or nine bilobial dwellings around this nucleus completed the unit. In the great majority of dwellings on this and other sites the entrances face inwards towards the centre of the units. On the edges of the plan to the north and south are portions of two further units. The western edge of the plan coincides with the periphery of the settlement, and it is evident that there was no surrounding wall nor any other arrangement of structures forming a boundary.

Neither secondary walling nor secondary enclosures play a significant part in this pattern although both may occur. The example already mentioned links several stock pens to form a secondary enclosure into which they open, a feature more common on related sites further north. This is somewhat reminiscent of the Type V pattern, but the resemblance is slight and indicative of no more than a generic relationship in common with other Highveld settlement types. Other secondary features include the small enclosures attached to the walls of large primary enclosures, perhaps as

shelters for herders, and the walls of some of the bilobial dwellings in the larger and more dense settlement unit.

The walls of the stock pens tend to be thicker and built of larger stones than the lobe walls. A very characteristic feature of Type Z sites is the way that the walls are thickened on either side of an entrance and the wall-ends are virtually rectangular. This is more marked on entrances to stock pens than dwellings but may be seen in both cases.

As on the Type V sites, one notices changes in the quality of walling over fairly short distances. This is to some extent related to the function and importance of the structure, larger examples are usually better built. But another factor is the available raw material, and here there is evidence that the stone was used very close to its source. In the two photographs (Plates 52 & 53) the nature of the bedrock is clearly reflected in the quality of the walls. The primary enclosure shown in Plate 52 is beside the largest enclosure on the plan (fig. 67); its large angular and rounded blocks contrast remarkably with the thin slabs of the wall in Plate 53, which is one of the best preserved structures on the site, reaching almost two metres in height. The fact that the two enclosures are only 75 metres apart shows that highly localised sources of raw material were used.

The importance of the circular primary enclosures in the minds of the builders may be seen by examining the group of three large enclosures in the south-east corner of the plan (fig. 67). Here, despite the distortion caused by proximity, despite the duplication of walling and despite the closing of access to and therefore wastage of the triangular area between the three pens, the more or less circular form has been retained. When the density of the settlement becomes as great as this circular forms are no longer the most efficient, and their retention leads to practical problems of this sort. Another example may be seen in the north-east corner of the plan where two large enclosures were built touching one another. Both were clearly intended as primary enclosures but because of their proximity the smaller of the two has its walls abutting against the larger, thus economising on the length of walling needed. However, the large and non-functional buttress at one wall junction indicates that the builders were not entirely satisfied with this practical but to them unconventional solution to the problem.

The structures selected for closer examination and excavation, Dwellings 1 and 2 and the corbelled hut, are off the plan to the south-east. Within the area of the plan a trench was excavated in a midden deposit that had accumulated behind the wall of a primary enclosure. This will be described after the excavated structures.

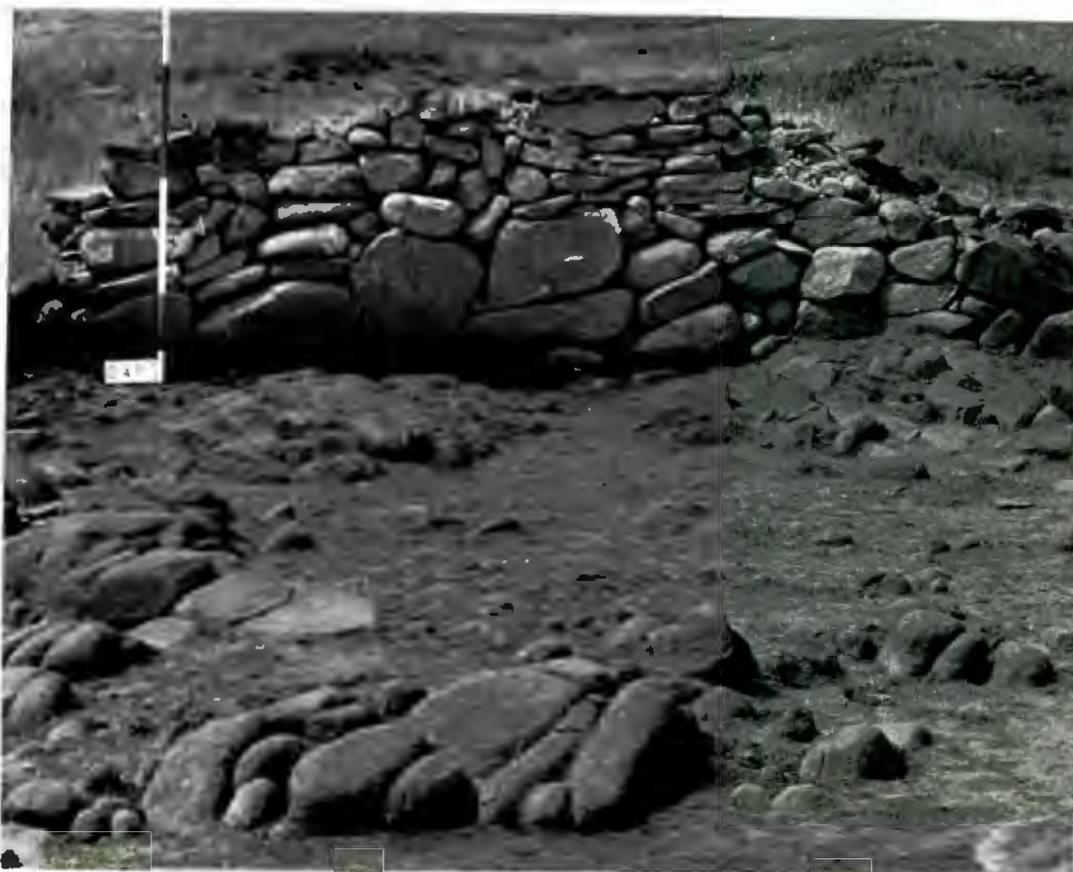


Plate 52. Example of walling at OXF 1 built of large angular and rounded blocks similar to the stone outcropping in the immediate vicinity.



Plate 53. Walling built of thin flat slabs similar to the form of the neighbouring rock outcrop. Plates 52 and 53 were taken only 75 m apart which emphasises the very localised origin of the building material.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Dwelling 1

Dwelling 1 is situated on the southern edge of the most densely occupied part of the settlement, 200 m from the largest enclosure in figure 67. It was excavated before Dwelling 2 although it is the more complex of the two, being a multilobial dwelling comprising five lobe-shaped courtyards and four huts. It was selected for excavation because it was the best preserved example of a multilobial dwelling and it therefore represents the relatively rare examples where dwellings achieve a greater complexity than the characteristic bilobial pattern, as represented by Dwelling 2. An additional factor influencing its selection was the preservation of the ends of the stone walls abutting against the huts and the presence of verandas on two huts - features which might help to establish the original form and construction of the huts.

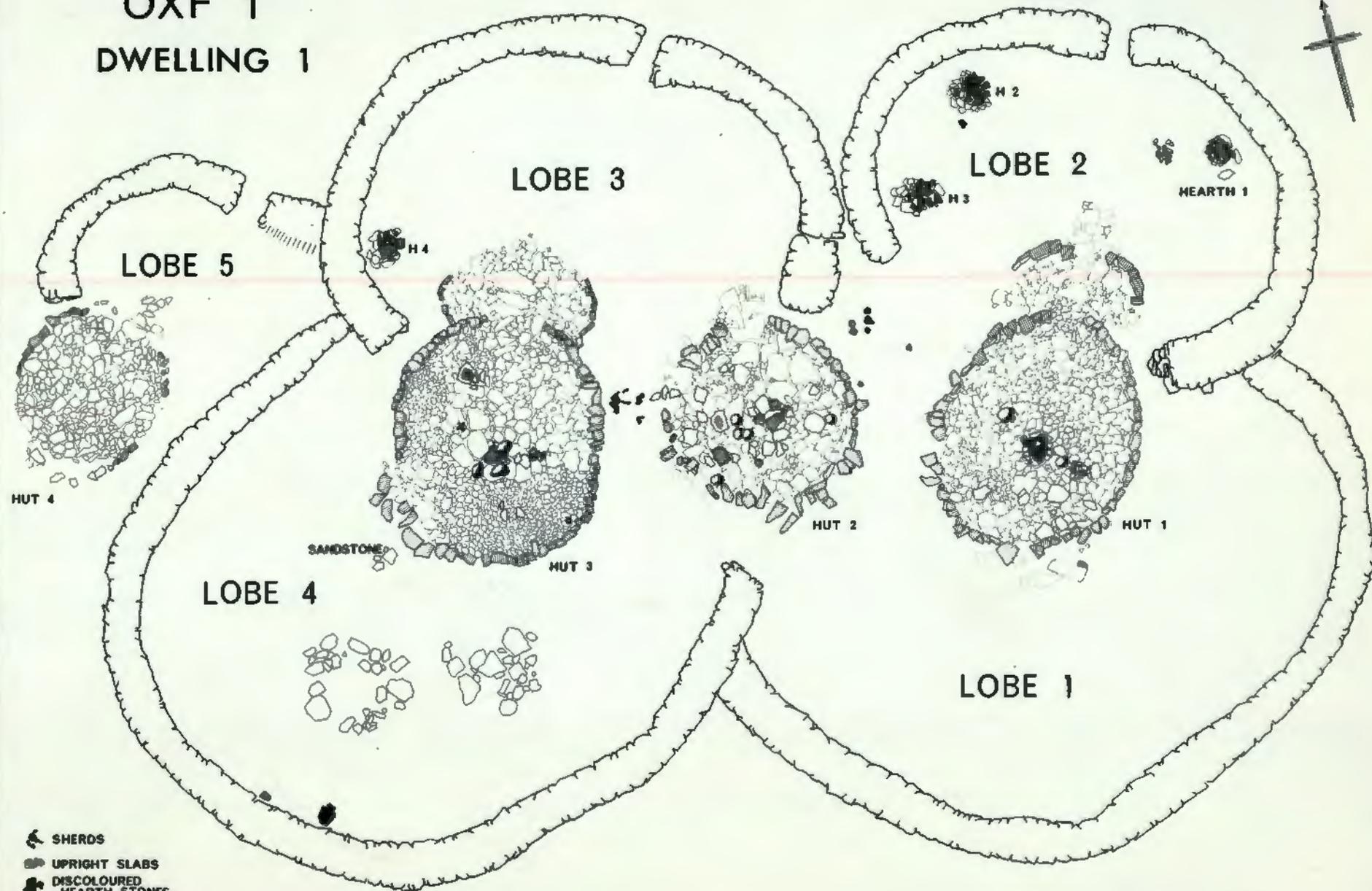
Dwelling 1 is in essence two bilobial dwellings joined laterally, with Hut 2 built at the junction and a monolobial dwelling added at the northern end (fig. 68). The huts are circular or oval, paved, and they have a row of upright stone slabs around their circumference. The verandas are of the same construction; they are crescentic in plan curving around the front portion of the huts.

The stone-built features are shown on the detailed plan (fig. 68) and therefore the description will be brief. The paving is fairly level although a variety of shapes and sizes of stone was used. This is particularly evident in Hut 3 where the rear and one side is cobbled rather than paved. At each entrance there are some particularly large slabs which in Hut 1 continue across the veranda and as a short path in front. Several of the stones used in the paving had previously been used as lower grindstones, which shows that Dwelling 1 does not date to the beginning of the occupation.

The paving continues right up to the row of standing slabs which are all that remain of the hut walls. Like the paving, the slabs are quarried pieces of dolerite with parallel jointing, some 2-5 cm thick. They tend to slope inwards rather than standing quite vertically, but elsewhere on the site they were more vertical. On the plan they are shaded for clarity. On the western side of each hut there has been some displacement of the stones, presumably as the result of erosion, for the ground slopes slightly in this direction.

There was a thin deposit of hard soil in each hut above the paving but the taller upright slabs protruded above ground level. Just above and

OXF 1
DWELLING 1



between the stones of the paving the soil became harder which suggested that there had been a daga floor, although the soil did not seem to differ much from the light reddish-brown soil of the area in general. The presence of daga floors was confirmed by the fact that the features within the huts such as hearths and fire stones were raised a few centimetres above the paving on a layer of soil. However, it was not possible to relocate the surfaces of these floors.

Huts 1-3 contained a number of interesting features on their floors, focussing on hearths in the centre of each. The hearths are small areas, about 50-60 cm in diameter, of flat paving raised above the floor and blackened by fire. There may have been some daga plaeter over and around the stones but no signs of this were noted. The central position of the hearths show that there could not have been a central roof pole. Beside each hearth were several almost spherical dolerite stones, about 20 cm in diameter. They were clearly selected for their roundness for they contrast with the other structural stone and in some cases had been further shaped by hammering. The requisite number seems to have been three and their function would have been to support pots over the fires. In Hut 1 only two were found while in Hut 2 there were an additional two towards the edge of the hut.

On the south-east side of the hearths in Huts 1 and 3 were small groups of upright slabs forming what appear to have been stands, about 30 cm in diameter, perhaps for pots. Hut 2 lacked this feature but had a horizontal slab of equivalent size raised above the floor in the same position. Huts 2 and 3 contained an upper and a lower grindstone each and in Hut 2 there were two uppers, in addition to the grindstones incorporated into the paving. The lower and one upper stone in Hut 2 were stained with red ochre. The lower stone in Hut 3 had a shallow elongated hollow in the centre of its grinding surface some five centimetres wide and more than 18 cm long; the stone being broken it was not possible to establish the total length. Another slab of dolerite showed some traces of grinding, but the well-worn querns so common on Type V sites were not found in this dwelling and indeed were seldom seen on the site. Grindstones are indicated on the plan by cross-hatching. No features were recorded from the verandas of Huts 1 and 3 which are indeed relatively small.

Huts 2 and 4 contained numerous sherds but the vessels could^{not} be reconstructed. In Hut 3 there was a small gracefully shaped bowl (fig. 73, 3) broken in an inverted position. Huts 1 and 3 each yielded a small chunk of flaked stone which appear to be Late Stone Age debitage.

As is characteristic of bilobial dwellings, the entrances of Huts 1,

3 and 4 and their verandas face the entrances to the dwellings which are in the centre of the front lobes. In this case the direction is north-east, towards the centre of the settlement unit of which Dwelling 1 is a part. Hut 2 is however in an uncharacteristic position, being in the space formed by the junction of the two bilobial dwellings containing Huts 1 and 3. It faces northwards to avoid the end of the lobe wall.

The huts are the primary element of the dwellings, the verandas and lobes being secondary structures. The walls of the front lobes, numbers 2, 3 and 5, abut against the hut walls, while those of the rear lobes, 1 and 4, abut against the front lobes. We can assume that where the stone walls of the lobes abutted against the now vanished hut walls there was a close fit, for such is characteristic of Iron Age construction in general. From this we are then able to establish something of the nature of the hut walls. Within the huts the paving continues right up to the row of upright slabs which therefore probably formed the inner face of the wall. With Huts 2 and 4 there is a gap of about 20 cm between the slabs and the abutting wall-end. With Huts 1 and 4 this is somewhat larger, 40-50 cm, but with Hut 1 part of the gap was subsequently filled by additional stones leaving only 20 cm. We may infer that the hut walls, presumably made of daga and perhaps poles, were about 20 cm thick.

The last metre of the Lobe 3 wall which abuts against Hut 2 was clearly built after the remainder of the wall. Its addition would have closed off access between Lobes 2 and 3. In the narrow gap between the wall-end and the hut three cannon bones from a medium sized mammal were found, one of which had a series of cut notches (fig. 78, 12 & 13).

Within the lobes there was a little more deposit than on the hut floors but still no more than about 10 cm except among the rubble of the collapsed walls. The surface layer of light brown soil and grass roots gave way to several centimetres of harder material of the same colour but containing decomposed dolerite. This resembled the material on the hut floors and is almost certainly a daga layer. It was particularly prevalent in Lobe 2 but not noticed in Lobe 1 suggesting that only the front lobes may have been given daga floors. Beneath the light brown layers was a slightly redder and more sandy horizon which extended beneath the structures. Its upper surface was below the bases of the upright stones and well below the paving and stone walls. It therefore predates the construction and appears to be a natural layer, perhaps of hillwash. Below it are a few centimetres of weathered bedrock immediately above the true bedrock. In several places particularly in Lobes 3 and 4 the weathered or unweathered bedrock was met immediately below the few centimetres of occupational

deposit. In Lobe 2 where both the daga and the reddish sandy layer were well developed a pattern of mud cracks was noticed near the veranda of Hut 1. Cultural remains were limited to the upper light brown deposits and therefore excavation was not extended into the natural layers throughout. An interesting feature was that the entrances to both Lobe 2 and 3 were in areas where the unweathered dolerite protruded through to the surface. This would have been convenient as forming a ready-made paving in the entrances and it seems likely that the positions were chosen with this in mind.

The lobe walls are constructed in the same way as the majority of Iron Age walls, with two carefully built faces and a rubble core. They are built of narrower and smaller stones than most stock pens and were probably not more than 1-1,5 m high, although the walls of some dwellings were noted up to 2 m high. On either side of the entrances the walls thicken and they have the almost rectangular ends characteristic of Type 2 settlements. Where the walls of the two front lobes, 2 and 3, meet they do not abut as with the other junctions but instead they touch tangentially forming a narrow crack between the two. Debris had been thrown into this including bones, sherds and a particularly long rib bone which occupied the narrowest portion of the crack.

Paved hearths 50-60 cm in diameter and similar to those within the Huts were uncovered in both front lobes. There were three in Lobe 2 and one in Lobe 3, but none in the rear lobes. Another significant feature of their locations is that three are on the right of the entrances and only one on the left. Hearth 3 consisted of a later hearth superimposed on an earlier one. The earlier (shown unshaded on fig. 68) was several centimetres deeper and formed a hollow. The latter was moved upwards and slightly further from the wall, perhaps to afford a better draught. A small stand of upright slabs, similar to the examples from Huts 1 and 3, was found beside Hearth 1 but not by the other hearths. A sample for radiocarbon dating was collected from Hearth 2, the result is discussed below.

In Lobe 4 towards the rear wall were two circular arrangements of large stones 1,5 m in diameter. Similar examples were noticed in some other dwellings, always in the rear lobes. Historical and ethnological evidence reviewed below indicates that these were the supports for grain bins. Between them and the rear of Hut 3 were several flat pieces of sandstone. Although these showed no obvious signs of use, a small piece from nearby had one surface ground smooth, together with traces of red staining. The pieces may have come from a single block, used as a grindstone, which must have been brought to the site from some distance, probably several kilometres.

During excavation the ground around the huts was searched for post holes but without success. Cultural material was scattered around the huts and particularly in the rear lobes, 1 and 4, from which most of the reconstructable vessels were recovered (figs. 73 & 74). Between the huts on either side of Hut 2 were particularly concentrated areas of debris including sherds, upper grindstones, small stones and pieces of bone, some of which are shown on the plan (fig. 68). Both areas are slightly blackened but there are no definite indications of fires and their significance is not known. Each area contained sherds from undecorated globular cooking pots (fig. 74, 1 & 3).

Hut 4 and Lobe 5 were lacking in the detailed features found elsewhere and their construction was poorer. They are clearly later additions to the dwelling but this alone is insufficient explanation. It is probable that the status of the occupants was lower than that of the other huts.

The area immediately outside the lobe walls was used for dumping rubbish, several thin ashy lenses containing cultural material were encountered in clearing around outside the walls. However, most rubbish seems to have been dumped on regular middens in the spaces between the settlement units.

The distribution of structural features, material items and debris yield a considerable amount of information on the pattern of life within the dwelling. Cooking took place within the huts and in the front lobes, usually on the right hand side on entering. Both areas must have been swept regularly for there was no accumulation of ash, and indeed relatively little cultural material, with the exception of the two areas between Huts 1, 2 and 3. Ochre was ground in Hut 2, probably in order to decorate pottery or as a cosmetic. The other grindstones were mainly in huts or in between Huts 1 and 2, but the few lower stones and the limited wear on their surfaces suggests that grinding was a less important activity than on sites further east. There is little evidence to suggest that there was a special outdoor working area, although the stand beside Hearth 1 may have been used in some process of food preparation.

Faunal remains were scattered about with no particular concentrations except between the walls of Lobes 2 and 3. They include cattle, small stock, an alcelaphine antelope and freshwater mussel, all of which would have been eaten. Agricultural produce was stored in two large bins in Lobe 4, which appear to have catered for the whole dwelling. Both rear lobes contained larger quantities of broken pottery than the front ones. Some of these vessels may have been complete at the time of abandonment, but it

does seem that the rear lobes were not kept as cleanly swept as the front. Livestock was clearly excluded from the dwellings.

The plan of the dwelling indicates a close pattern of kinship among its inhabitants, possibly a polygamous household with junior and senior dependants. Similarly, Burchell (1822, 265) mentions the case of a wealthy man at Dithakong who had "four different dwelling houses, and as many wives". However, it seems unlikely that a close approximation to the original social organization can be reconstructed from the archaeological evidence alone (David, 1971). Anthropological evidence from related peoples would certainly help, and it will be considered below but the most detailed information in this respect (Schapera, 1935) warns of the great variations in the composition of the population of apparently similar dwellings.

Dwelling 2

Dwelling 1 backs on to a belt of open veld, 100 m wide, which separates Dwelling 2 and the remainder of its small settlement unit from the main concentration of the settlement. Although there had been some robbing of stone from the lobe walls, their bases and ends were intact and the upright slabs indicated a well-shaped hut and veranda (Plate 54). The plan is that of a regular bilobial dwelling and therefore Dwelling 2 was chosen to represent the pattern (fig. 69). The characteristics are:

1. Approximately circular hut, paved and with periphery of upright slabs.
2. Veranda curving around front of the hut. Here the veranda is usually extensive continuing around three sides.
3. Wall of the front lobe abutting against the wall of the hut or veranda. The entrance to the dwelling is in the centre of this wall directly opposite the hut entrance.
4. The wall of the rear lobe abuts against that of the front. The rear area is somewhat larger than, and can only be entered from the front.

This pattern demonstrates that the order of construction of bilobial dwellings in general was first the hut, followed by the veranda, then Lobe 1 and finally Lobe 2. The order provides a key to the relative importance of each element, for on sites in this area there are a number of monolobial dwellings which only have a front lobe. On the other hand verandas are less important than front lobes for they appear to be absent from more than half the huts (fig. 67).

Despite the monolobial and the occasional multilobial examples such

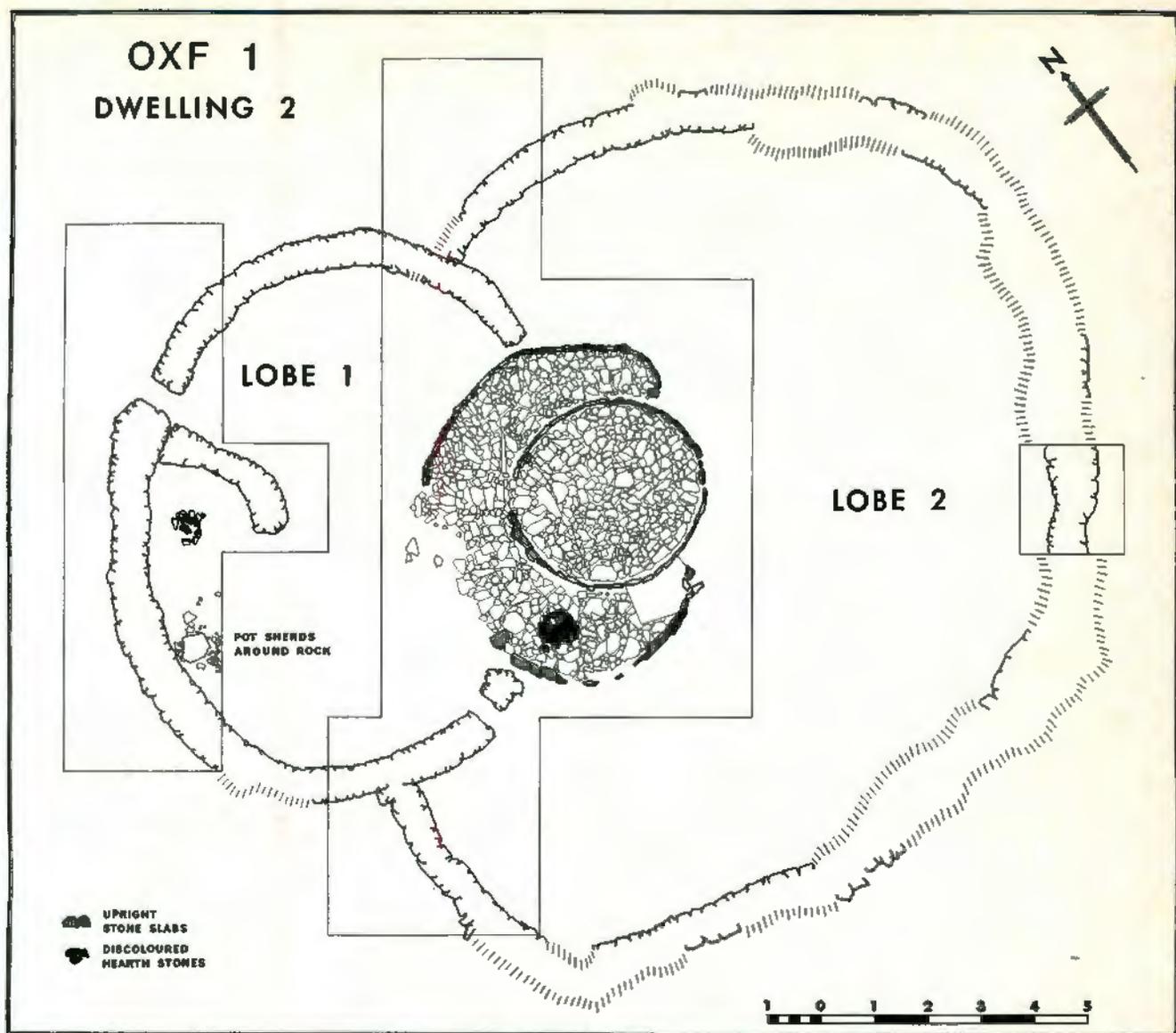


Fig. 69. OXF 1 Dwelling 2, a bilobial dwelling.

as Dwelling 1, the bilobial pattern is predominant. Moreover the others are essentially variations of this pattern towards complexity or simplicity. There are, in addition, dwellings which do not seem to have a lobial pattern. In some cases this may be because of damage to walls or because of masking or distortion of the plan where several phases of building are superimposed. Other cases may be idiosyncratic variations of no general significance. Certainly no other regular variations were noticed among the dwellings at this site.

The bilobial pattern is a rather ingenious even if unconscious answer to the problem of linking three circular enclosures - given that the circle is the primary element in all settlement patterns in our area. What it achieves is to provide three separate but adjoining living areas with no duplication of walling nor wasted corners as would normally be the case with adjacent circles. Because the characteristic shape is relatively

complex, an isometric reconstruction has been made of what Dwelling 2 would have looked like during its occupation (fig. 70). Information on details of construction not available from the archaeological evidence has been obtained from historical and ethnological sources which will be discussed in chapter 11.

With the experience gained from Dwelling 1 and because it is almost symmetrical, Dwelling 2 was only partially excavated using a one metre grid to lay out cuttings over the most significant features. This was a necessary economy because of limited time and labour resources. The method was successful in establishing the occupation pattern but the sample of material recovered was naturally incomplete.

The hut is almost circular and at 3,5 m in diameter is large for its type. Both it and the veranda had only a few centimetres of deposit above the paving but sufficient to show that there had been a daga floor 2-3 cm thick and that this had been discoloured by fire. In this respect the veranda floor was most interesting, being blackened towards the front but the colour changing to a light grey and then to pink-red towards the rear on the south-west side. The texture was noticeably gravelly, indicative of a daga made from weathered dolerite, whereas the surface silt was more sandy. A reddened patch of the floor was uncovered and left in situ, its variegated colouring suggesting various degrees of oxidation at fairly high temperatures. This was confirmed by finding vitrified nodules which require temperatures in excess of those of a small cooking fire for their formation - the evidence as a whole indicating that the hut burnt down.

The hut floor was raised slightly above the veranda which in turn was higher than the floor of the lobes. This was partly because of the paving and daga but it also seems that the whole was raised on a low earth platform. Unlike the huts of Dwelling 1, the paving of hut and veranda stopped short of the upright slabs of the hut wall leaving a gap of 10-15 cm within the hut and 6-10 cm without. This suggests that a wall 20-30 cm was built before the paving was laid down. Although nothing as definite as the base of a wall was found there were fragments of brown and red daga in the gap, suggesting that it was a daga wall without a wooden framework.

The width of the veranda at 1,5 m is larger than usual and it would have added considerably to the living area of the hut. On the west side was a typical paved hearth, the stones resting on the daga floor. The paving continued from the hut through the entrance to the veranda, there being a step down of 10 cm in the doorway.

Immediately beside the entrance, on the left as one enters, was a particularly elongated slab 70 cm long set into the paving (fig. 69 and

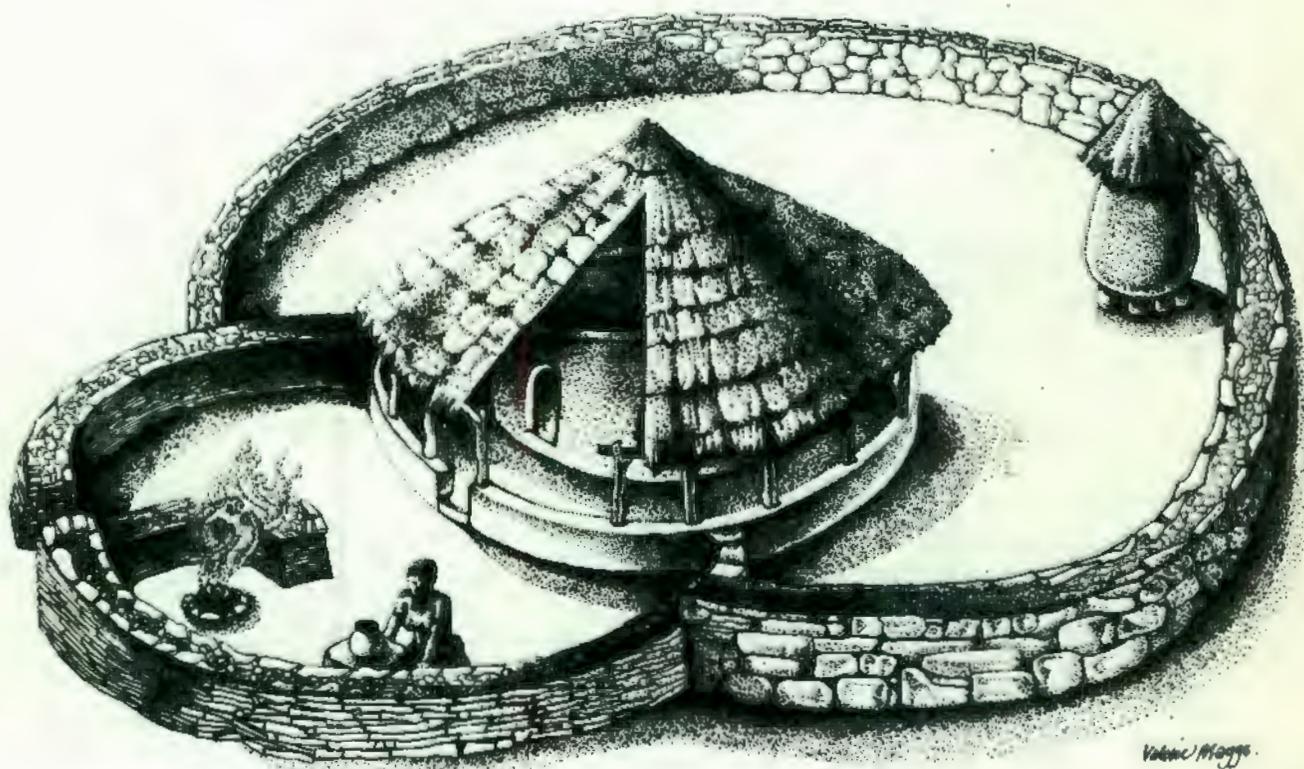


Fig. 70
Reconstruction of Dwelling 2

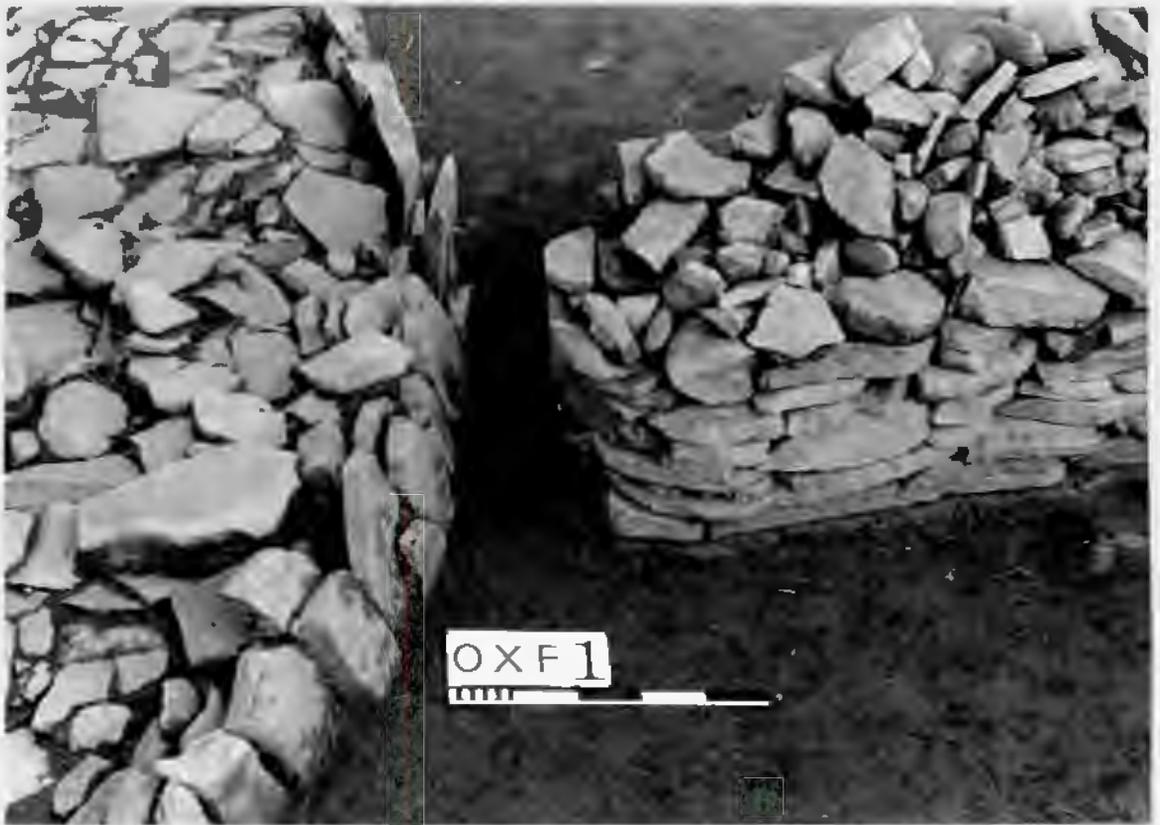


Plate 56. Junction of the walls of Lobe 1 and the veranda on the north side of Dwelling 2. The gap of about 15 cm suggests that there was a daga wall covering the upright slabs and extending up to the wall-end, therefore about 20 cm thick.



Plate 57. Midden excavation showing depth of deposit that had accumulated against the quarried dolerite outcrop. Radiocarbon sample collected from hollow between pole and base of quarry. Wall on left is relatively late.

uncovered in its characteristic position on the right side of the entrance. A curved secondary wall three metres long was added to screen the hearth and adjacent working area. This area appears to have been one of the most intensively used parts of the dwelling. There was a concentration of broken pottery and bones, especially beside a large flat slab whose upper surface showed signs of smoothing but not sufficiently to indicate use as a grindstone. From the sherds in this area and near the hearth it was possible to reconstruct several pots and bowls (fig. 75, 3 & 5; fig. 76, 3-5) one of which had been used for cooking. It therefore seems that a number of complete vessels were left here when the dwelling was abandoned.

Cooking and food preparation were evidently carried out in Lobe 1, perhaps pots were kept here as well. There was also some pottery from within the hut (fig. 75, 1 & 2) and on the veranda (fig. 76, 2) as well as scattered sherds throughout but particularly in Lobe 2. These scattered sherds could not be reassembled and it seems that here again the rear lobe was less carefully swept than the front. No grain storage facilities were noted in Lobe 2 but then very little of its rear portion was excavated.

The evidence that the hut burnt down and that complete pots were left in Lobe 1 suggests that the dwelling was abandoned suddenly and not reoccupied. Several hundred sherds were found just outside the walls on either side and a smaller number in front. This indicates local dumping of sweepings as at Dwelling 1 and suggests a fairly long occupation, perhaps a decade or more.

Corbelled Hut Group

At the extreme southern end of the site, close to the stream and about 100 m from the last of the Type Z settlement units was the only definite corbelled hut on the site. One or two thickly walled small structures were noted elsewhere but they were too badly damaged to be identified as corbelled huts. Certainly no corbelled huts were built within bilobial dwellings and it is clear from all Type Z sites visited that the presence of such huts is quite exceptional. It was therefore decided to examine the hut and its associated group of stone structures (fig. 71) to see if the cultural remains agreed with those of the Type Z dwellings.

Apart from the rubble fallen from the walls there was very little deposit within and around the structures; merely a few centimetres of reddish-brown soil which graded into the somewhat harder but otherwise similar pre-occupation soil. As the cultural material was near the surface, excavation was for the most part only carried down to the level of the base of the walls. Rubble was cleared and the lower branches of a thorn tree

OXF 1

CORBELLED HUT GROUP

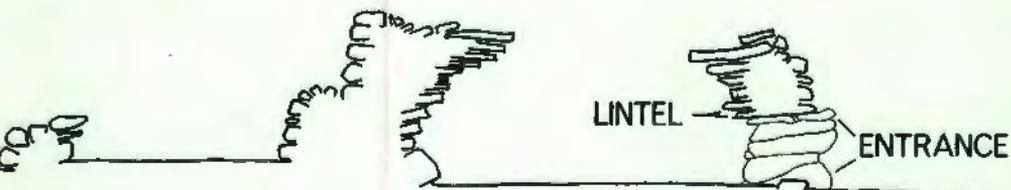
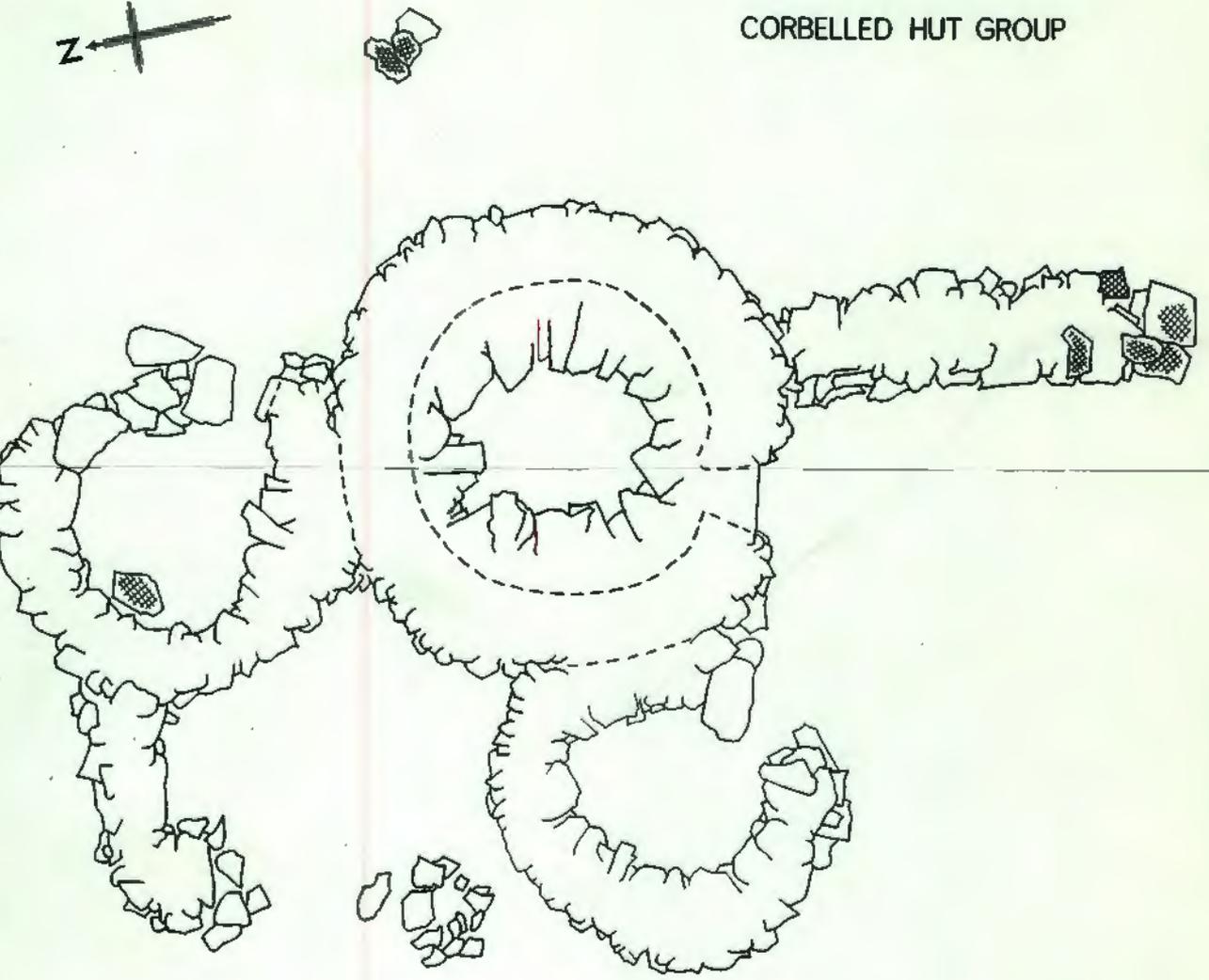


Fig. 71

(Ziziphus mucronata) which overshadowed the hut were pruned but the tree was not removed as this species is protected in the Orange Free State.

Several sherds were found within the hut and many around it. The latter included several with the grooved decoration characteristic of the site, and the assemblage was similar in all its features to the other excavated pottery. Pieces of bubbly vitrified clay from within and around the hut are suggestive of daga from a burnt down hut. A number of flaked pieces of stone were also found here and on the surface of the neighbourhood. They include several implements, mainly small convex scrapers and small end scrapers on agate and silicified wood, which indicate a Late Stone Age occupation, presumably predating the settlement. Another surface find was a piece of hand-drawn copper wire (fig. 78) which was probably a ring.

In addition to the corbelled hut, the group comprises two slightly smaller structures with rather similar plan form and two secondary walls which form open courtyard areas (fig. 71). The two circular structures seem also to have been huts. They may have had corbelled stone roofs but they are of rather lighter construction and therefore they might have had thatched roofs over stone walls. As their walls have collapsed to a height of half a metre or less the original form is uncertain. The two partly enclosed areas may have served a similar function to the lobes of Dwellings 1 and 2 but on a more modest scale. The circular group of stones in one of them resembles the grain bin stands from Dwelling 1. Grinding was evidently an important activity here as a number of lower grindstones were found. Two stones, one to the east and one to the south of the corbelled hut, had been used for ochre but the others have large grinding surfaces and would presumably have been used for grain.

The inhabitants of this group of structures appear to have been without stock for there are no pens nearby. The number of grindstones suggests that they may have been particularly dependent on cultivation, more so than the other households of the settlement. The similar pottery indicates a contemporary occupation yet the architectural difference and the special separation indicates a social difference and probably a low status compared to the other inhabitants.

The Midden

We must return to the northern end of the site, to the densely built up area on top of the ridge, for evidence of prolonged occupation and deposition. Here on the northern edge of the settlement unit containing the largest primary enclosure was an open belt between two groups of structures, which appeared to contain a fairly deep deposit (fig. 67).

The downhill edge of this belt is formed by a primary enclosure which is still in use as a livestock pen. The ground surface behind this enclosure has built up almost level with the top of the wall as can be seen from the profile Z-Z1 in figure 72. This indicated the accumulation of about a metre of deposit since the construction of the wall, an exceptional depth for Iron Age deposits in our area.

A trench was laid out along the profile line to examine the deposit and its relationship with the walls at either end, the uphill wall being the collapsed rear lobe of a dwelling. In recording the section (fig. 72) the method used by Sampson (1967a etc.) was followed. The excavated layers and the natural layers are shown separately for although there is a close correspondence between the two there are some differences.

Layer 1 consisted of a shallow surface deposit of loose brown soil, grass roots and much humic matter. There was a considerable amount of rubble, particularly in Square 4E near the collapsed wall, and a fair quantity of pottery but little bone.

Layer 2 was a distinctive dark brown colour but containing much ash and patches of black nodules which are burnt earth rather than charcoal. Pottery and bone were abundant and the latter was much better preserved than in Layer 1. The foundation stones of the upper wall cut across Square 4E, resting on and partly into Layer 2, which shows that the wall is a relatively late feature in the sequence.

Layer 3 corresponded for the most part with a distinctive light grey ash. However, excavation was complicated by the presence of several animal burrows as well as several brown and blackened lenses. One of these cuts diagonally across the section about the 5H peg indicating that the grey ash in Square 4H is somewhat later than in the other squares. It is thicker than the upper layers but contains a similar amount of cultural material.

Layer 4 is the lowest archaeological deposit over most of the excavated area. It consists of light brown material with lenses of grey ash and, towards the bottom, more gravelly material from the weathered bedrock. Like Layer 3 there was rather less cultural material relative to the amount of deposit than in the upper layers.

Layer 5 was limited to the western side of Square 4E and the adjacent corner of 4F. It was a coarse-grained deposit of grey ash with burnt earthy nodules and bones. Samples were collected for radiocarbon dating. The little pottery it contained is indistinguishable from that of the other layers. Layer 5 accumulated in a hollow which had been dug into the

SECTION THROUGH MIDDEN

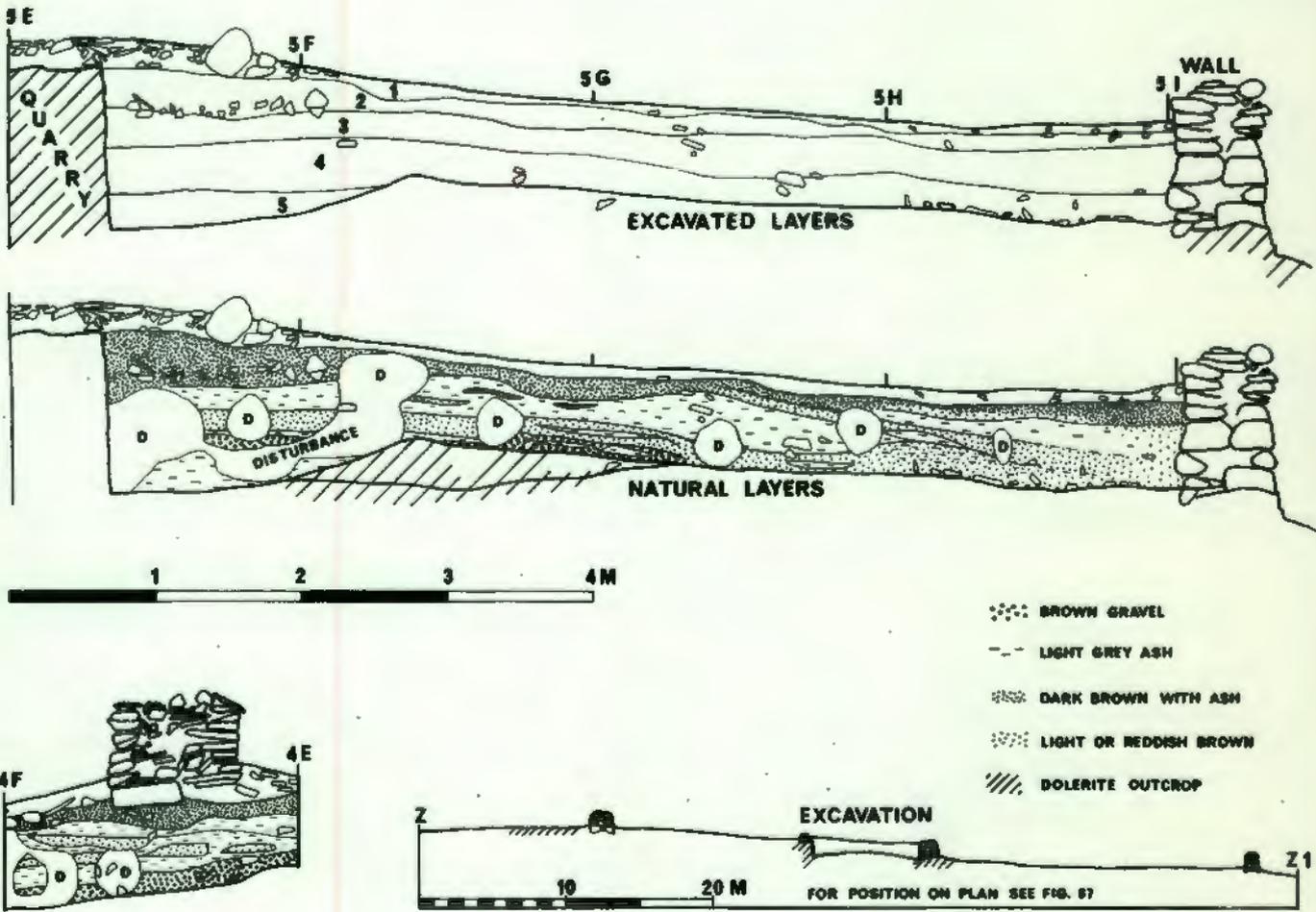


Fig. 72

disintegrated bedrock. The southern edge of the hollow was formed by a near-vertical outcrop of fresh dolerite which was clearly a quarry face (Plate 57).

Bedrock consisted of partly weathered or disintegrated dolerite with the exception of the quarry and the outcrop beneath the stone wall at the northern end of the trench. In Square 4F excavation continued into the partly weathered material but it was sterile.

Several large animal burrows cut through the deposit. Their size together with finds of the bones of at least two springhares (Pedetes capensis) indicate that this large rodent was the culprit. Towards the northern wall the stratigraphy became indistinct and layers could not be followed right up to it.

The sequence of events as shown by this excavation would have been as follows:-

1. Flat dolerite slabs were quarried from the outcrop in Square 4E, the weathered dolerite at the foot was dug out to reveal more of the outcrop.
2. Midden material (Layer 5) was dumped in the hollow; bone and pottery contained in the ash show that it is not the result of fire-setting within the quarry but from domestic hearths.
3. The wall of the primary enclosure was built before or about the time that the midden deposits represented by Layers 2, 3 and 4 began to accumulate.
4. The wall of the dwelling at the southern end of the trench was built at a late stage of the sequence, during or just after the accumulation of Layer 2. By this time the ground surface had risen almost to cover the top of the quarried outcrop.
5. Layer 1 and the collapse of the southern wall probably post-date the abandonment of the settlement.

Two radiocarbon age determinations were obtained from Layer 5. The first gave an anomalously early date (discussed below) but the second gave a reading of 315 ± 95 B.P. GX-1462.

No burials were located on this site although two small stone mounds were excavated in the expectation that they might be graves. However, on the neighbouring site to the south-west the remains of a grave were noticed.

This was not excavated as it had been severely damaged by roots and burrows, but sufficient remained to show that the body was flexed and buried in a shallow midden with a small cairn of stones on top.

THE FINDS : POTTERY

The ceramic industry associated with this and other Type Z sites visited is distinct in almost every respect from assemblages from the eastern part of our area and no similar assemblages have yet been described.

Fabric

In texture the assemblage is relatively uniform, for an angular shale grit was used throughout. The particle size is usually around 1 or 2 mm but seems to be more variable among the undecorated vessels. A large quantity of grit was mixed with the clay and as a result the broken edges of sherds have a characteristic abrasive appearance. The clay was probably derived from weathering of the same shale that was used for grit, for after firing the colour of both grit and matrix is in most cases the same. Less frequently the grit is grey in colour and seems to be of indurated shale. Evidently the shale was crushed to a fairly uniform size before being added to the clay. The weathered dolerite of the site itself was not used for pottery, as was sometimes the case at OU 2 for example.

Firing conditions were more uniform than on the Type V sites and the predominant colour is orange-buff. This colour usually persists throughout the thickness of the sherd indicating a hotter and/or longer firing than was usually the case further east, and probably also a less smoky atmosphere. Some sherds, particularly from undecorated vessels, do however have dark cores.

Burnish

Approximately one in every five sherds has had its surface burnished; in many cases the inner as well as the outer surface has been treated. On undecorated sherds ochre burnish is much less common than the uncoloured burnish while black burnish is rarer still. The latter is probably the result of fire blackening of a previously burnished surface, for there do not seem to be any deliberately black burnished vessels in the assemblage.

Among the decorated sherds the picture is quite different as is shown in the tables. Although there is some variation among the three samples, from Dwellings 1 and 2 and the Midden, the ochre burnish greatly predominates over all other surface finishes put together. This highlights an important

TABLES OF SURFACE FINISHES AND RIM PROFILES ON OXF 1 POTTERY
MIDDEN

	DECORATED SHERDS				UNDECORATED SHERDS				TOTALS
	Plain	Burnished			Plain	Burnished			
		Burnish	Ochre	Black		Burnish	Ochre	Black	
RIM SHERDS									
Rounded	1	1	13		87	18	16	1	137
Flattened		2	4		43	11	5	1	66
Pointed					1				1
Misc.			1		12		1		14
BODY SHERDS	8	4	41	2	1846	197	67	43	2208
TOTALS	9	7	59	2	1989	226	89	45	2426

DWELLING 1

RIM SHERDS									
Rounded			5		55	2	2		64
Flattened			9		25	3			37
Misc.			4		12				16
BODY SHERDS		7	58		1293	260	43	19	1680
TOTALS		7	76		1385	265	45	19	1797

DWELLING 2

RIM SHERDS									
Rounded	5		16		132	50	7		210
Flattened					23	4			27
Pointed					2				2
Misc.	4				16	1			21
BODY SHERDS	7	12	47		2648	502	17	15	3248
TOTALS	16	12	63		2821	557	24	15	3508

characteristic of the assemblage - that the great majority of decorated vessels carry some ochre burnish. The incidence of uncoloured burnish on the undecorated sherds also underlines the difference between this assemblage and those from further east. Furthermore many of the vessels with ochre have their lower, uncoloured portions burnished.

Decoration

The distinctive types of decoration are the most definitive aspect of

the assemblage, although shape is also important, for the vessels are more standardised than those from the previous sites. There is also a difference in the position of decoration for although there are a few rims with decoration it is mostly found on the shoulders of vessels below the short necks.

DECORATED SHERDS FROM OXF 1

Motif	Motif No.	Dwelling 1		Dwelling 2		Midden		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Misc. impressions on rim	6			4	4			4	2
Stylus impression in parallel rows	11			7	8	4	5	11	4
Misc. impressions on body	12			2	2	1	1	3	1
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13	11	13	13	14	24	31	48	19
" " in horizontal bands	14			4	4	3	4	7	3
" " in pendent triangles	15	14	16	4	4	16	21	34	14
" " in chevron and arcade	16	9	11	10	11	12	16	31	12
Ochre lines	17	49	59	47	52	17	22	113	45
		83	99	91	99	77	100	251	100

Miscellaneous impressions on rim

The motif is confined to four sherds from just outside the walls of Dwelling 2. The illustration (fig. 75, 4) shows an uncharacteristic decoration and a vessel type not otherwise represented. However, this combination of features is common on Type V sites (e.g. fig. 52, 3 & 4) and therefore probably represents contact with this ceramic tradition, perhaps trade or intermarriage.

Stylus impressions in parallel horizontal rows

This is another motif that is common in Type V assemblages and therefore might again suggest contact. However, it accounts for 4% of the decoration and in several cases was found on vessels whose shape is characteristic of Type Z assemblages (fig. 77, 4). It therefore can be regarded as part of this ceramic tradition. A thin cylindrical stylus such as a grass stalk was commonly used but some instruments made elongated or irregular impressions and some were applied obliquely.

Miscellaneous impressions on body

Only three sherds fall within this category making it numerically insignificant. The only one of interest has pendent triangles filled in with stylus impressions in combination with ochre lines forming triangles (fig. 77, 3).

Parallel grooves - sherd too small to determine motif

About half of the decoration in the assemblage consists of parallel grooves arranged in a variety of motifs. Many of the sherds are so small that it is no longer possible to determine which of the motifs they represented, and therefore they are assigned to this category.

The grooves are usually shallow (about 0,5 mm deep), rounded in section and about 1,5 mm wide. Some have fine longitudinal striations which seem to have been made by dragging a grass stalk, or similar object held tangentially to the vessel, while the clay was leather hard. The most regular examples, however, have an almost burnished appearance which does not seem to have been produced by a dragging process. In view of the coil impressed decoration, presumably from wound wire bangles, at OMB 1 it is possible that solid metal bangles were sometimes rolled over the clay. The grooves are quite distinct from the deep, bold grooving of the NC3 pottery tradition (Schofield, 1935 & 136).

Grooved decoration is usually combined with lines of ochre on rims, necks and below the grooving to produce the most characteristic vessels of the assemblage.

Parallel grooves in horizontal band

This motif produces a band of decoration just below the neck, usually with a band of ochre above and below (fig. 77, 2 & 7). There are normally about four grooves within the band and this is the simplest of the grooved motifs. It occurs on 3% of the decorated sherds.

Parallel grooves in pendant triangles

One of the most characteristic motifs, this accounts for 14% of the decoration. The triangles are normally outlined by a groove and filled in with horizontal grooves (fig. 76, 2; fig. 77, 5). Sometimes there is a chevron ochre line below the triangles (fig. 73, 5) and sometimes a chevron of parallel grooves (fig. 73, 2), both variations being included within this category as they are numerically insignificant.

Parallel grooves in chevron or arcade

This category is almost as common as the previous one, with an incidence of 12%. The lines of the chevron or arcade are made up of about five grooves forming a band about 1,5 cm wide on the shoulder of the vessel. Chevrons greatly predominate over arcades which are limited to three sherds from the Midden (fig. 75, 2; fig. 77, 6).

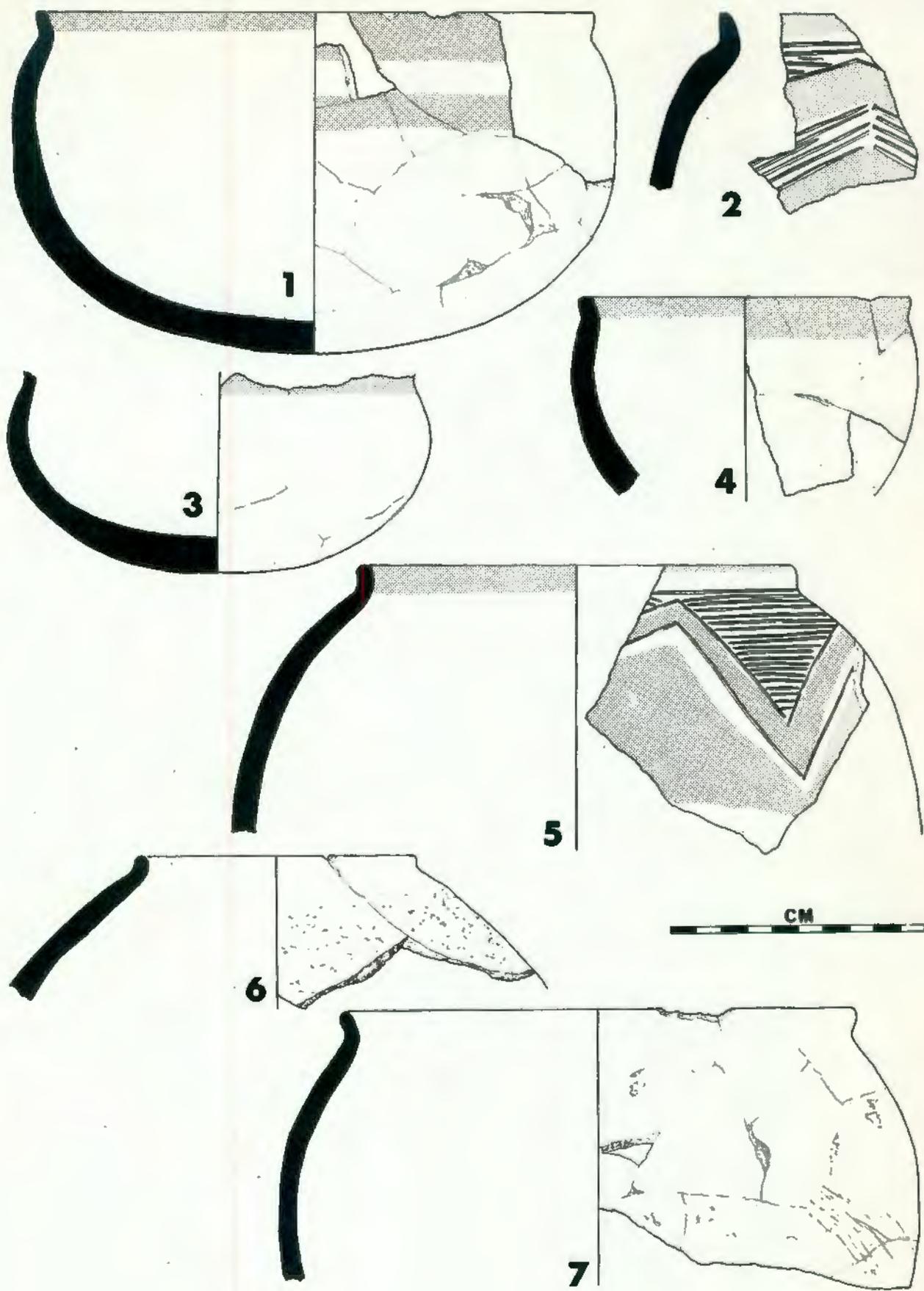


Fig. 73

Figure 73

Pottery from Dwelling 1.

1. Sub-spherical bowl with wide mouth, short everted neck with well-defined point of inflection, flattened rim. Two horizontal ochre bands on and below the rim, the upper one continuing inside. Well burnished exterior and interior. Orange. Lobe 4.
2. Possibly a spherical pot, upright neck and flattened rim. Pendant triangles infilled with horizontal grooves separated by an ochre band from a chevron formed by parallel grooves. Ochre also occurs in a band on the rim and below the decoration. Interior burnished. Yellow. Exterior.
3. Small, wide-mouthed, sub-spherical bowl with everted neck (rim missing). A horizontal ochre band on the rim. Exterior and interior burnished. Orange. Hut 3, floor.
4. Small, wide-mouthed bowl with short everted neck and flattened rim decorated by a broad ochre band on and below the rim, also on the inside. Burnished on both surfaces. Orange-buff. Lobe 1.
5. Spherical pot with short upright neck and rounded rim. Decoration consists of pendant triangles infilled by horizontal grooves above a chevron ochre band outlined by grooves. Ochre also occurs in a band on the rim and below the chevron. Interior burnished below the ochre band. Lobe 1.
6. Pot, probably spherical in shape, with a slight upright neck and rounded rim. There is no decoration and both internal and external surfaces are heavily pitted. They may have originally been slightly burnished. Orange-buff. Lobe 4.
7. Probably a bag-shaped pot with short everted neck and rounded rim. No decoration nor surface finish. Coarsely made. Buff coloured with the lower portions blackened and soot incrustated from use on a fire. Lobe 2 from beside Hearth 2.

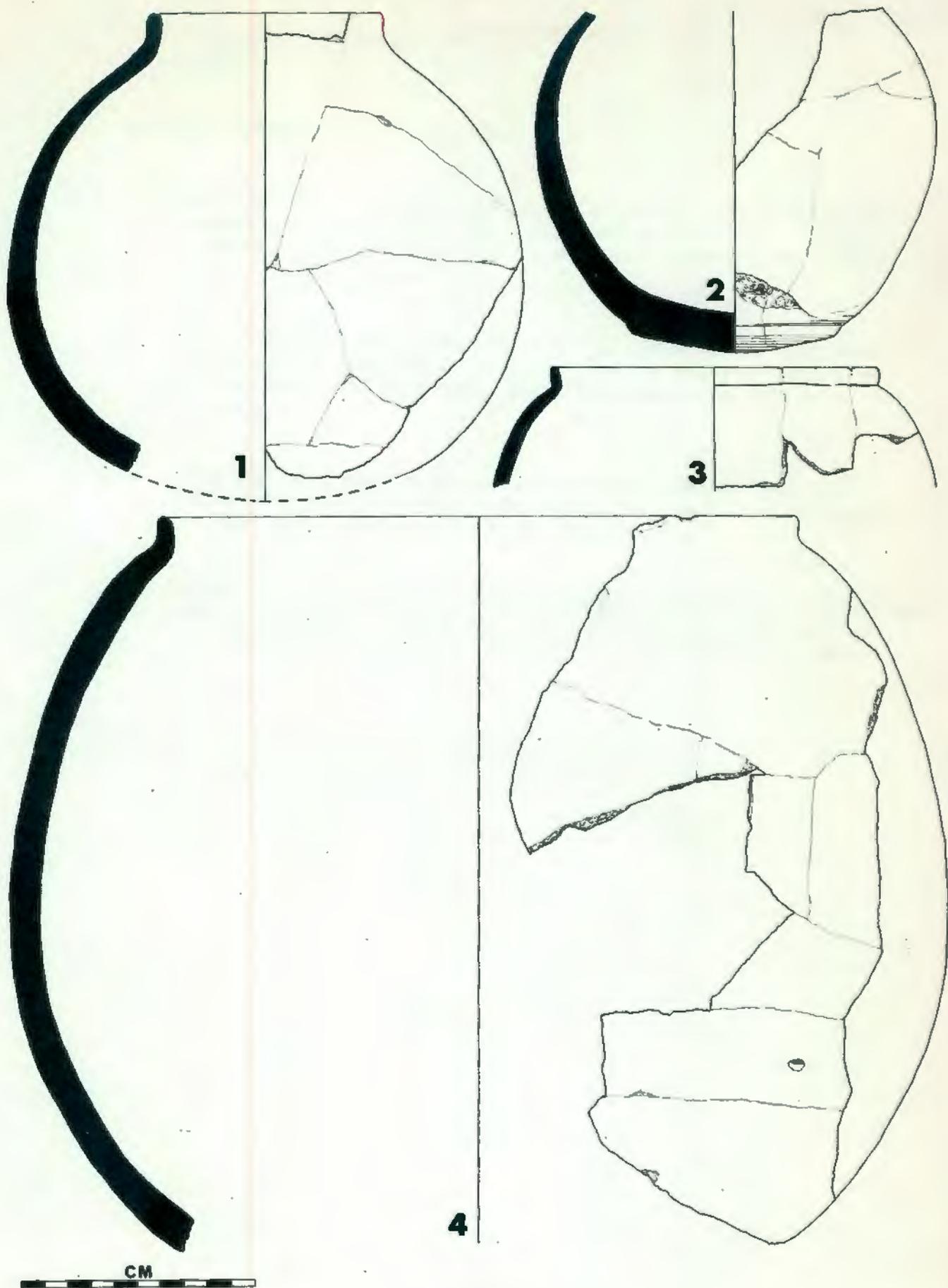


Fig. 74

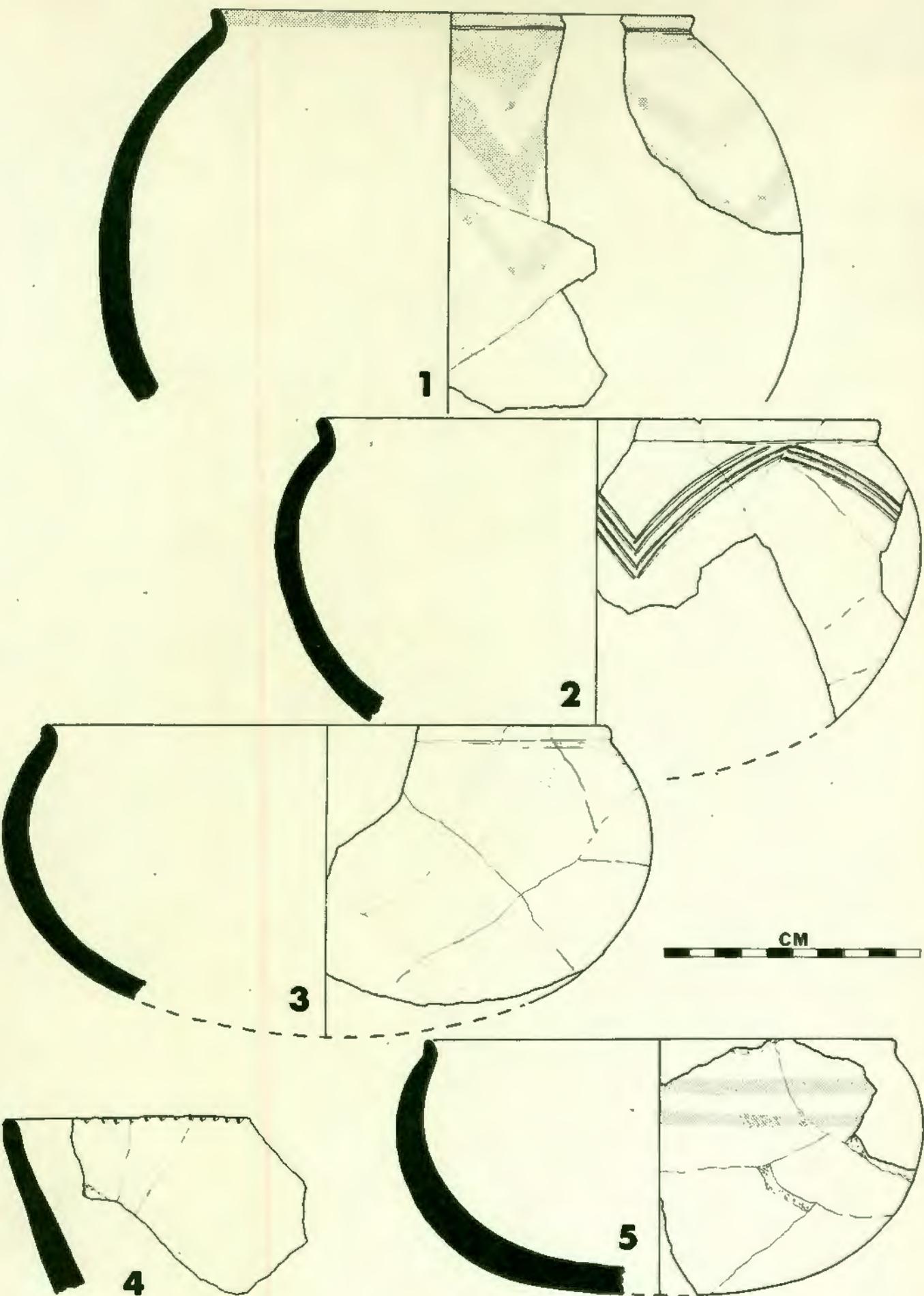


Fig. 75

Figure 75

Pottery from Dwelling 2.

1. Spherical pot with short everted neck, well-defined point of inflection and rounded rim. Ochre bands forming chevrons with another ochre band on the rim continuing inside. Burnished on the exterior and very crudely on the interior. Orange and grey patches. Hut, east side.
2. Sub-spherical bowl, short everted neck with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim. Chevron of parallel grooves. Slight traces of burnishing and perhaps even ochre. Orange-buff. Hut, east.
3. Bowl similar to No. 2 but neck upright. No decoration. Surface finely pitted but with some traces of burnishing. Brown. Lobe 1, front west (also east).
4. Vessel with everted walls, shape uncertain. Row of stylus impressions on rim. No surface finish. Brown. This is one of the few examples of such decoration from this site, it is however common on Type V sites. The shape is also unusual which suggests that the vessel may have been introduced into the site from somewhere else. Exterior, Lobes 1 & 2, west.
5. Bowl similar in shape but slightly smaller than No. 3. Two horizontal ochre bands below the rim. Exterior and interior surfaces burnished. Yellow-buff. Lobe 1, front west.

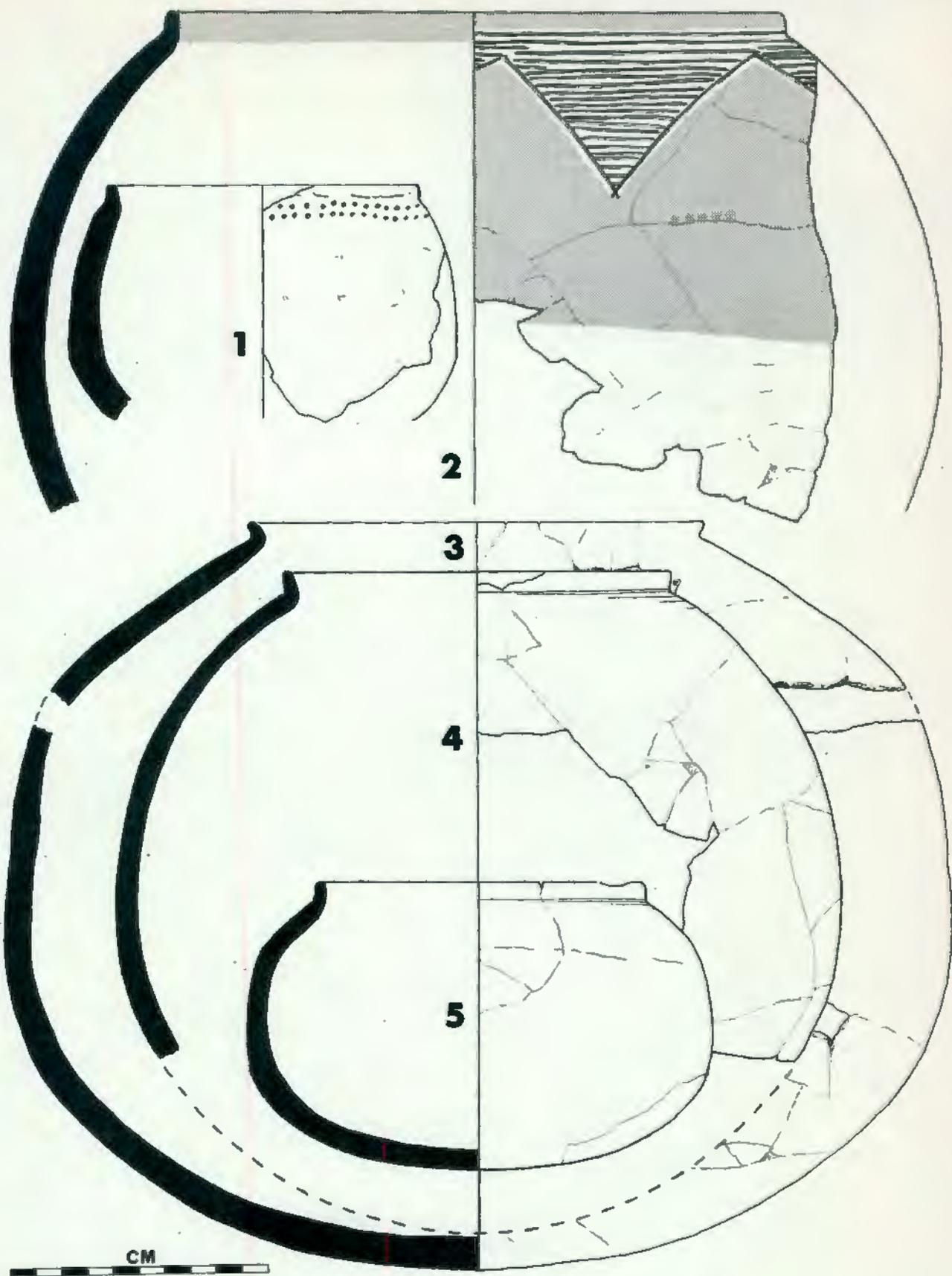


Fig. 76

Figure 76

Pottery from Dwelling 2, continued.

1. Small bag-shaped bowl with short upright neck and flattened rim. Two horizontal rows of round stylus impressions below rim. Surface rough and sandy. Yellow-buff with some blackening towards the bottom. Lobe 2, west.
2. Large spherical pot, short upright neck with well defined point of inflection, rounded rim. Pendant triangles infilled with horizontal grooves. Ochre band on rim extending inside and broad area of ochre below decoration. Well burnished exterior and interior. Orange. Veranda, east.
3. Large, sub-spherical pot with short everted neck and rounded rim. No decoration nor surface finish. Yellow-orange with grey patch at base probably from reduction in the original firing. No sign of use on fire. Lobe 1, front west.
4. Large spherical pot with short everted neck and rounded rim. No decoration, roughly burnished exterior. Grey-buff. Lobe 1, front west.
5. Almost complete sub-spherical pot, with more shoulder than usual. Short upright neck with well-defined point of inflection. No decoration and only slight indication of burnish. Orange-buff. The lower half is blackened and incrustated with soot from use on a fire. Lobe 1, front west.

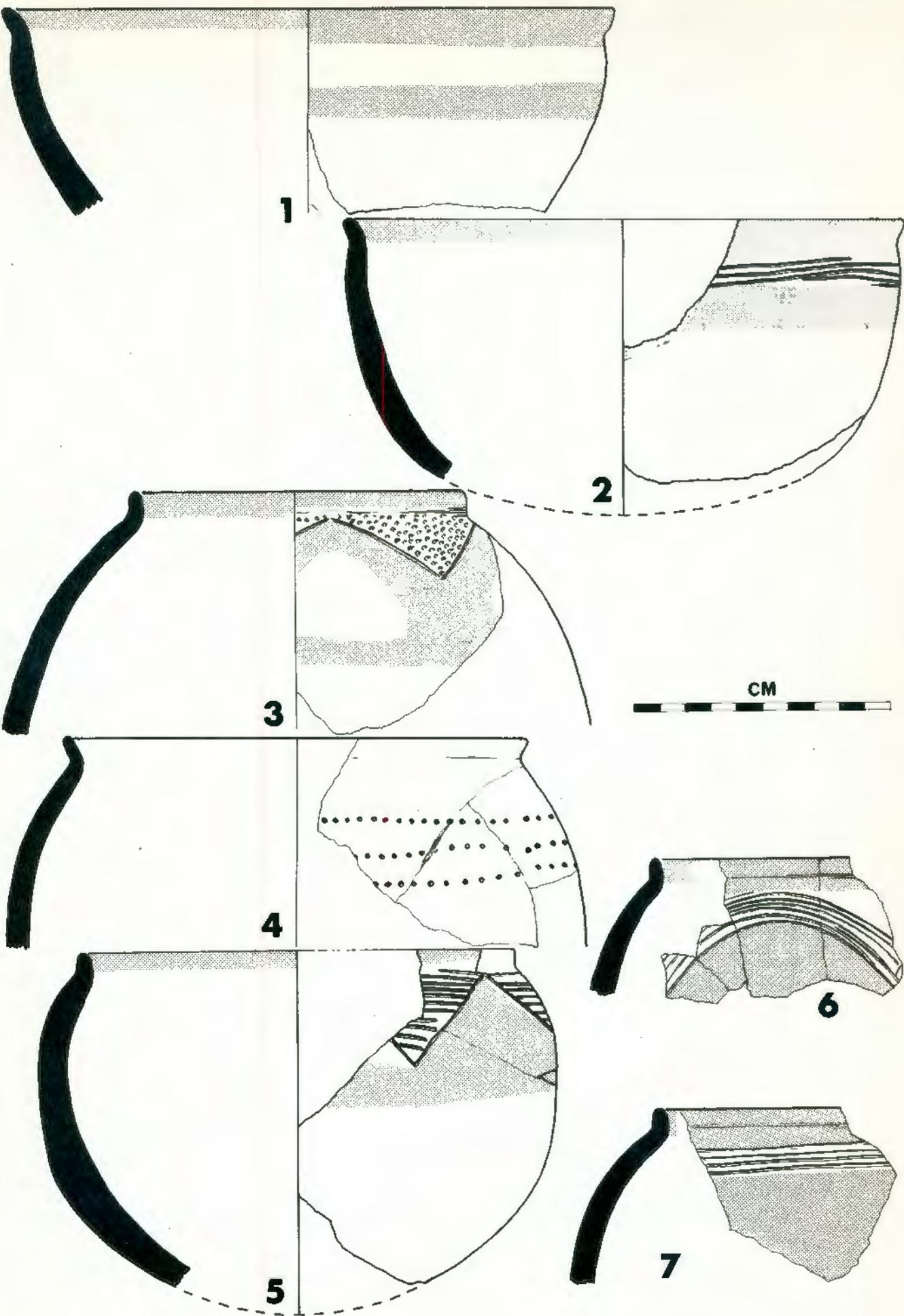


Fig. 77

Figure 77

Pottery from the Midden.

1. Open-mouthed bowl with short everted neck and rounded rim. Two horizontal bands of ochre on and below rim. Burnished interior and exterior below decoration. Orange with fire blackening towards base. Square 4H, Layer 2.
2. Open-mouthed bowl with everted neck and rounded rim. Parallel horizontal grooves in a band below the rim. Broad ochre bands above and below grooves, the upper one extending over the rim and inside. Burnished on exterior and interior. Orange. From cleaning wall of section.
3. Spherical pot with short upright neck and rounded rim. Pendant triangles infilled with stylus impressions, ochre triangles below and ochre band on rim and neck. Burnished interior and below decoration. Orange. Square 4H, Layer 3.
4. Spherical pot with short everted neck and rounded rim. Three rows of circular stylus impressions. Exterior burnished. Orange-buff. Square 4H, Layer 3.
5. Deep hemispherical bowl with upright neck and rounded rim. Pendant triangles infilled with horizontal grooves. Ochre band on rim extending inside and broad area of ochre below decoration. Burnished on exterior and interior. Orange-buff. From cleaning wall of section.
6. Spherical pot with short upright neck. Arcade of parallel grooves with ochre burnish above and below. Interior burnished. Orange. Square 4E, Layer 1.
7. Pot similar to No. 6. Parallel horizontal grooves in band below neck. Ochre burnish. Square 4H, Layer 2.

Ochre lines

The use of ochre for lines of decoration rather than as a general surface finish is unknown from the Type V and N sites examined, however it represents 45% of the decoration in this assemblage. As we have seen, ochre in lines or broad areas usually accompanies the grooved motifs, so that if these examples were included the incidence would be considerably higher. However, for convenience in the numerical analysis, sherds with grooved decoration have been classified under the previous motifs, the presence or absence of ochre being recorded in the detailed tables of Appendix 1. The ochre was applied to the vessel in lines usually about one centimetre wide and then well burnished. The burnishing was usually carried on to the undecorated portions of the pot as well.

The category can be subdivided into several motifs; horizontal bands, chevrons, triangles, and sherds which are too small to show the whole motif. The horizontal bands predominate in Dwelling 1 and the Midden and they may occur as single, double or occasionally triple lines, the uppermost being on the rim and extending inside (fig. 73, 1, 3 & 4; fig. 75, 5; fig. 77, 1). Chevrons are predominant from Dwelling 2 and again consist of single or double lines (fig. 75, 1). A few sherds with ochre triangles were noted from the Midden.

DECORATED SHERDS FROM LAYERS 1-5 OF THE MIDDEN OXF 1

Motif	Motif No.	L a y e r					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Misc. impressions on rim	6						
Stylus impression in parallel rows	11			4			4
Misc. impressions on body	12			1			1
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13	5	8	5	6		24
" " in horizontal bands	14		1	1		1	3
" " in pendant triangles	15	1	2	7	4	2	16
" " in chevron	16		5	2	2		9
" " in arcade	16	1		1	1		3
Ochre lines in horizontal bands	17	1	2		7		10
" " chevron	17			1			1
" " triangles	17			4			4
" sherd too small	17	1		1			2

The incidence of each motif in the different layers of the Midden is shown in the table. The samples are small but sufficient to suggest that there was no significant change during the period of deposition.

Form

With the exception of some crudely-shaped vessels (e.g. fig. 76, 1 & 5)

most of the assemblage fits into three categories of shape:-

1. Spherical pots with short upright or everted necks; this group includes both decorated and undecorated examples.
2. Sub-spherical bowls with short upright or everted necks, almost always decorated.
3. Open-mouthed bowls with short everted necks, also decorated.

Virtually every vessel has a short neck of about one centimetre protruding upwards or slightly outwards, and usually with a well-defined point of inflection from the body of the vessel.

Of the three categories the pots are most variable in size, shape and finish and they must have served several purposes. The smaller, spherical pots, with a diameter of about 22-27 cm, are often well finished and decorated - they include some of the finest vessels of the assemblage (fig. 73, 5; fig. 75, 1; fig. 77, 3 & 4). These were not used for cooking, but undecorated and more crudely made pots of similar shape and size do show fire blackening (fig. 73, 7; fig. 74, 1 & 3). Larger pots, with diameters around 30-40 cm, were sometimes decorated (fig. 76, 2) but more often were plain (fig. 74, 4; fig. 76, 3 & 4). Most were not used for cooking but probably for storage.

The sub-spherical bowls range in diameter from about 15-25 cm but they retain their distinctive and graceful shape. In profile the bases are gently rounded and the curvature increases to a maximum about the shoulder which is the widest part of the bowl (fig. 73, 1 & 3; fig. 75, 2, 3 & 5).

The open-mouthed bowls have straighter sides and with their everted necks are widest at the rim (about 20-25 cm). This type was mainly recovered from the Midden (fig. 77, 1 & 2) and they resemble the bowls from OMB 1 (fig. 80, 1-3). In other respects the two types of bowl are similar and there are a few examples which may be intermediate in shape (fig. 73, 4). Few show fire blackening, and their shape and decoration suggest that they may have been used for serving food or drink.

Neither flat bases nor pedestals appear to have formed part of this ceramic tradition. A thickened and slightly flattened base (fig. 74, 2) was the only exception to the usual rounded bases, and this was on a crudely-made vessel.

OTHER CERAMIC OBJECTS

An oval-shaped vessel 18 cm long, 10 cm wide and 6 cm deep was reconstructed from scattered sherds in Layer 1 (fig. 78, 1). The more

pointed end rises higher than the rest of the rim and it is thickened, probably to serve as a handle. It is the only example of its kind known from the Orange Free State sites and although it is much bigger than the ladles from OO 1 (fig. 31, 10) this was probably its function. It is more similar to wooden ladles from various parts of Africa than to other ceramic examples known to the writer. The end of a handle from what may have been a similar vessel was recovered from Layers 3 and 4 in Square 4G.

Several sherds have nibbled edges apparently the result of rodent gnawing. Two irregularly shaped sherds have ground edges; both being from Dwelling 1.

Several fragments of what may have been figurines were recovered from the Midden. Part of the head and horns of a cattle figurine, together with a horn from another, came from Square 4F, Layer 2 (fig. 78, 3). The muzzle has broken off, but there is no sign of a break where the neck should be attached so it seems that only the head and horns were made. The other fragments were too incomplete for identification.

Portion of a pottery pipe bowl was large enough to permit reconstruction of the complete shape (fig. 78, 2). It was 7 cm long and almost cylindrical in shape but tapering towards the bottom. Traces of carbon remain in the bowl. It came from Layer 3 which indicates that smoking was practised at least by the middle of the occupation.

Several other sherds with small radii of curvature may have come from pipes or model pots.

STONE ARTEFACTS

Grindstones

Quite a number of both upper and lower grindstones were found but many of the surfaces do not show extensive use and they give the impression that grinding was a less important activity than at the Type V sites.

The upper grindstones were graded according to weight and will be described according to the groups thus formed. The larger stones are between 1,6 and 0,8 kg in weight, all made of dolerite. They usually have two grinding surfaces on opposite sides which are curved along the shorter axis as if used with a slightly rocking action. The three largest examples, however, only have one surface each. Battering is mainly evident on the ends and the shape is less regular than the larger stones from OO 1. Five of the eleven examples have some battering on their sides and their shape is somewhat more regular. Three stones show traces of ochre.

The eleven stones came from:-

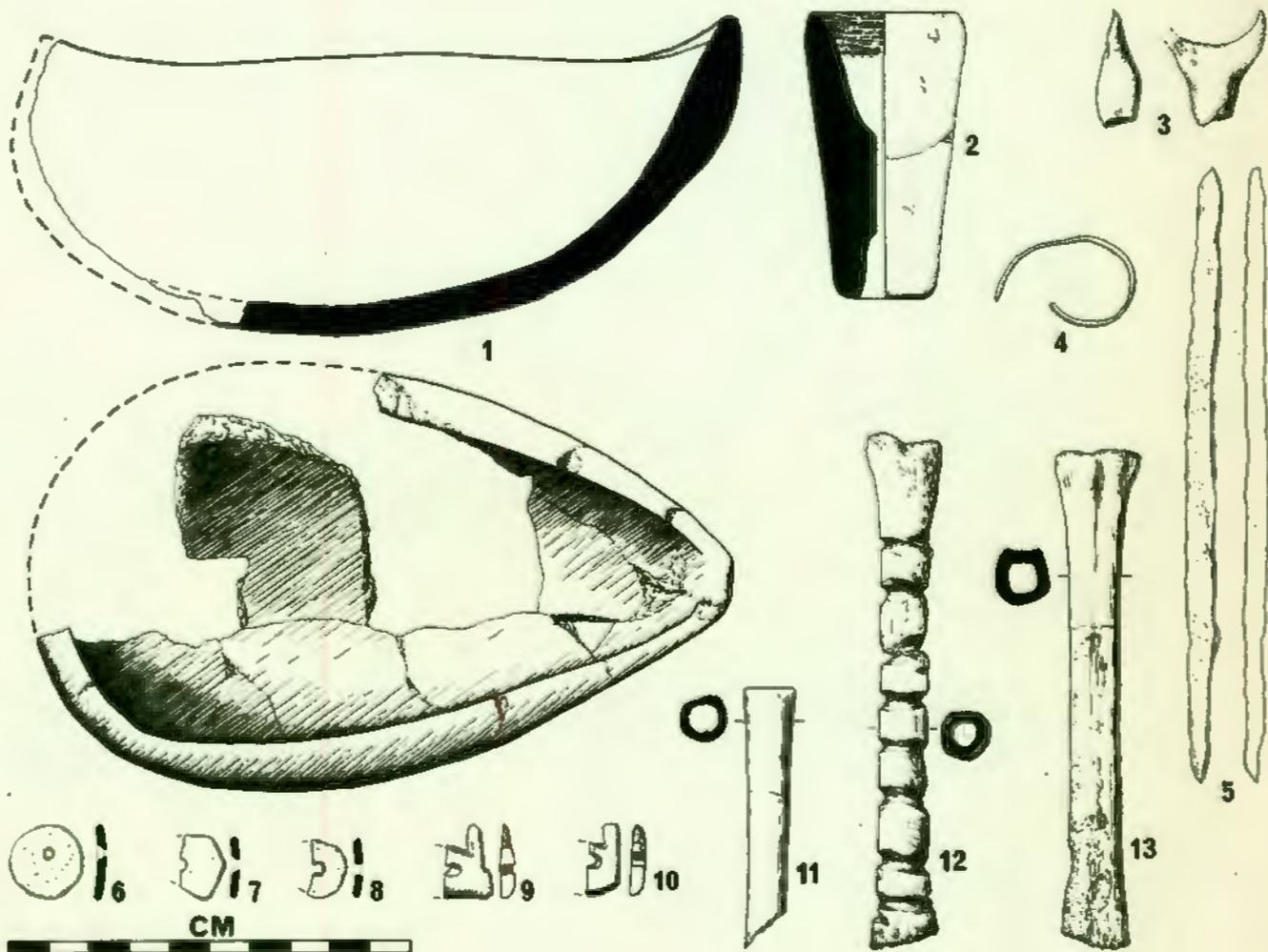


Fig. 78

Figure 78

Small finds from OXF 1.

1. Large pottery 'ladle', oval in plan, the more pointed end thickened and raised above the remainder of the rim, perhaps as a spout but more likely as a handle. Rounded rim and base. Unburnished. Buff. Midden, Square 4F, Layer 1. Partly reconstructed from 18 fragments.
2. Part of a pottery pipe bowl, tapering near-cylindrical shape with hourglass perforation. Buff, blackened and with soot in bowl. Midden, Square 4H, Layer 3.
3. Head and horns of pottery figurine, probably cattle, lower end broken but may not have had a body. Midden, Square 4F, Layer 2.
4. Ring made of hand drawn copper wire. Diameter 0,8-1,6 mm. Surface find near corbelled hut.
5. Iron rod with rectangular section, tapering towards lower end. Function unknown. Dwelling 1, Lobe 4.
6. Large ostrich egg-shell bead or pendant, diameter 19 mm. Midden, Square 4F, Layer 3.
7. Angular ostrich egg-shell bead or pendant, the edges well polished from wear. Midden, Square 4H, Layer 3.
8. Ostrich egg-shell bead, irregular edge with polish from wear. Midden, Square 4G, Layers 3 & 4.
- 9 & 10. Two similar carved objects of ivory. Both broken on left margin through drilled holes. Under sides flat with edges bevelled towards upper sides. Piece protruding from one corner. Function unknown. Midden, Square 4G, Layer 2.
11. Bone tube with end cut off and polished, broken at other end. Dwelling 1, veranda of Hut 1.
12. Cannon bone cut into a series of crude notches along its length. No signs of suspension, function unknown. Dwelling 1, between Hut 2 and wall of Lobe 3.
13. One of pair of cannon bones, species unidentified but perhaps sheep or medium-small antelope similar to No. 12 and found together with it.

Dwelling 1, Hut 2	- 2
" Lobe 2	- 5
" Lobe 4	- 1
" Exterior	- 1
Dwelling 2, Lobe 1, west	- 1
Corbelled Hut, exterior	- 1

Three medium-sized stones with weights between 0,8 and 0,6 kg were well used and had multiple grinding surfaces, up to six in number. None had any signs of ochre. Two were from the exterior of the Corbelled Hut and one from Hut 3 in Dwelling 1.

The smaller stones weigh between 0,4 and 0,2 kg. They have for the most part poorly developed grinding surfaces and are little altered from their natural shape. Their ends show little battering and there are no signs of ochre. Three came from the concentration in Lobes 1-2 of Dwelling 1 and one came from the surface of the Midden. A quartzite river pebble from the same area of Dwelling 1 had been used as a hammer.

The lower stones are mainly thin slabs of dolerite 3-5 cm thick with poorly developed grinding surfaces. Three of the five collected from Dwellings 1 and 2 had ochre staining. Only the stone from Hut 3 showed evidence of extensive grinding and this was in the form of a groove 5 cm wide in the centre of its main surface. Neither dwelling yielded the well-used querns so typical of the eastern sites.

Flaked stone

Stone implements of apparently Late Stone Age type were noticed on the surface, particularly towards the southern end of the settlement in the vicinity of the Corbelled Hut Group where a surface collection was made. Further examples were recovered from the superficial soil that was sieved when the Corbelled Hut Group was examined. There was no stratigraphic separation of material but it seems unlikely that the stone implements relate to the Iron Age occupation.

A few implements and debitage were also found within the Dwellings and the Midden, in particular there were several from Lobe 1 of Dwelling 1, several from Lobe 2 of Dwelling 2 and one or two from each Midden layer.

The implements may well be of broadly the same period for not many types are represented. Using Sampson's (1967a) terminology most are small end scrapers or small convex scrapers shorter than 2,5 cm. There are a few examples of side- and end-scrapers, a backed adze and a backed crescent as well as some irregularly shaped pieces with scraper edges and utilised flakes and debitage. Most are made on siliceous materials, agate, chalcedony

and fossil wood although lydianite was also used.

Some implements could be contemporary with the Type Z occupation, for San hunter-gatherers survived well into the nineteenth century in neighbouring areas (e.g. Harris, 1839). However, the concentration of material towards the south and outside the built-up areas indicates a separate Late Stone Age occupation. The implements from the Dwellings and Midden could easily have been introduced along with the soil used for daga.

Several small pieces of red ochre were recovered from Layer 2 in Square 4F of the Midden.

METALWORK

Despite the considerable areas excavated in Dwellings 1 and 2 only one metal item was recovered, while none were found in the Midden. This is in marked contrast to the more easterly sites particularly OO 1. No slag or other signs of smelting were noticed on any of the Type Z sites and although the evidence is negative it seems inescapably to point to a relative shortage of metal goods.

From Lobe 4 of Dwelling 1 an iron rod, 15 cm long and rectangular in section, was found (fig. 78, 5). It tapers to a rough point at one end but its function is not clear. It does not seem to have been an awl but may have been the tang of a spear or similar implement.

The only other metal item is a ring of copper wire found on the surface in the neighbourhood of the Corbelled Hut Group but not securely associated with the Type Z occupation (fig. 78, 4). It is, however, made of hand-drawn copper wire and therefore almost certainly of Iron Age manufacture. One end has been bent outwards but originally the ring would have had a radius of two centimetres, the same as examples from OO 1 (fig. 36, 30).

ARTEFACTS OF BONE AND SHELL

The large number of bone tools contrasts with and is probably a result of the shortage of metal. Ornaments are relatively rare and made of organic materials - ostrich egg-shell, bone and perhaps ivory.

The ostrich egg-shell beads are listed as follows:-

Square	Midden Layer	Diameter mm	
4F	2	Broken	Traces of ochre
4F	3	19	(fig. 78, 6)
4G	3 & 4	14	Broken. Traces of ochre. (fig. 78, 8)
4G	3 & 4	12	Broken
4H	3	15	Irregular (fig. 78, 7)
4H	3	Broken	Traces of ochre

The beads tend to be large and the largest may be pendants rather than beads. Several retain traces of red ochre which attests to its use as a cosmetic. Most beads do not have regular circular outlines but angular or nibbled edges (fig. 78, 7 & 8). This might suggest that they were unfinished but for the fact that the more protruding parts are well-polished from being worn. No unfinished examples were recovered and, although several fragments of unworked egg-shell were found, there is no evidence that beads were made on the site.

A single cowrie shell, *Cypraea annulus*, was recovered from Layer 4 of Square 4F. As usual it has had its back ground down. This species is known today from the Indian Ocean, essentially from the Pondoland coast northwards.

The worked and utilised bones are listed in Appendix 2. Cannon bones, of similar size to those of sheep or perhaps medium-small antelope, were used for several purposes including what appears to be decoration. A tube made from one was found on the veranda of Hut 1, its lower end broken off and its function is not known (fig. 78, 11). The group of three cannon bones, one notched, from the narrow gap between Hut 2 and the wall of Lobe 3 is of interest but again the reason is obscure (fig. 78, 12 & 13). A broken cannon bone from the Midden has a hole pierced through it at one end, presumably for wearing as a pendant (Plate 59, 10).

Cannon bone pendants were worn by the southern Nguni in the eighteenth century (Le Vaillant, 1790, Plate 4, and unpublished illustrations). From our area Casalis (1861, 271) records that the "tarsus bone of a sheep" was worn as an amulet that the wearer "may oppose to evil a resistance as firm as...that little compact bone without marrow, which could not be crushed between two stones without difficulty". The neighbouring metatarsal bone may similarly have had a symbolic value; its use perhaps as a bead has been described above from OU 1 and OU 2.

The great majority of implements fall into the category of bone scrapers



Plate 58. Bone scrapers from the midden, OXF 1.

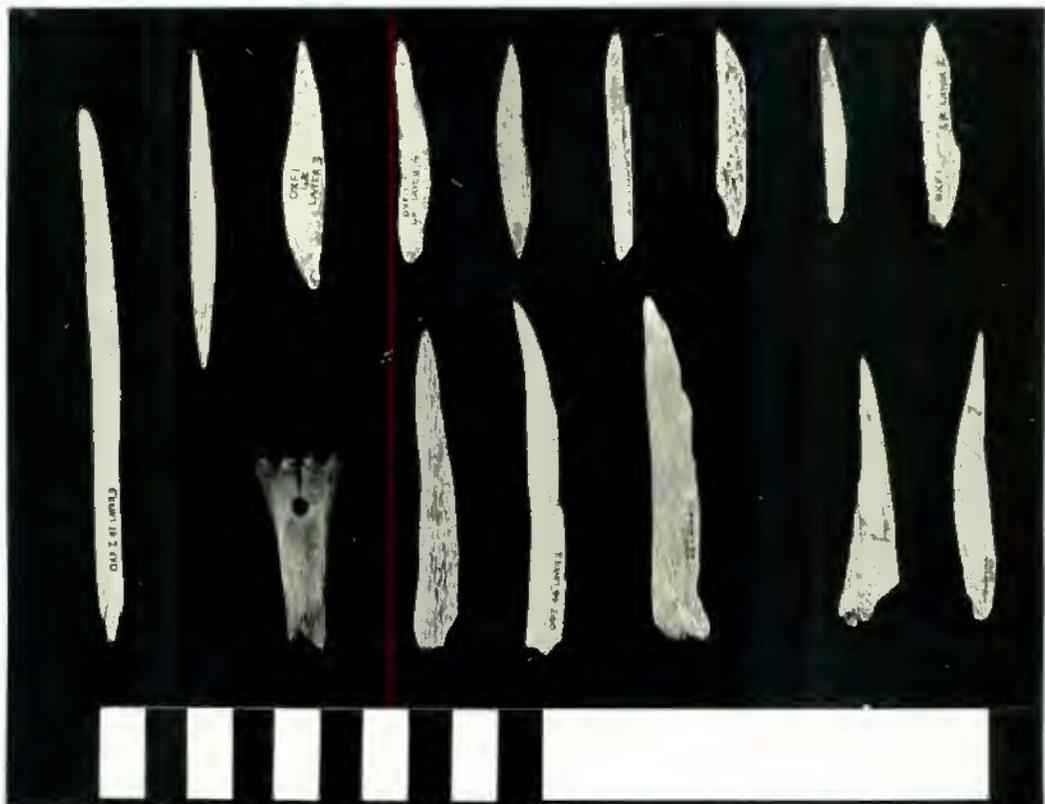


Plate 59. Bone points and pendant from the midden. Left to right: 1 long flat point of split rib; 2 & 5 well shaped double points; 3, 4, 6-9 crude short double and single points; 10 small canon bone pendant; 11 & 12 longer crudely shaped points of split ribs; 13-15 awls.

Plate 58. Bone scrapers from the Midden.

From top left.

1. Rib fragment worn at both ends and right side. Square 4G, Layer 4.
2. Flat bone fragment worn extensively at both ends. Square 4H, Layer 3.
3. Rib worn and battered at both ends. Square 4E, Layer 1.
4. Long-bone fragment worn at both ends. Square 4H, Layer 3.
5. Long-bone fragment with chop marks, well worn at upper end. Square 4F, Layer 3.
6. Long-bone fragment well worn at upper end. Square 4F, Layer 3.
7. Long-bone fragment worn at both ends and sides, chop marks near upper end. Square 4E, Layer 3.
8. Long-bone fragment worn at upper end. Square 4G, Layer 2.
9. Long-bone fragment worn at both ends. Square 4F, Layer 2.
10. Split rib with chop marks, worn at both ends. Square 4H, Layer 3.
11. Split rib worn at both ends. Square 4H, Layer 3.
12. Split rib worn at both ends and slightly on sides. Square 4G, Layer 4.

Plate 59. Various types of bone points and bone pendant from the Midden.

1. Long, relatively fragile point made on split rib. Smoothed at both sides and ends, well polished at upper end. Function unknown. Square 4F, Layer 3.
2. Robust double point made ? on long-bone splinter, ground to shape but no polish. Function unknown but possibly projectile point. Square 4H, Layer 3.
- 3 & 7. Crude short double points made on split ribs, ground to shape but no polish. Square 4E, Layer 3; Square 4G, Layer 4.
4. Crude point made on split rib, ground but not polished. Square 4F, Layer 4.
- 5, 6 & 8. Short double points made on long-bone splinters, ground to shape, little or no polish. Square 4H, Layer 2; Square 4F, Layer 4; Square 4F, Layer 3.
9. Small long-bone splinter, polish around point from use. Square 4F, Layer 2.
10. Pendant made from cannon bone of a fairly small antelope or animal of similar size. Square 4G, Layer 3.
- 11 & 12. Fairly long points made from split ribs, roughly shaped along the edges, some polish on tip. Square 4G, Layer 2.
13. Long-bone splinter broken to point, tip polished from use. Square 4E, Layer 3.
- 14 & 15. Awls made from long-bone splinters, sharp points round in section, well polished around tips and on sides as well, especially No. 15. Square 4F, Layer 2; Square 4G, Layer 3.

as described from the previous sites (Plate 58). They occurred in all levels of the middens and a few came from Dwelling 1. Most were made on portions of ribs or split long-bones although almost any piece of relatively flat bone would suffice. A few are on rather narrow pointed bone fragments but as the working has produced wear facets at right angles to the main axis they are also classified as scrapers. There seems to be a gradation from narrow to wide working ends. Many show wear at both ends (referred to as double scrapers in Appendix 2) and sometimes on sides as well. If they were used for skin dressing, as seems probable, the large number recovered would suggest that this was a more important activity than at 00 1 and the other eastern sites.

The points though fewer in number represent an interesting variety of types. A thin piece of split rib 12,2 cm long and well-polished at both ends (Plate 59, 1) may have been used as a matting needle or for some similar task as it would be too fragile for more robust work. Two slightly shorter pieces of split rib, pointed at only one end (Plate 59, 11 & 12), are less carefully shaped but may have had a similar function.

Fairly well-made and robust double-ended points 5-7,5 m long were made from splinters of long-bone or similar dense bone (Plate 59, 2 & 5). It is possible that they were projectile points but they are not as regularly shaped as most Late Stone Age examples. Crudely made single and double ended points about five centimetres long made on splinters of long-bone or split ribs were also present (Plate 59, 3-4 & 6-9) but their function is unknown. Several rather blunt splinters seem to have been used as crude awls (Plate 59, 13) while two well used and sharply pointed awls were also found (Plate 59, 14 & 15). Most of the points were probably used for purposes usually served by iron tools when these were readily available.

FAUNAL REMAINS

Relatively little bone was recovered from the Dwellings where the soil has led to rapid deterioration, particularly in Dwelling 2. The bone is partly decalcified and fragmentary, even some of the teeth are badly broken. In the Midden, however, apart from Layer 1, the preservation is quite good. In Layers 3 and 4 the bone is in particularly good condition while in Layer 5 it is more broken and much of it has been burnt, leaving nothing diagnostic.

The minimum number of identified individuals from each species and from each excavation are shown in the table. In the final column, labelled sum, the numbers from the other columns are added together. This seems

justified as it is extremely unlikely that different parts of the same animal would have been distributed to widely separated parts of the site or even different layers of the Midden, although the disturbance could have produced mixing in the latter case. By using only the same body parts from all samples we arrive at minimum numbers of seven adult cattle (left M_3) and two juveniles (left $dm^3 - M^1 - M^2$) and four adult and four juvenile sheep or goats (right M_2 and left mandible respectively).

FAUNAL REMAINS FROM OXF 1

	Dwelling		C: Hut	Midden		Layer		Unstr.	Sum
	1	2		1	2	3	4		
Cattle - adult	2	1			2	2	2	2	11
Cattle - juvenile	1					1			2
Sheep/Goat - adult	1		1		1	2	1	1	7
Sheep/Goat - juvenile					1	2	2		5
Alcelaphine antelope									
cf. Hartebeest			1	1	1	1	1		5
cf. Blesbuck	1				1				2
Small antelope - juvenile					1				1
Equid			1						1
Springhare						1	1		2
Crab							1		1
Freshwater mussel	2	1	1		2	3	5	2	16
Ostrich egg					1	1			2

The figures indicate a pattern broadly similar to that of the other sites. Cattle and small stock were the main source of meat and among wild animals the only significant quantity was obtained from the large herd animals, the equid, which was presumably zebra or quagga, and particularly the Alcelaphine species.

Remains of two springhares (Pedetes capensis) were the only traces of rodents and it is of interest that there was no rodent-gnawing on the bones. As mentioned above, the disturbances within the Midden seem to be limited to a few well defined springhare burrows, and therefore the bones of this animal probably postdate the occupation. Small chop or cut marks occur on many bones and there are also signs of carnivore gnawing, probably by domestic dogs.

The post-cranial mammalian remains were not identified but the occurrence of a number of large astragali in Dwelling 2 is worth mention. Six were found within the Dwelling and another just outside the wall, representing five from one side and two from the other side of the skeleton of a large animal, probably cattle. Such a concentration could hardly be coincidental in view of the relatively little faunal material from Dwelling 2

and it therefore seems that they were deliberately collected.

THE OCCUPATION

Chronology

Of the samples collected for radiocarbon dating two were initially submitted with the following results:

4665 \pm 160 B.P. GX 1016 From the Midden, Square 4E, Layer 5.

3520 \pm 180 B.P. GX 1017 From Dwelling 1, Hearth 2.

Both readings are obviously too old to date an Iron Age context, the discrepancy apparently being due to the unsuitability of the material submitted. Because of the lack of clearly recognisable charcoal much of the samples consisted of blackened earthy nodules which were thought to be a combination of burnt dung and soil. In correspondence with Dr. Krueger of Geochron Laboratories it was apparent that chemical pretreatment of the samples should have removed any inorganic CaCO_3 . However, older organic carbon if present within the soil would have contaminated the sample, and this would seem to be the reason for the discrepancy.

A further sample, consisting of partially burnt bone from Layer 5 of the Midden, was therefore submitted. The bone was cleaned and then hydrolyzed to recover bone charcoal and/or collagen which yielded the date:

315 \pm 95 B.P. GX 1462.

This reading would give a 'conventional' date of A.D. 1635 or by using the Stuiver and Suess (1966) correction curve a most likely time range between A.D. 1470 and 1650.

No other direct chronological evidence is available from this site but the absence of European trade goods would at least suggest a date before the nineteenth century. On the other hand the relatively good preservation of some of the unrobbed walls would suggest that the site was not abandoned many centuries ago.

The sequence of events as reconstructed from the Midden excavation - quarrying for building stone followed by building and the accumulation of four layers of deposit to a depth of a metre, followed again by building - indicates a fairly long period of occupation, but whether this might represent decades, generations or centuries is not known. From what is known of historically related peoples, it would seem unlikely that a settlement of this kind would have been occupied continuously for more than a few decades. However, there may have been periodic abandonment and re-occupation over an extended time range. The similarity between pottery

samples from the different excavations and from the different Midden layers suggests that the occupation was not long enough for significant changes to take place within the ceramic tradition.

Population

Within the surveyed portion of OXF 1 (fig. 67) the foundations of 26 huts were recorded. A further three bilobial dwellings with no signs of their huts visible on the surface were also included. Since they were not excavated the lack of visible features is hardly surprising, and the presence of huts can be confidently predicted, bringing the total up to 29. A number of small stone-built features, many of them secondary, may have been temporary huts, but they have been excluded as their purpose is obscure.

The bilobial dwellings with their courtyards and sometimes verandas would have offered more comfortable living conditions than the corbelled huts of many of the Type V sites. Moreover the huts at around 3-4 m in diameter were appreciably larger. It is possible that households may also have been somewhat larger, but in all probability the primary family was the normal unit, so that the figure of three people per hut would again seem to be reasonable. On this basis the population of the surveyed area would have been about 87 individuals most of them belonging to two settlement units.

The surveyed area covers 16 800 square metres (175 x 96 m) and by using a grid over an enlarged air photograph the total built-up area of OXF 1 was calculated to be 225 647 square metres (22,56 hectares). Data on the number of structures in the unsurveyed portion of the site were not collected, but by extrapolating from the surveyed area we arrive at an estimate of 1 169 for the total population. As at OO 1 it is not possible to demonstrate that the whole area of the settlement was occupied contemporaneously, however, in view of the compact pattern this is very probable.

An idea of the more compact nature of Type Z relative to Type V settlements may be obtained by comparing the OXF 1 results with OO 1. The latter had an estimated population of 3 000 spread out over a distance of 8,5 km, giving a density of 350 per km, whereas the 1 169 over a distance of just under 1,2 km at OXF 1 produces a population density of 1 000 per km.

The large and well-built livestock pens together with the scarcity of well-used lower grindstones suggests a relative shift in economic emphasis

from agriculture to pastoralism when compared with the eastern sites. This and other aspects of the relationships of Type Z settlements to other archaeologically, historically and ethnologically known groups will be considered in chapters 11 and 15 below.

APPENDIX 1

Decorated sherds from OXF 1
DWELLING 1

Number of sherds		Hut 2	Hut 3	Lobe 1			Lobe 2			Lobe 3					Lobe 4											
		5	2	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	6	3	1	5	1	1	
Body sherds	Motif numbers	•	•	•																						
Rim rounded					•	•					•	•	•	•	•					•	•					•
Rim flattened							•														•					
Rim pointed																										
Rim misc.																										
Plain surface																										
Burnished surface																										
Ochre burnish		•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•					•	•	•	•	•	•
Black burnish		•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•					•	•	•	•	•	•
Misc. impressions on rim	6																									
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11																									
Misc. body impressions	12																									
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13																									
" " horizontal band	14																									
" " pendant triangles	15	•																								
" " chevron	16																									
" " arcade	16																									
Ochre lines, Horizontal band	17	•																								
" " chevron	17																									
" " triangles	17																									
" " sherd too small	17																									

Decorated sherds from OXF 1.

		Decorated sherds from OXF 1.																										
		DWELLING 1.					DWELLING 2.						Lobe 1															
		Exterior.					Hut East			Hut West			Veranda East			Veranda West		Lobe 1 East		Lobe 1 West								
		1	1	1	1	6	9	1	2	5	3	4	9	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	
Number of sherds		•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		•	•			•	•	•	•
Body sherds		•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		•	•			•	•	•	•
Rim rounded																												
Rim flattened				•											•										•		•	
Rim pointed																												
Rim misc.		•																										
Plain surface													•		•												•	•
Burnished surface		•					•	•									•				•							
Ochre burnish		•	•	•	•				•	•	•	•	•	•					•	•	•	•			•	•		
Black burnish																												
Misc. impressions on rim	6																											
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11																		•								•	•
Misc. body impressions	12																		•								•	•
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13	•					•						•	•							•							
" " horizontal band	14																											
" " pendant triangles	15	•	•	•											•													
" " chevron	16		•	•			•	•	•												•							
" " arcade	16														•													
Ochre lines, Horizontal band	17																											
" " chevron	17																										•	
" " triangles	17																										•	
" " sherd too small	17																										•	

Decorated sherds from OXF 1.

DWELLING 2.

Exterior Lobes 1 & 2.

CORBELLED HUT.

Lobe 1 Lobe 2
Front West East West

East West

Number of sherds		3	1	2	8	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	2		
Body sherds		•		•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•						•	•
Rim rounded			•			•				•		•				•					•
Rim flattened							•										•				
Rim pointed																					
Rim misc.																					
Plain surface							•				•	•			•						
Burnished surface															•						
Ochre burnish		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•					•	•				•	•
Black burnish																					
Misc. impressions on rim	6														•						
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11						•														
Misc. body impressions	12																				
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13																				
" " horizontal band	14								•	•										•	
" " pendant triangles	15										•	•									
" " chevron	16																				•
" " arcade	16																				
Ochre lines, Horizontal band	17	•	•																	•	
" " chevron	17			•			•						•								
" " triangles	17													•							
" " sherd too small	17				•			•						•						•	

Motif numbers

OXF 1.
MIDDEN.

		OXF 1. MIDDEN.																																				
		Layer 1								Layer 2								Layer 3																				
Number of sherds		1	4	1	1	1	1	2	6	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1			
Body sherds		•	•	•		•	•	•	•			•	•	•			•		•	•		•	•				•	•		•	•		•	•		•	•	
Rim rounded					•					•	•			•	•			•									•	•							•	•		
Rim flattened																																						
Rim pointed																																						
Rim misc.																																						
Plain surface		•																																				
Burnished surface																																						
Ochre burnish		•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•																										
Black burnish																																						
Misc. impressions on rim	6																																					
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11																																					
Misc. body impressions	12																																					
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13	•	•					•	•																													
" " horizontal band	14																																					
" " pendant triangles	15																																					
" " chevron	16																																					
" " arcade	16																																					
Ochre lines, Horizontal band	17																																					
" " chevron	17																																					
" " triangles	17																																					
" " sherd too small	17																																					

APPENDIX 2 OF CHAPTER 9

BONE ARTEFACTS

Locality	Description	Material	Length cm
Midden 4G	? Ornament (fig.78,9)	Ivory	1,8
Layer 2	? Ornament (fig.78,10)	"	1,8
Dwelling 1, veranda of Hut 1	Bone tube (fig.78,11)	Cannon bone	6,5 broken
Dwelling 1, Lobe 3	Notched bone (fig.78,12)	"	12,8
Dwelling 1, exterior	Double scraper	Long-bone	8,9
Dwelling 1, exterior	Scraper	"	2,8 broken
"	"	"	6,5
MIDDEN			
Square 4E, Layer 1	Double scraper (pl.58,3)	Long-bone	8,6
" Layer 2	" "	"	6,2
" "	Scraper	Split rib	2,5 broken
" Layer 3	"	"	5,5
" "	Double scraper	Rib	7,6
" "	" " (pl.58,7)	"	6,2
" Layer 4	Scraper	Long-bone	6,0
" "	Double scraper	"	5,1
" Layer 5	" "	Split rib	6,9
" "	" "	"	5,0
" "	" "	"	7,0
" "	" "	"	5,1
" "	" "	Rib	2,9 broken
" "	Scraper	"	3,3 "
" "	"	"	2,2 "
Square 4F, Layer 2	Double scraper (pl.58,9)	Long-bone	5,6
" "	Scraper	"	5,3
" "	"	"	4,4 broken
" "	Double scraper	Split rib	4,9
" "	" "	Long-bone	5,6
" Layer 3	Scraper	Split rib	4,3
" "	" (pl.58,5)	Long-bone	9,7
" "	" (pl.58,6)	"	10,9
" Layer 4	Double scraper	"	10,8
" "	" "	"	6,2
" Layer 5	Scraper	"	11,8
" "	"	Split rib	3,5 broken
Square 4G, Layer 2	Scraper (pl.58,8)	Long-bone	7,1
" "	"	"	6,4
" "	Double scraper	Rib	6,1
" "	" "	Long-bone	4,1
" "	Scraper	Split rib	7,9
" "	Double scraper	Long-bone	5,2
" "	Scraper	"	2,5 broken
" Layer 3 & 4	"	"	5,5
" Layer 4	Double scraper (pl.58,12)	Split rib	4,9
" "	" " (pl.58, 1)	Rib	10,1
" "	Scraper	Part of skull	8,2
" "	"	Long-bone	6,3
" "	"	Rib	5,7
" "	"	Long-bone	5,2
" "	"	Split rib	5,8

APPENDIX 2 of CHAPTER 9 contd

Locality	Description	Material	Length cm
Square 4G, Layer 4	Scraper	Split rib	6,1
" "	Double scraper	Long-bone	5,9
Square 4H, Layer 1	Scraper	"	4,5
" "	"	"	4,8
" Layer 2	"	Part of skull	8,6
" "	"	Long-bone	6,5
" "	Double scraper	"	8,8
" "	" "	Rib	6,9
" "	Scraper	"	5,4
" Layer 3	Double scraper	Long-bone	7,6
" "	" " (pl.58,11)	Split rib	7,1
" "	" " (pl.58,10)	"	8,4
" "	" " (pl.58, 4)	Long-bone	8,1
" "	" " (pl.58, 2)	Rib	10,1
" "	Scraper	Split rib	8,9
" "	"	Rib	5,6
" "	Double scraper	"	9,3
" "	" "	Long-bone	5,5
" "	Scraper	"	4,0 broken
Midden, unstratified	Double scraper	Split rib	9,0
" "	Scraper	Long-bone	11,3
" "	"	"	7,4
" "	Double scraper	"	6,9
" "	" "	Rib	9,1
" "	" "	Long-bone	5,9
" "	" "	"	6,5
" "	" "	"	5,1
" "	Scraper	Split rib	5,3
" "	"	? Scapula	7,5
" "	Double scraper	Long-bone	6,9
" "	" "	"	8,9
" "	" "	"	9,8
" "	Scraper	Split rib	3,3 broken
" "	"	Long-bone	4,5
" "	"	"	4,5 broken
" "	"	Split rib	4,3 "
" "	"	Long-bone	4,8 "
" "	"	Split rib	3,5 "
" "	"	Long-bone	2,3 "
Square 4E, Layer 3	Point (pl.59, 3)	Split rib	5,6
" "	" (pl.39,13)	Long-bone	7,7
" Layer 5	Double point	"	6,3
" "	Crude point	"	9,4
Square 4F, Layer 2	Point (pl.59, 9)	"	4,7
" "	Awl (pl.59,14)	"	6,1
" Layer 3	Double point (pl.59,1)	Split rib	12,2
" "	Point (pl.59,8)	Long-bone	4,3
" Layer 4	" (pl.59,4)	Split rib	5,0
" "	" (pl.59,6)	Long-bone	5,1
Square 4G, Layer 2	" (pl.59,11)	Split rib	7,2
" "	" (pl.59,12)	"	8,0
" "	Crude point	"	5,0
" Layer 3 & 4	Point	Long-bone	3,3 broken

APPENDIX 2 OF CHAPTER 9 contd

Locality	Description	Material	Length cm
Square 4G, Layer 3	Awl (pl.59,15)	Long-bone	6,5
" Layer 4	" (pl.59, 7)	"	4,7
Square 4H, Layer 2	Double point (pl.59,5)	"	4,9
" Layer 3	" " (pl.59,2)	"	7,3
Dwelling 1, Layer 2	Point	"	4,1 broken
Dwelling 2, Ext. W	Crude point	"	6,3 "
Midden, unstratified	" "	"	11,8
Square 4G, Layer 3	Pendant (pl.59,10)	Cannon bone	4,3

O M B 1, M O P H A T H E

"It is of great interest to note how the traditions and names of the Lihaja are met with, on all sides. Academically speaking some historians deemed them quite extinct! and even that there are positively no traces of them! In this world good people live often in historical obscurity."

A.A. Moleteane.

On the lower reaches of the Vale River, near the modern village of Bothaville, the river narrows and from this occurrence the area received its Sotho name Mophathe (Webb, 1950). The last independent ruler of the Kubung (Hoja), Queen 'Maghaagha, lived here but her people were politically absorbed by the Taung about the time of the Difaqane or a little earlier - 1810 or 1812 - according to Ellenberger (1912, 53). She and her immediate following disappeared during the Difaqane but the lineage can be traced down to the present day in Lesotho (Moleteane, 1967). A few kilometres to the west near the confluence of the Vale and Vaal is Tomo-Tomo, also associated with 'Maghaagha and the Kubung of the early nineteenth century. A large snake, a supernatural animal of a type mentioned frequently in Sotho mythology, is believed to live in the river here.

THE SETTLEMENT

The Type Z sites near Bothaville are in somewhat lower and drier country than any of the previous sites. Altitude is about 1 250 m (4 100 feet) and the mean annual rainfall is around 550 mm. The Kalahari Thornveld vegetation reaches just to this area, giving way eastwards to Dry Cymbopogon-Themeda Grassveld. The density of known Iron Age sites is much lower than the previously described areas and they are all beside the larger rivers, which suggests that a much more extensive subsistence strategy was needed.

Away from the rivers the landscape is one of flat plains with occasional small hills. The valley of the Vale is fairly broad and gently sloping with small scarps in places where there are outcrops of more resistant rock, sandstone or dolerite. The river bed is incised to a depth of several metres below the banks. There is a narrow strip of forest on either bank, while on the more rocky slopes of the valley and particularly among the ruins a thick growth of scrub and thorn trees, particularly

Acacia karroo and Ziziphus mucronata, has become established.

On the south side of the valley there is a discontinuous line of sites stretching from the farm Mooifontein No. 624, south-east of Bothaville, for a distance of 10 km westwards. The settlements are on gentle north-facing slopes at the side of the valley and they do not reach closer to the river than 300-400 metres. Faint traces on the air photographs north of the river suggest that there was some settlement here too, but this has not been confirmed. The undergrowth complicates the interpretation of all but the most obvious features. It is not yet possible to associate specific sites with the oral history but, as the traditions are still strong in this area (Moletsane, 1967), more intensive enquiry might produce such evidence.

The road from Bothaville runs southwards across the Vale River and about two kilometres further on passes the entrance to Mooifontein farm on the east side. The OMB 1 site is just east of the Mooifontein farmhouse and consists of a Type Z settlement more than a kilometre in length and 400 m wide (Plate 60). It is elongated in a south-easterly direction away from the river and continues on to the neighbouring farm, Rooikraal No. 942, where the structures are more dispersed. Work was carried out towards the centre of the settlement (S.27°24'30" E.26°38'). The aim of the fieldwork was limited to a brief examination of the architecture and pottery for comparison with the results from OXF 1. It was carried out immediately after the work at the latter site, over a ten-day period in April 1967 during which heavy rain made excavation difficult.

Superficially the ruins have a different appearance from the OXF 1 site, but this is the result of a difference in the quality of the building stone. There is an outcrop of sandstone near the river but the dolerite overlying this was the source of most of the stone for the walls. It is finer grained than at OXF 1, and the jointing produces irregular angular blocks which have often been rounded by spheroidal weathering. The walls are therefore unstable, few survive to a height of even half a metre and their appearance is rough. However, the method of construction remains unchanged, large blocks being used for both faces of the wall and especially for the foundation stones, with rubble filling the core. The huts are still indicated by a single row of upright stones but instead of the flat slabs of OXF 1, small rectangular stones are used, the best available substitute.

Some of the intrusive lava is fine grained and was used extensively for a Stone Age industry. Numerous large, roughly biconical cores and the



Plate 60. Air photograph of OMB 1 with Vals River at top, Mooifontein farmhouse towards left. The settlement occupies the central portion of the picture and the surveyed area includes a dense cluster of structures almost exactly in the centre.

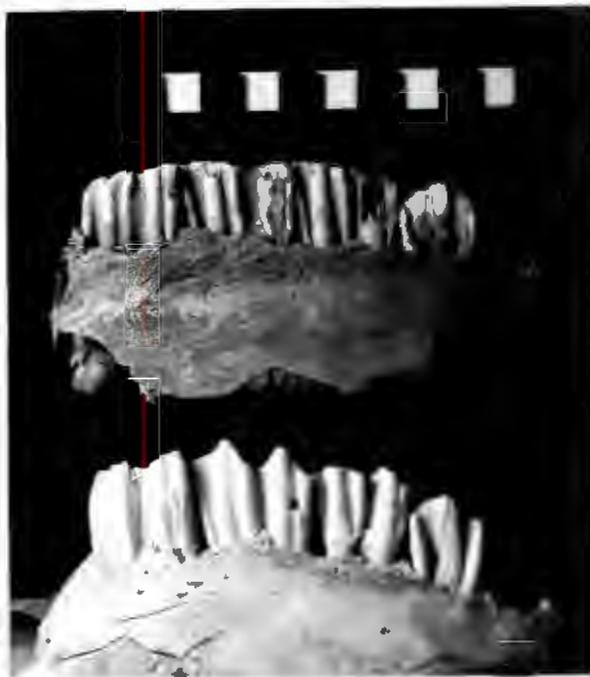


Plate 61. Part of cattle maxilla from OMB 1 used as scraper (top), compared with unused example. On the scraper the crowns are worn to an almost smooth plane, with rounding and chipping of the buccal edges.

flakes struck from them occur on the surface. Some cores are suggestive of Victoria West but most are irregular and few pieces show any secondary working. One or two doubtful handaxes and cleavers were noted, none being bifacial. The site seems to have been used as a workshop in Early Stone Age times and many of the large cores were later used in building the Iron Age walls.

In general the settlement pattern is similar to the Type Z sites further south, with groups of large primary enclosures and associated bilobial dwellings. Individual settlement units are, however, difficult to resolve in many instances and there has been considerable compaction and amalgamation of units into larger aggregates as mentioned in chapter 3. The primary enclosures are much the same as at OXF 1 with the thickened wall-ends at the entrances well developed. There appears to be a larger proportion of small ones around four to eight metres in diameter and the average size may be smaller. A more prominent difference is the increase in the use of secondary walling linking the groups of primary enclosures. While this was rare at OXF 1, here it is common (fig. 79), and the primary enclosures frequently open into a secondary enclosure with a single exit as described by Wells (1933) from a settlement at Platberg 80 km to the north across the Vaal. Frequently the narrow gap between two large enclosures is cut off by two secondary walls preventing access to the intervening area (fig. 79), a feature which was found only rarely at OXF 1. Secondary walling was found not only between the enclosures within a group but also linking up several such groups of livestock pens where several settlement units have been amalgamated.

The bilobial dwellings usually occur in groups of five or more. Some have front and rear lobe walls of stone but many have only the rear wall of stone. In such cases the position of the front wall is shown merely by a single, or more often double row of upright stones, similar to the hut walls and indicating a similar type of construction. Examples of this type are well developed in the surveyed area (fig. 79) from which it is evident that the front lobes, facing the associated group of livestock pens, had less substantial walls than the rear lobes. Mono- and multilobial dwellings do not seem to have been much used and no corbelled huts were noted. Verandas are rare and may indeed be absent as only one possible example was seen. Since no structures were excavated little can be said about the smaller features, although the rear lobe of one dwelling contained a group of stones that may have been a grain bin stand.

The surveyed area of 70 by 100 metres (fig. 79) was chosen because it contained good examples of the various types of structures and also showed

OMB 1

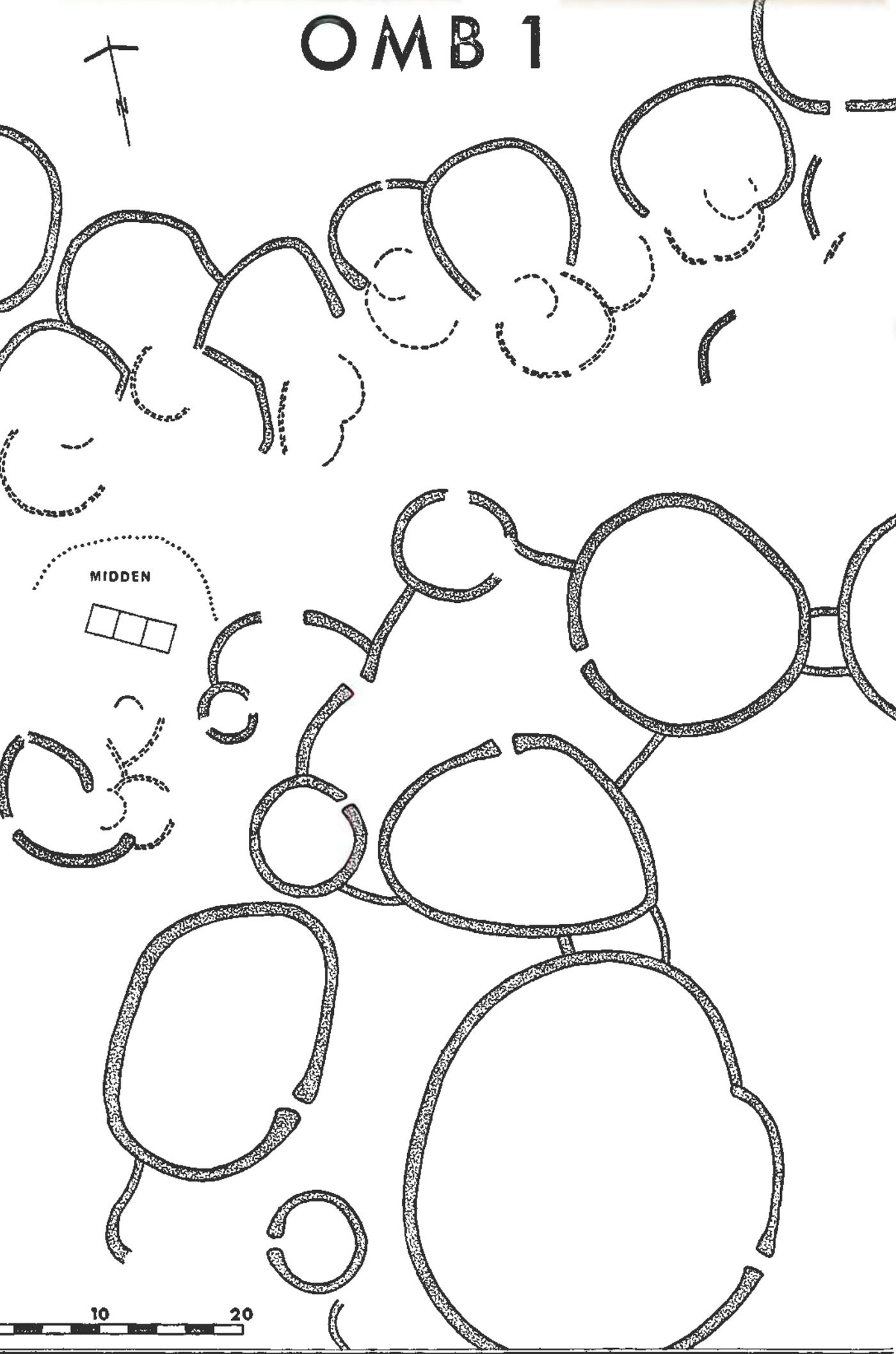


Fig. 79

their interrelationships which make up the settlement pattern. The group of linked primary enclosures in the centre of the plan are connected to other such groups showing that there has been an amalgamation of several settlement units in this part of the site. The line of bilobial dwellings across the upper part of the plan is part of a discontinuous ring which surrounds the complex of primary enclosures and forms the outer edge of the settlement. The northern edge of the plan is the beginning of the open veld and the dwellings are arranged so close to one another side-by-side that they join or leave only a few narrow gaps. Thus the stone walls of their rear lobes form a barrier around the perimeter of this part of the settlement, broken in only a few places. Air photographs from the Thabeng area and other sites in the districts of Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom (Plate 10) frequently show a similar arrangement of dwellings whereas at OXF 1 and neighbouring sites they tend to be more widely spaced. The huts and walls of the front lobes are not visible on the air photographs and the sites near Klerksdorp were not visited in the field. However, the similar settlement pattern and the clearly visible walls of rear lobes suggest that the dwellings on these sites are similar to those at OMB 1.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Despite a careful search of the site no obvious archaeological deposits were found. This was in marked contrast to the similar sites examined further south where ashy middens were clearly evident around and even within the settlement units.

Towards the western edge of the settlement a low bank beside a large primary enclosure looked as if it was an artificial deposit. A test pit one metre square was excavated and revealed an ashy layer below the top few centimetres of soil but reaching only to a depth of about 30 cm. Very little pottery was found but a considerable quantity of bone including several tools, in good condition. Further tests were made without result until a slight hump within the surveyed area was sounded and produced rather more pottery but less bone than the original test pit. Since the main reason for the excavation was to obtain a sample of pottery, further work was carried out here.

The Midden

A grid of two metre squares was laid out across the slight mound, and three squares were excavated as indicated in figure 79. The deposit proved to be a dark brown clay soil with a considerable admixture of midden

material, ash and cultural debris, from about 5 cm to about 50 cm below the surface. Neither transition was well defined and it was evident that the whole deposit was well churned up by burrowing animals - the remains of at least four rodents being forthcoming. Cultural material was rare below a depth of about 35 cm and below this the deposit graded from a dark brown soil to a more reddish brown weather dolerite horizon which was sterile. The lack of stratigraphy and the paucity of cultural remains were disappointing compared to the results from OXF 1. It is tempting to suggest that a rather different system of rubbish disposal was used but present evidence is insufficient to confirm this.

Continual rain and shortage of time prevented more extensive excavations. Insufficient charcoal was obtained for radiocarbon dating and therefore a sample consisting of large bovid bones was submitted, with the following result:

Pta 963 70 \pm 60 (A.D. 1880)

Although the conventional date from this reading has little meaning, the result clearly indicates a late occupation, subsequent to the sample from OXF 1.

The shortage of charcoal suggests that the area was much less wooded than it is today. This is not surprising since the densest bush, apart from the immediate river banks, is on the ruins themselves which would certainly not have been overgrown during the occupation. A large number of poles and branches would have been required to build the dwellings of such a settlement, and thereafter there would not have been much timber remaining for fuel within easy reach.

THE FINDS : POTTERY

The excavated sample, comprising 1 016 sherds of which only 17 are decorated, is disappointingly small and therefore the conclusions drawn from it must be more tentative than was the case with the large samples. There are a number of new features but in general the assemblage is similar to that from OXF 1.

Fabric

The texture is again fairly uniform throughout the assemblage with much fine grit mixed with the clay. The grit is mainly crushed, angular pieces of mudstone or shale which more often than at OXF 1 stand out in contrasting colours from the clay itself. Another difference is that mica

is frequently present as small particles, but this probably reflects the different geological environment rather than a difference in ceramic technique.

The pottery is mostly well fired although the tendency towards pale grey cores is more noticeable than at OXF 1. The surface colours are predominantly an orange-buff varying to grey-brown with a number of sherds blackened by fire.

Burnish

One third of the sherds are burnished and it appears that the fabric was relatively easy to burnish, perhaps because of the platy minerals in the clay. Ochre burnish is relatively rare except on decorated sherds where it occurs on the majority (Appendix 1). The black burnish is probably fire blackening of previously burnished vessels rather than a deliberate black finish.

TABLE OF SURFACE FINISHES AND RIM PROFILES ON OMB 1 POTTERY

	DECORATED SHERDS			UNDECORATED SHERDS				TOTALS
	Plain	Burnished Burnish	Ochre Black	Plain	Burnished	Ochre	Black	
RIM SHERDS								
Round	1	1		19	16	1		38
Flattened		4		26	10	1		41
Misc.				2				2
BODY SHERDS								
BODY SHERDS	5	2	4	620	199	34	71	935
TOTALS	6	2	9	667	225	36	71	1016

DECORATED SHERDS FROM OMB 1

Motif	Motif No.	Midden No.	Test Pit No.	Total No.	%
Comb-stamping, sherd too small	4	3		3	18
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11		1	1	6
Misc. impressions on body	12	1		1	6
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13	1		1	12
Coil impressions, " "	13	1		1	
Parallel grooves in horizontal band	14	2		2	24
" " plus rim notches	14		1	1	
Coil impressions in horizontal band	14	1		1	35
Parallel grooves in chevron	16	2	2	4	
Coil impressions in arcade	16	2		2	
		13	4	17	101

Decoration

For the most part the decorative motifs are similar to those from OXF 1, however the presence of comb-stamped sherds was not recorded on other Type Z sites and may indicate contact with other Iron Age groups rather than local manufacture. The three sherds are too small to show the pattern of the stamping but the presence of ochre burnish on two of them points to a similarity with the comb-stamping from Type V sites.

Stylus impressions in three horizontal rows below the rim occur on one sherd from the test pit (fig. 80, 6). The impressions are small and approximately circular like similar examples from OXF 1 (fig. 76, 1; fig. 77, 4), but a small body sherd has triangular and elongated stylus impressions.

Parallel grooves are again the dominant decorative technique, accounting for half of the decoration. The grooving is sometimes similar to that already described from OXF 1 but tends to be less regular in thickness and depth, one example being up to 2 mm deep (fig. 80, 7). The grooves occur in parallel horizontal lines forming a band (fig. 80, 4 & 7) or chevron (fig. 80, 5). No pendant triangles were observed but because of the small sample this cannot be taken as proof of their absence.

One sherd with horizontal grooves has additional decoration in the form of rim notches (fig. 80, 7). No other example of rim notching was recorded among Type Z assemblages and in looking for comparable examples one would tend to turn to the eastern Orange Free State assemblages. However, from Tafelkop near Hartebeestpoort Dam in the Transvaal, Mason (1952) describes vessels which combine grooved decoration and notched rims. Other assemblages from the western Transvaal particularly Buispoort (Van Hoepen & Hoffman, 1935) and related sites (Mason, 1962, 502-12) include rim notching as one of their most common forms of decoration.

The coil impressions are rather similar to the grooves for they produce furrows of similar width and depth but made up of a series of short oblique impressions. No object suitable for making such an impression was recovered, but a wound bangle of wire or some organic substance seems likely. Wound wire of suitable size has been recovered from the Welgegend site in the Transvaal (Voigt, 1973; and pers. comm.). The motifs produced by this technique are parallel horizontal lines (fig. 80, 2) and arcades in combination with horizontal lines (fig. 80, 1 & 3). In all cases ochre lines are also present which, together with the motifs chosen, point to the similar use of grooves and coil impressed lines. For this reason and because the technique was used only at OMB 1 the examples have been combined with the grooved motifs for the purpose of numerical comparison between the

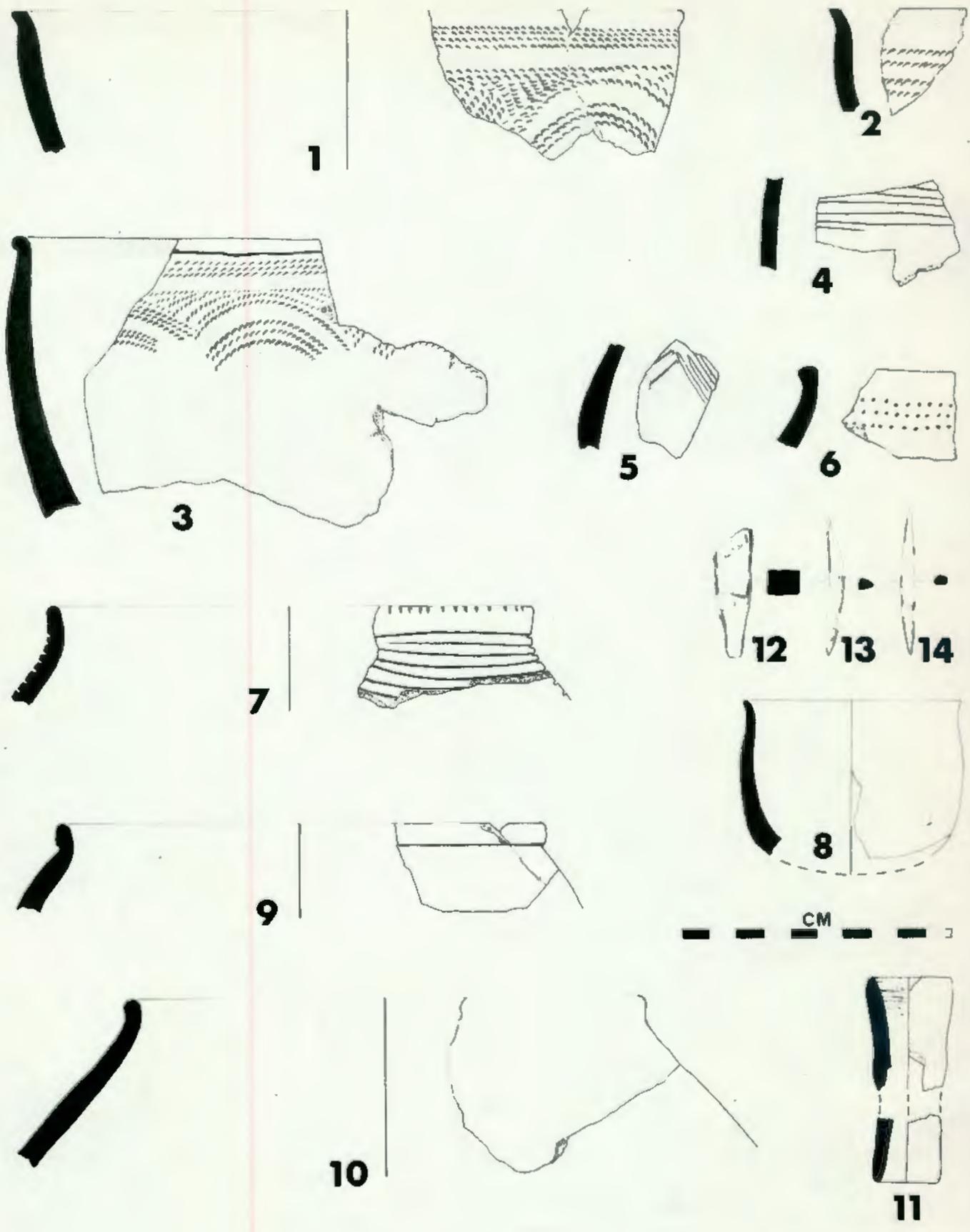


Fig. 80

Figure 80

Pottery and small finds from OMB 1.

1. Wide-mouthed bowl with short everted neck and flattened rim. Coil impressions in horizontal band below rim and arcade pattern. Red ochre burnish in lines between decorated areas and on inside of rim. Buff. Shale grit. Midden, Square 2C.
2. Bowl probably similar to No. 1 in shape. Coil impressions in parallel horizontal lines below neck. Ochre band on neck and rim. Buff. Grit. Midden, Square 2C.
3. Wide-mouthed bowl with rounded rolled-over rim. Coil-impressed decoration similar to No. 1. Ochre burnish on exterior and inside of rim. Buff-grey. Grit. Surface find.
4. Sherds with parallel grooves in horizontal band. Burnished. Orange-buff. Grit and mica. Midden, Square 2B.
5. Vessel with chevron in parallel grooves. Burnish and ochre burnish. Orange-buff. White grit. Midden, Square 2C.
6. Pot with short upright neck. Three rows of small round stylus impressions below neck. Red ochre burnish below. Orange-buff with grey core. White grit. Test pit.
7. Pot with short upright neck with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim. Narrow notches on rim, deep parallel grooves in horizontal band on and below neck. Unburnished. Buff. Grit. Midden test.
8. Small bowl or cup with everted neck. No decoration or burnish. ?Cucurbit seed impression. Buff, blackened towards base and with dark cone. Test pit.
9. Probably spherical pot with short upright neck and rounded rim. Burnish. Buff. Grit. Midden, Square 2C.
10. Probably spherical pot with short upright neck with poorly defined point of inflection. Burnish. Brown. Grit. Midden, Square 2B.
11. Cylindrical, slightly waisted smoking pipe, reconstructed from several fragments, length uncertain. Soot within bowl. Midden, Square 2C.
12. Broken tang of an iron implement, perhaps a hoe or axe. Rectangular section. Midden, Square 2C.
13. Crudely made double ended bone point, polish at both ends, 5 cm long. Midden, Square 2C.
14. Double bone point well polished all over, 5,2 cm long. Function unknown. Midden, Square 2C.

sites, however the details are given in the table. Coil impressions are also present at the Tafelkop site in the southern Transvaal 220 km to the north-west (Mason, 1952).

Form

Rims show flattened and rounded profile in about equal numbers. This represents a considerable increase in the proportion of flattened rims when compared with OXF 1.

The vessels fall for the most part into the first and third categories as described from OXF 1, namely the spherical pots with short upright or everted necks and the open-mouthed bowls with short everted necks. In both cases the necks are about one centimetre high and the points of inflection may be well or poorly defined. There is a greater proportion of the latter here than at OXF 1.

Some of the pots are decorated (fig. 80, 7) but the majority are not although they may be burnished (fig. 80, 9 & 10). Pots are more numerous than bowls and again would have served several purposes; some are blackened from cooking.

A larger proportion of the bowls seem to be decorated and among them are the most highly decorated of the vessels recovered - those with coil impressed lines (fig. 80, 1-3). A similarly shaped vessel but with no decoration was also found. The sub-spherical necked bowls of OXF 1 are not represented but there are a few crudely made hemispherical bowls without necks.

The small bowl or cup from the test pit (fig. 80, 8) was the only one of its kind.

In general the assemblage shows a fair degree of similarity to the more southerly Type Z sites such as OXF 1. Where there are important differences - the presence of comb-stamped and coil impressed decoration, the notched rim and the absence of ochre line decoration - the characteristics are found in the Tafelkop assemblage from the Transvaal (Mason, 1952). There are numerous sites across the Vaal and closer than Tafelkop, however the pottery from them has yet to be described in detail. On present evidence it would seem that the OMB 1 pottery represents a stage somewhere intermediate between OXF 1 and related sites north of the Vaal.

OTHER CERAMIC OBJECTS

Apart from a few edge ground sherds of irregular shape the only other

ceramic items were fragments from several smoking pipes. The latter were found in Squares 2C and 2D of the Midden and in the test pit but only those from 2C were large enough to permit reconstruction of the original shape. This was a slightly waisted cylindrical form (fig. 80, 11), rather different from the ceramic pipe from OXF 1 (fig. 78, 2).

STONE ARTEFACTS

As mentioned above, numerous large cores and flakes from an Early Stone Age industry litter the surface of the site, but none were collected. Various flakes and chunks of agate, silicified wood, lydianite and quartz were recovered from the Midden and test pit; 17 pieces in all of which only one, a small end scraper of fossil wood, is an artefact. This is probably Late Stone Age debitage unrelated to the Iron Age occupation. The area of the Vals-Vaal confluence must always have been a focus for population groups inhabiting the surrounding dry plains.

METALWORK

A single piece of iron from Square 2C in the Midden was the only piece of metal found on the site. It is a rapidly tapering fragment broken from the tang of a heavy duty tool perhaps a hoe or axe (fig. 80, 12). The shortage of metal relative to the abundance of bone tools is very pronounced as at OXF 1.

ARTEFACTS OF BONE AND SHELL

Fine, small, well made Ostrich egg-shell beads were found in the excavations, their sizes being as follows:

Locality	No.	Diameter in mm
Midden, Square 2B	1	6
" Square 2C	2	6
" Square 2C	1	5
Test pit	1	6

They are very regular in shape and standardised in size, the perforations being a little over 2 mm in diameter throughout and not conical or biconical. They are a distinct contrast to the large irregular beads from OXF 1.

A relatively large number of bone tools were recovered, particularly

from the test pit which was only one square metre. Most were the typical bone scrapers worked at one or both ends. They were similar to those described from the previous site, and they are listed in Appendix 2.

The most interesting scraper consists of the left side of a cattle maxilla containing the cheek teeth (Plate 61). As with the mandibular scrapers from OU 2 (Plate 44) the crowns have been worn down and there has been some fracturing, particularly along the buccal margin. When compared in buccal view with an unmodified maxilla (Plate 61) the difference in profile is pronounced. On the scraper the eminences have been reduced to the extent that an almost smooth curve has been produced along the length of the molars.

Of the three points, two are of the crudely made type about 5 cm long and pointed at both ends (fig. 80, 13 & 14). The other is merely a pointed splinter showing polish around its point which suggests that it was used as an awl.

FAUNAL REMAINS

Despite the small quantity of bone a fair number of identifications could be made as the material is generally in a good state of preservation. Most of the bone is from bovids. It is typically fragmented and there are chop marks or rodent gnaw marks on many pieces; long-bones are usually split. The minimum number of identified individuals of each species are as follows:-

	Midden	Test Pit	Sum
Cattle - adult	2	1	3
Cattle - juvenile	1	1	2
Sheep/Goat - adult	1		1
Alcelaphine antelope	1	1	2
Springbuck	1		1
Small antelope - juvenile	1		1
Ground squirrel (<u>Xerus inauris</u>)	1		1
Small rodent	3		3
Freshwater mussel	2	1	3
Ostrich egg	1		1

Again cattle dominate the sample but there are surprisingly few small stock. Alcelaphine antelope were the most important of the wild animals but there seems to have been more emphasis on the smaller antelope than at many of the sites examined. Remains of an adult Springbuck and possibly an immature one, as well as a smaller antelope indicate that animals of this size range were hunted.

The ground squirrel Xerus inauris and the smaller rodents probably

postdate the accumulation of the deposits, their burrowing no doubt being responsible for the lack of stratigraphy within the Midden. The usual freshwater mussel Unio caffer was present in surprisingly small numbers considering the proximity of the Vals River. The absence of crab and other riverine species is likewise surprising, however, the limited extent of the excavation must be taken into consideration here.

Two horn cores were recovered from Square 2C, one of a small antelope and the other of cattle. The latter consists of the proximal portion of the core broken off at its attachment to the skull and 12 cm in length. The basal diameter is 54-68 mm which is a fairly large size, slightly larger than the horn cores from the Behrens Iron Age site in Zambia (Fagan et al, 1969, 153) but not as large as some African cattle.

CONCLUSIONS

The late date of the radiocarbon determination indicates that the occupation was towards the end of the Iron Age, later than the midden at OXF 1 and probably in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. An independent Sotho-Tswana town of this size, however, could certainly not have been occupied after the Difaqane, about 1822, in view of the historical evidence. There was intense fighting between the Taung of Moletsane, Rolong of Sejunelo (Sifunelo), Ndebele of Mzilikazi and other groups in this area.

But down to the time of the Difaqane Mophathe was occupied by the Kubung of 'Maghaagha, and it is therefore most likely that they were the occupants of OMB 1 and the similar settlements in the neighbourhood.

The archaeological evidence, although slight, affords us an interesting comparison with the more southerly Type Z sites as represented by OXF 1. The essential similarities in settlement pattern, architectural detail and pottery are sufficient for the two sites to be included in the same category. But there are several features at OMB 1 which indicate some degree of transition towards the sites north of the Vaal. In architecture these include the amalgamation, and the construction of some front lobes in less substantial material than stone. In the pottery there are the coil impressed lines which sometimes replace grooves, and the presence of comb-stamping. We are no doubt dealing with a continuum of typological change, but since we have only the two Type Z sites at present, little more can be said until further well chosen sites have been excavated.

APPENDIX 1

Decorated sherds from OMB 1

Number of sherds		Decorated sherds from OMB 1																					
		Midden						Test Pit															
Motif numbers		1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2										
Body sherds		•	•	•	•	•	•		•				•	•									
Rim rounded						•			•			•											
Rim flattened									•		•												
Rim pointed											•												
Rim misc.																							
Plain surface		•		•	•		•						•										
Burnished surface						•																	
Ochre burnish			•				•	•	•	•	•		•										
Black burnish																							
Comb-stamping, sherd too small	4	•	•																				
Rim notches	5					•																	
Stylus impressions in parallel rows	11											•											
Misc. body impressions	12		•																				
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13			•																			
" " horizontal band	14				•	•																	
" " chevron	16						•	•					•										
Coil impressions, sherd too small	13									•													
" " horizontal band	14										•												
" " arcade	16										•												

APPENDIX 2 OF CHAPTER 10

BONE ARTEFACTS

Locality	Description	Material	Length cm
OMB 1			
Midden, Square 2B	Scraper	Long-bone	4,8 broken
" "	"	"	2,2 "
" "	"	"	6,4
" "	"	"	8,1
" "	Double scraper	"	5,9
" "	Scraper	"	4,9 broken
" "	"	"	4,7
" "	"	"	5,6
" "	"	"	7,8
" "	"	"	8,3
Midden, Square 2C	"	"	8,1
" "	Double scraper	"	9,1
" "	" "	"	6,7
" "	Scraper	Rib	7,5
" "	Double Scraper	"	13,9
" "	Scraper	"	12,0
" "	"	"	9,8
" "	"	? Scapula	9,7
Midden, Square 2D	"	Long-bone	7,6
" "	Double scraper	Split rib	6,9
" "	Scraper	Long-bone	7,9
" "	"	Cattle maxilla	12,1
Test pit	Double scraper	Rib	13,3
"	Scraper	"	14,4
"	Double scraper	"	11,4
"	" "	Long-bone	13,1
"	" "	"	6,1
"	" "	"	6,3
"	" "	"	6,6
"	" "	"	6,7
"	" "	"	6,5
"	" "	"	5,6
"	Scraper	"	5,4
"	Double scraper	"	7,8
"	" "	Split rib	6,0
"	Scraper	Long-bone	3,3 broken
"	Double scraper	"	3,1
Midden, Square 2B	Point	"	4,5 broken
" "	Double point	"	4,9
Test pit	" "	"	5,2

THE TYPE Z SITES AND THEIR CULTURAL AFFINITIES

"He (Oedasoa, a Khoikhoi chief) said that if the explorers had crossed this river (the great river, i.e. Orange) they would have found the country dotted with permanent settlements and tribes, such as the Brigoudi, Chorij-Eijquae, also the Cumissoquae....This river formed the boundary line between the domains of the Hottentote and the other tribes, so that all who lived on this southern side of the river belonged to the Hottentot race and those on the far side were blacker people like our Angola and Guinea slaves. These black people were also subjects of a great lord who never left his own house without being attended in state by a large retinue."

Jan van Riebeeck, 1662.

The Type Z sites belong to a cultural tradition distinct, within the Iron Age of the southern African interior from the settlements of the eastern Highveld. From the air photographs they not only resemble sites in the south-western Transvaal but also, superficially at least, sites in the Marico area somewhat further north (e.g. Seddon, 1966). Their relatively large size and complexity bring to mind the Tswana towns of impressive size described by travellers early in the nineteenth century, and which are still so much a feature of Botswana. We must therefore examine the historical and ethnological evidence in some detail to ascertain whether the resemblance is sufficient to indicate a close relationship or whether it is merely superficial. Much of the material contained in this chapter has already been published (Magge, 1972) and I am grateful to the South African Archaeological Society for permission to reproduce it.

HISTORICAL TSWANA SETTLEMENTS

The earliest contact between white settlers and Sotho-Tswana peoples was with the Tlhaping who occupied part of the region between the Orange and Molopo rivers west of the Hartz (fig. 81). Reports which probably refer to the Tlhaping reached the Dutch settlement at the Cape from as early as 1661, when it was learned that the 'great river' formed the boundary between Khoikhoi on its south side and black people to the north (Saunders, 1966, 63; Wilson, 1969, 135). Wikar's journal of 1778 describes the Gysikoa, a mixed Tlhaping and Khoikhoi group, who lived on the Orange near modern Upington, but it was not until 1801 that the first expedition reached the Tlhaping at their capital, Dithakong.

For an Iron Age town of the Highveld, Dithakong is unique in the

quantity and quality of the historical and ethnological information recorded about it, dating from a period before the disastrous wars of the Difaqane. It will be necessary to look at some of this information in detail as it provides many links with the Type Z settlements.

The eyes of the early travellers, accustomed to linear and rectangular urban patterns, sometimes failed to see any order in the layout of Tswana towns (Barrow, 1806, Lichtenstein, 1812). Burchell (1822) visited Dithakong in 1812 and although he claims that there was no order in the arrangement of the dwellings, he describes them as being grouped into about 30 or 40 "little villages, each under the superintendance of its own chieftain". These divisions of the town were usually separated from each other by a belt of open ground, while the individual dwellings within a division were sometimes "so close to each other as barely to leave a passage between the outer fences" (op.cit., 362). Each division had one or more cattle pounds consisting of a fence of branches or palisade about 25 to 30 metres in diameter, and it is here that the men met and public business was transacted.

Campbell (1815, 225), who visited Dithakong in 1813, confirms that it was divided into perhaps 50 districts each under a headman and having its own enclosed place of public resort. On his second journey in 1820, when the Tlhaping capital had moved to Kuruman, Campbell (1822) listed the names of 29 divisions and their headmen, and for the first time used the term ward to describe them.

Although some of the early travellers failed to notice these divisions, they were clearly visible when the town was viewed from a hill-top (Burchell, op.cit., 362) and even at this early stage it is mentioned that the divisions had social, administrative and economic functions.

These two aspects: that the divisions were visible components of the settlement and that they were significant units in its social and administrative life, are crucial to our interpretation of the archaeological record. From the visual aspect the divisions correspond to the settlement units as described for the Type Z sites while in terms of social structure they are the wards which are a characteristic and even a distinguishing feature of the Tswana peoples as a whole.

THE TSWANA WARD

There are several aspects of the Tswana ward which are relevant to this interpretation. From Schapera (1935, 1953) we learn that the general plan of the ward is circular, with the dwellings built close together,

sometimes linked, around the outside, while the central open space contains cattle pens and the men's kgotla. A single ward may form a village on its own or a number may be built together to form a larger settlement. This may contain as many as 120 wards as at Serowe. In the larger settlements the wards are usually grouped into three sections and they tend to retain their positions relative to one another if the settlement is rebuilt on a new site. As Mackenzie (1871, 367) puts it "In laying out a Bechuana town, the first thing is to ascertain where the chief's court-yard with the public cattle-pen is to be placed. As soon as this is settled the remainder is simple....As soon as the chief's position is ascertained, one says, 'My place is always next to the chief on this side'; another adds, 'And mine is always next on that side', and so on till the whole town is laid out."

Schapera's (1943) plan of Mochudi is enlightening for it shows graphically the composition of a large Tswana town, in this case with 48 wards divided among five sections. The result might be a town planner's nightmare but it is beautifully clear and logical to the social anthropologist. The form of the settlement at a particular period is an accurate representation of its social structure. As population increases individual wards may expand or produce off-shoots which require more space. Schapera shows how even this process takes place within the social framework. There is sufficient flexibility to allow for a reshuffling of the locations of wards without disturbing their relative positions.

The population of wards varies greatly, from less than 100 to about 1 000. The two analysed by Schapera (1935) each had about 100 inhabitants who were divided among 16 and 18 homesteads which contained on average five to six people, although most had more than one hut. The headman of the ward inherits his position and his kin form the nucleus of the ward to which other kinship groups may be added. Where there are several such groups in a ward, kin tend to build their homesteads adjacent to each other.

Apart from its residential and social functions the ward serves as an administrative, legal and economic unit. Legal cases and local business matters are dealt with in the kgotla by the headman and other senior men of the ward. The headman is also responsible for the allocation of land for building and for welfare within the ward. But the significance of the ward is not limited to the geographical extent of the built up area; economic activities carried out elsewhere are also organised according to wards, although in recent years changes have taken place. But historically the name of a ward would also apply to a cultivated area, a cattle post and a hunting station (Mackenzie, 1871, 370), which indicates that the most important subsistence activities were organised according to wards. When a

settlement was newly established the chief would allocate a tract of arable land and a grazing area to each ward. The headman was responsible for the subdivision of the arable land among the families of his ward and he was often the overseer of the grazing area (Schapera, 1943, 44-5). As settlement units, the wards were therefore relatively self-sufficient and probably more cohesive than the town as a whole. If a settlement should split up, as was frequently the case in the earlier nineteenth century, the cleavage would tend to pass between wards rather than through them.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the first detailed reports, it is clear that the ward system was well established. For the contemporary Tswana, according to Schapera (1935, 207), it is "a basic feature of their social organisation". It must therefore have a long history extending back centuries before the earliest written reference to it. It seems also to be a diagnostic feature, for Schapera (*op.cit.*, 224) considers "that the social system of the Tswana tribes differs very markedly from those of other Southern Bantu in regard to the groupings intermediate between the tribe and the household".

In view of this we may tentatively interpret the settlement units on Iron Age sites from within or adjacent to areas of known Tswana occupation in terms of wards. But in order to do this the settlement units must not only conform to the general Tswana ward pattern of a more or less discontinuous ring of homesteads around an open space containing cattle pens, but should also show detailed typological links with Tswana architecture and material culture.

SETTLEMENT MOBILITY

While Tswana settlements have been fairly static in the last hundred years or so, this does not seem to have been the case in earlier times. Even in the more peaceful period before the Difaqane, fission and movement of settlements were common. For example the Tlhaping capital was at Nokaneng¹

¹ Maingard (1933) has established the historical importance of Nokaneng as a Tlhaping settlement and has placed it on the map roughly, by using the early references. Its position is, however, known (Van Vreeden, pers. comm.) and is even marked on the Irrigation Department 1:500 000 topographical map of the Union of South African sheet 7 of 1936 where it is called Nokanna - Lat. 28°13'S Long. 22°30'E. Nokaneng is a common Tswana name meaning the place on the river, and while no river is shown here on recent maps and it was dry, except for a few wells, when Campbell (1822) visited it, it had formerly been a river (Maingard, *op.cit.*, 599). Indeed it is shown as a river, running between the Skurweberg and Langeberg ranges to join the Orange at Kheis, on maps as recent as the Times Atlas of 1922.

(fig. 81) when Mothibi was born, around the year 1775 (Burchell, op.cit., 258; Maingard, 1933). By 1801 it was at Dithakong on the Mashoweng River and it contained around 10-15 000 inhabitants (Barrow, 1806).

A year later the Rolong followers of Makraka (Stow, 1905, 501) split off from the Tlhaping and both left Dithakong, the latter to settle at Kuruman where Lichtenstein (1812) found about 5 000 of them. They returned to Dithakong in about 1806 but settled a short distance from the previous site. In 1812 Dithakong contained about 5 000 people and they were contemplating returning to Nokaneng with an intermediate stop at Kuruman (Burchell, op.cit., 253), where they re-established themselves in 1817 (Thompson, 1827, 80). When the capital moved, part of the settlement might remain behind. Thus in 1820 when Kuruman was again the capital and comprised 29 werds, Dithakong was of ~~smaller~~^{similar} size although it was now situated about 10 km west of the Dithakong of 1813 (Campbell, 1822, 122).

The capital had moved three times in twenty years and suffered one major split which removed about half of its population. The reasons for these moves are not clear but the availability of resources was probably one factor, and this was certainly the reason why the towns were not rebuilt on precisely the same site; the main factor here being the amount of timber required for building and fuel (Burchell, op.cit., 361). This mobility presents a problem in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence and it helps to explain why many Iron Age sites have shallow accumulations of waste material. However, some of the stone-built settlements such as OXF 1 and Kaditshwene (Mason, 1968, 13) do have a fair depth of deposit which indicates a prolonged or, what may be more likely, repeated occupation of the same site.

TLHAPING DWELLINGS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED FEATURES

Settlement patterns characterized by wards seem to be generally recognizable throughout the areas inhabited by the Tswana since the first detailed records on them were made. Present evidence does not indicate any marked differences between the various Tswana groups in the large scale aspects of their settlement patterns except those introduced in response to recent conditions, such as the dispersed homesteads in the reserves of the northern Cape Province, although further research may well show up such differences. But when we begin to examine the settlements in more detail, in particular the dwellings and their associated features, differences are immediately apparent.

The homesteads or dwellings normally consist of one or more huts, of

cone-on-cylinder shape, set in some form of courtyard surrounded by screening walls (Schapera, 1935). However, the architecture of both huts and courtyards varies among the different Tswana groups (Barbour, pers.comm.) and only that of the most southern will be considered here.

The earliest record of a bilobial dwelling is that of Burchell (op.cit., 371; Walton, 1956) from Dithakong in 1812. Many of the dwellings here were not bilobial but circular, with the hut in the centre and sometimes joined to the outer, circular wall by two radial walls which divided the area into a front and rear courtyard. This pattern is also illustrated by Burchell (op.cit., Plate 7), and similar examples where the huts do not appear to be connected to the screening walls are illustrated by Daniell from the 1801 expedition (Barrow, 1806, 391; Daniell, 1820, 43, 44; Daniell, prints in Fehr Collection D13, D15 & D16).

But some of the Dithakong dwellings were bilobial and the example illustrated by Burchell (fig. 82), which was the dwelling of the chief's brother, is similar in detail to Dwelling 2 of OXF 1. The entrance to the rear lobe is in the wall of the front lobe to the right of the hut and the fireplace is on the right of the main entrance in the front lobe. Although this hut did not have a clearly defined veranda, most of the descriptions and illustrations of early Tlhaping huts include this feature. In such cases the edge of the veranda coincides with the outer row of posts supporting the roof. The veranda may merely be defined by a kerb, with the floor raised about 10 cm above the courtyard (Barrow, op.cit., 391), but often there is also a wall built between the posts. "This wall is about half the height of the posts (i.e. 0,5-0,75 m), generally level at the top or sometimes fancifully indented or waved from one post to the other: its thickness is between four and six inches, and it extends only round the front part of the house, or that part which is comprised in the front-court; it is sometimes built separate from the posts and at about six inches on the outside of them" (Burchell, op.cit., 364). The verandas were about one metre wide as at OXF 1. This width has been explained by a recent Tswana builder as being sufficient for someone to sit with their back against the hut wall and their legs stretched out (Barbour, pers.comm.).

The huts showed little variation in shape although the interior was sometimes subdivided by further walls. The hut diameter was between 2,5 and 4 m, again similar to OXF 1. Hearths were in the front lobe or forecourt, generally on the right on entering the dwelling. Burchell (op.cit., 365) described the hearth as "a circular and very shallow basin, having its edge raised a little above the floor", while Daniell (print D12 in Fehr Collection) illustrated an elaboration of this where the hearth was placed on a raised

platform perhaps 2 m in diameter and with a scalloped kerb.

Hearths were also built on verandas for use in cold and rainy weather (Burchell, op.cit.) as with Dwelling 2 at OXF 1, but apparently not within huts (Barrow, op.cit., 393) as was the case in Dwelling 1.

Large, clay grain bins up to nearly 3 m high (Barrow, op.cit., 392) were a feature of Dithakong. These were sometimes inside the huts towards the back, but more especially in the rear courtyards; sometimes standing in small huts built to contain several of them, and sometimes in the open when they had thatched covers. The bases were raised above ground level and according to Burchell (op.cit., 366) supported on a framework of branches which were visible as short legs. Daniell (1820, 43; prints D12 and D13 in Fehr Collection), however, illustrated several, including one in the course of construction, and these were built entirely of clay and stood on clay foot-rings with a few perforations around their bases. But Daniell (1820; Barrow, 1806) also illustrated several which appear to be raised up on large roundish stones like those of the two circular features described from Dwelling 1 Lobe 4 at OXF 1. Elsewhere among the Tswana there is definite evidence for the use of stone supports, for example Schapera (1943, 84) says that the rear courtyard "often contains one or more granaries (difala), large earthen drums mounted on stones for protection against white ants". At Dithakong too the grain bins were in the rear courtyards or within huts (Burchell, 1822), so in terms of both typology and position the stone features in rear lobes at OXF 1 and the Tswana grain bin stands coincide with one another.

In general, grain-storage vessels and their supports are a rather neglected field of research, yet they must have played an important part in Iron Age subsistence. There is a tendency among archaeologists to call a feature a grain-bin stand without sufficient evidence and sometimes without giving a detailed description. Authors may know of ethnological evidence to support their claims and assume that it is common knowledge when this is not the case. The vessels and more particularly their supports, since this is usually all that is preserved in an archaeological context, may well prove to be useful typological indicators as well as being valuable sources of economic information.

Dithakong is to this day a Tlhaping settlement and despite the vastly changed economic and political context and the attendant changes in material culture, the bilobial pattern is still the basis of many dwellings. The huts all seem to be rectangular and rather larger than formerly. They have doors and windows with wooden frames but retain their conical, thatched roofs supported, at least in front, by posts. No walled verandas were observed



62 Modern Bilobial Dwelling from Dithakong with rectangular front courtyard but curved rear one. Daga walls except for section of stick fence at rear; scalloped kerb between posts. Additional hut and courtyard on left.



63 Dwelling similar to 62 and viewed from the same angle, but a few years after abandonment all that remains are the upright slabs to show where the daga walls stood.

but there is still a curb a few centimetres in height following the line of posts in front of each hut and in one example the curb is scalloped in a manner reminiscent of Daniell's scalloped kerbs of 170 years ago. The front courtyard tends to be rectangular rather than lobe-shaped but the rear lobe is more often curved and its wall still abuts on to that of the front lobe (Plate 62).

Perhaps the greatest difference is that in all cases observed there was at least one additional courtyard attached to the side of the dwelling, which contained another, but smaller hut. More elaborate examples had several courtyards and huts added on both sides, but even here the core of the dwelling remained the bilobial pattern. Sometimes the additional huts had flat roofs of corrugated iron but the central hut was always thatched.

Apart from their historical significance these homesteads are extremely interesting in terms of living patterns, vernacular architecture and even purely from an aesthetic point of view and it is surprising that so little is known about them. They are decorated in a variety of ways, one of which is by scalloping the tops of mud walls, as recorded by Burchell (op.cit.). However, the use of buttresses, re-entrant sections of walling, contrasting earth colours and geometric patterns impressed into the plaster while it is still wet, seem to be more recent features. Campbell (1815, 256) described a house decorated with representations of various animals and although this was unusual for the time it does show that some form of wall decoration was already practised in the early nineteenth century at Dithakong.

ROLONG SETTLEMENTS .

The evidence, both historical and recent, links the Tlhaping securely with the tradition of bilobial dwellings, yet on the map (fig. 81) there is a considerable distance between the known Tlhaping distribution and that of the Type Z settlements. Most of this intervening territory is known to have been occupied by the Rolong, who are closely related to the Tlhaping; the history of the two groups being closely interwoven. Rolong patterns of settlement must therefore be examined to see if they are similar.

In the early nineteenth century the Tlhaping tried to prevent travellers penetrating beyond their territory to the north and east as they feared this would threaten their trading position (Borchers, 1861, 85; Burchell, op.cit., 379). Thus there is much less information on the Rolong of the pre-Difaqane period. However, the members of the first expedition to Dithakong were told that the Rolong "houses were of the same kind as, but

much better built than" those they had seen. The Rolong had many large towns, more agriculture and better crafts including iron and copper smelting (Barrow, *op.cit.*, 404). Indeed about half of the population of Dithakong at this time was Rolong, as mentioned above, and since the report does not mention different types of dwelling they were presumably very similar. This is confirmed by Campbell (1822, 67) who visited the Ratlou branch of the Rolong at Mashow in 1820 and recorded that "the houses are built much alike, only at Mashow they have in front...stoops or terraces. They are about three feet wide, raised about five inches above the ground, and ornamented by being cut in the form of a crescent". Although he does not make it clear whether it is the kerb or the veranda wall which is scalloped, both alternatives have already been described from Dithakong.

From the mid-nineteenth century Casalis (1861) described and illustrated a Rolong hut which is broadly similar to those from Dithakong and likewise contained a clay grain bin. The main differences are that there is a central pole and that the veranda extends right around the hut, its wall reaching up to the roof to form an enclosed passage encircling the hut. This is clearly different from Campbell's veranda, but Casalis does not say from which settlement nor from which branch of the Rolong it was taken. Another point of interest is that the illustration shows a fire being made within the hut in contrast to the assertion that this was not done at Dithakong. However, this agrees with the evidence from OXF 1, the only difference being that the fireplace is off centre because of the central pole.

These sources do not give sufficient information on the courtyards to identify bilobial or any other patterns; nor is there information on the patterns of the large settlements, although the ward system must also have operated here. There are, however, remains of extensive stone settlements in part of the territory known to have been occupied by the Rolong and although these were not necessarily the work of this people, they are worth considering.

There is a concentration of settlements on both sides of the Skoon-spruit extending north and west from modern Klerksdorp; this concentration has been observed by Mason (1968) and the writer (Maggs, 1967). One of these settlements, on Platberg 23 km north of Klerksdorp, has been described by Wells (1933). The positions of the huts are marked by a single circle of stones and there is usually a veranda in front but sometimes completely encircling the hut. The huts stand within enclosures although the bilobial pattern is not specifically mentioned. Livestock enclosures occur in groups of about four and they are linked together with only one entrance from without, as was the case at OMB 1. The air photograph shows a settlement pattern

essentially similar to Type Z although more extensive than on the Orange Free State sites. The divisions into settlement units are often clear, and in their size and arrangement of components they correspond to the ward pattern, which would be expected if this were a Rolong site.

Thabeng, the capital of the Seleka Rolong before the onslaught of the Difaqane, was in this area (Broadbent, 1865, 171; Stow, 1905, 503-4). The Gazetteer for Basutoland (Webb, 1950, as amended) places Thabeng on the farm Buisfontein at S.26°42' E.26°30', 20 km west of Platberg, which accords with its position as shown on Campbell's (1822) map west of the Khing River (Schoonspruit). Brütz (1956, 15), however, describes Thabeng as Platberg on Buispoort. Buisfontein contains part of the largest cluster of settlements in this area, which appear to be the same type as those on Platberg. Part of the cluster is shown on Plate 10. What is known of these settlements in terms of architecture and settlement pattern agree with Rolong examples and therefore, in the absence of any contradictory evidence, we can provisionally regard them as Rolong settlements. Recent excavations by Mason at Platberg should clarify the situation when the results are published.

When the first missionaries reached the Seleka Rolong in 1823 they had already been driven from Thabeng some 100 km south-west to Matluassi by the events of the Difaqane (Broadbent, 1865; Mears, no date). Mason (1968, 7), who recently relocated this mission, found numerous Iron Age stone structures on the neighbouring hills, which are, however, not visible on the air photographs because of dense vegetation.

The Tswana dwelling built at the Duggan-Cronin Bantu Gallery in Kimberley is typical of the southern Tswana of today and was built mainly by Rolong women. Barbour (pers.comm.) has recorded the details of its materials and methods of construction which are similar to those of modern Dithakong. The dwelling is bilobial in plan and the hut, although rectangular, has a surrounding walled-on passage, which seems to be a regular Rolong feature (fig. 82).

LIVING PATTERNS

The historical and ethnological literature contains much information on the pattern of activities in a Tswana settlement and, while corroborative archaeological evidence for many aspects would be hard or impossible to find, there are sufficient parallels to be worth discussion.

Tswana huts are used mainly for sleeping and storage of more valuable possessions. As mentioned above, some had internal fireplaces as at OXF 1

while others did not, and in cold weather domestic activities would take place indoors. There was sometimes a hearth on the veranda and it was here that Burchell (1822, 315) saw girls grinding ochre. The veranda is a cool shady spot in hot weather, when the family may gather here, but otherwise the adjoining front courtyard is the focus for the domestic round. Here food is prepared and cooked on the open hearth beside the entrance, and it may be eaten here. Family and visitors would tend to gather here. Nowadays "the front yard (lolwapa) is usually kept fairly clean and free of unnecessary encumbrances" (Schapera, 1943, 84), and this characteristic has already been noted at OXF 1, where the front lobes alone seem to have had well laid daga floors. The neatness of Tswana dwellings attracted favourable comment from early travellers (e.g. Burchell; 1822, 327; Sanderson, 1860, 249). The front walls may be built with more care than the rear, as with the stonework of Dwelling 2 at OXF 1 and the decorated daga walls of modern Dithakong.

By contrast "most of the rough housework is done in the backyard (segotlo, mahuri), a much less presentable spot often littered with utensils of various kinds, stacks of spare rafters, bundles of thatching-grass, fowl roosts, and other odds and ends" (Schapera, op.cit.). The housewife of Dithakong is not particularly keen to conduct visitors to this closed off area which she evidently does not keep as spick and span as the front, like her counterpart at OXF 1 several centuries ago. The grain was stored here and today the washing is hung over the rear fence.

In all traditional settlements the dwellings open on to the central area of the ward or settlement unit. The men's daily activities focus in this direction, in particular around the livestock pens and the kgotla. The latter is the administrative centre of the ward and it sometimes takes the same form as the neighbouring cattle pens (Burchell, 1822, 265) with which it is symbolically linked. Today the kgotla tends to be only partly enclosed by a curved row of poles set upright, the remainder of the area being unmarked although it is recognised by the inhabitants (Schapera, 1943, Diagram 2). The writer discovered this to his embarrassment when, on getting lost in Maun, he unwittingly drove through the chief's kgotla.

It would be difficult to identify with certainty a kgotla in the archaeological record, but its position would be close to and perhaps linked with the central group of livestock pens. At both OXF 1 and OMB 1 (figs. 67 & 79) primary enclosures occurring in such positions may have been the kgotla for their settlement unit.

The kgotla is the men's club as well as the seat of legal and administrative matters. Visitors are entertained here and their news is

heard and discussed. Nearby, men may carry out various types of manufacture, especially the historically important processing of skins and hides. A range of social and religious activities were traditionally also associated with the central area of the ward. Dances and other gatherings took place here (Burchell, 1822) and men were buried beneath the cattle pens, of which there were usually three or more as on the archaeological sites. The symbolic importance of cattle gave much greater significance to the pens than their mere economic value. Indeed, from the historic and recent evidence it is clear that the majority of cattle of a large Tswana town would be dispersed about the country at cattle posts manned by servants or adolescent sons of the owners. Cattle posts were of the flimsiest construction, usually enclosures of thorn bushes for the stock and perhaps a crude shelter for the herders (Schapera, 1943, 217; Burchell, 1822, 244). There were heavy sanctions against building proper dwellings at cattle posts or at cultivated lands as this was seen as a centrifugal force that threatened group unity (Schapera, op.cit.). Therefore there is only a slender chance of identifying such posts in the archaeological record.

Other activities beyond the limits of the dwelling and the settlement unit or ward have yet to be traced on the Iron Age sites, but to an extent they can be inferred from documentary evidence. From the earliest written records up to the present time, Tswana agriculture has differed from that of many other southern Bantu peoples in that the fields are concentrated in a few large blocks, often of several square miles (Schapera, 1943, 128). Furthermore they are usually some distance from the capital towns, sometimes as far as 40 km, which requires that a large proportion of the populace must move to the fields during the growing and harvest seasons, from about November to June (op.cit., 25). Hunting was carried out by client families, often of San, scattered about the territory or by well organised circular drives involving most of the male population. Trade, usually regulated by the chief, took place over quite long distances.

The network of interaction between the different parts of a traditional Tswana community would best have been reflected in the network of footpaths connecting the various activity nodes within the territory. Movement within the concentric pattern of a ward would tend to be radial - for the men inwards from dwellings towards the centre and for the women radiating outwards from dwellings towards the edge of the settlement and beyond to fetch water, fuel and to work in the fields. Burchell (1822, 254) describes the many footpaths converging on the town of Dithakong as well as the zone of countryside around it which had been largely stripped of tree cover for building and fuel. Within the town circulation is via the lanes of irregular width

between the wards. The radial pattern of paths would continue outwards to the fields and cattle posts and even to the more distant hunting posts and eventually to neighbouring peoples (Mackenzie, 1871, 369).

DISTRIBUTION OF BILOBIAL DWELLINGS

Bilobial dwellings have been a feature of Tlhaping settlements for more than one and a half centuries and they occur among at least the Rolong of the northern Cape and western Transvaal although there is less detailed information here. In the archaeological record they are characteristic of the Type Z sites and it is to be expected that they will also be found on settlements in the Klerksdorp area and perhaps other parts of the south-western Transvaal.

Rock engravings at Mahakane Pan (Fock, 1969) include examples of bilobial dwellings and linked complexes of livestock pens. This site in the extreme northern Cape (fig. 81) is beyond the main Tlhaping area but they may have had a settlement here as the neighbouring farm is called Tlhaping. Stone settlements occur nearby (Breutz, *op.cit.*, 5), but the one visited by the writer did not seem to include bilobial dwellings. It is, however, heavily overgrown with acacia bush which makes close examination difficult.

The western, southern and in the Orange Free State the eastern limit of bilobial dwellings and their associated features can be established with some confidence, to coincide with the known distribution of the Tlhaping, Rolong and Type Z settlements (fig. 81). Type V sites are radically different as are the Type R settlements on the Riet River to the south (chapter 12). Tswana settlements, both ancient and modern, extend northwards through Botswana and the western Transvaal but it is not clear where the bilobial dwelling pattern gives way to other sorts of dwellings, although one might expect this to take place around the latitude of the Molopo River.

The cone-on-cylinder hut form is very widespread in Africa but among the Tswana there is an important difference, for the weight of the roof is born mainly on poles standing out from the wall. The dağa wall is therefore essentially a curtain wall and sometimes it stops short of the roof to allow air circulation. This construction demands a considerable amount of timber for the supporting poles as well as the roof framework; a prerequisite which explains Burchell's (1822, 361) statement that "a town of similar construction can, it seems, be erected only in a wood or grove, in which, therefore, houses take the place of trees". The same would have applied to the Type Z settlements despite their extensive use of stone. The distribution

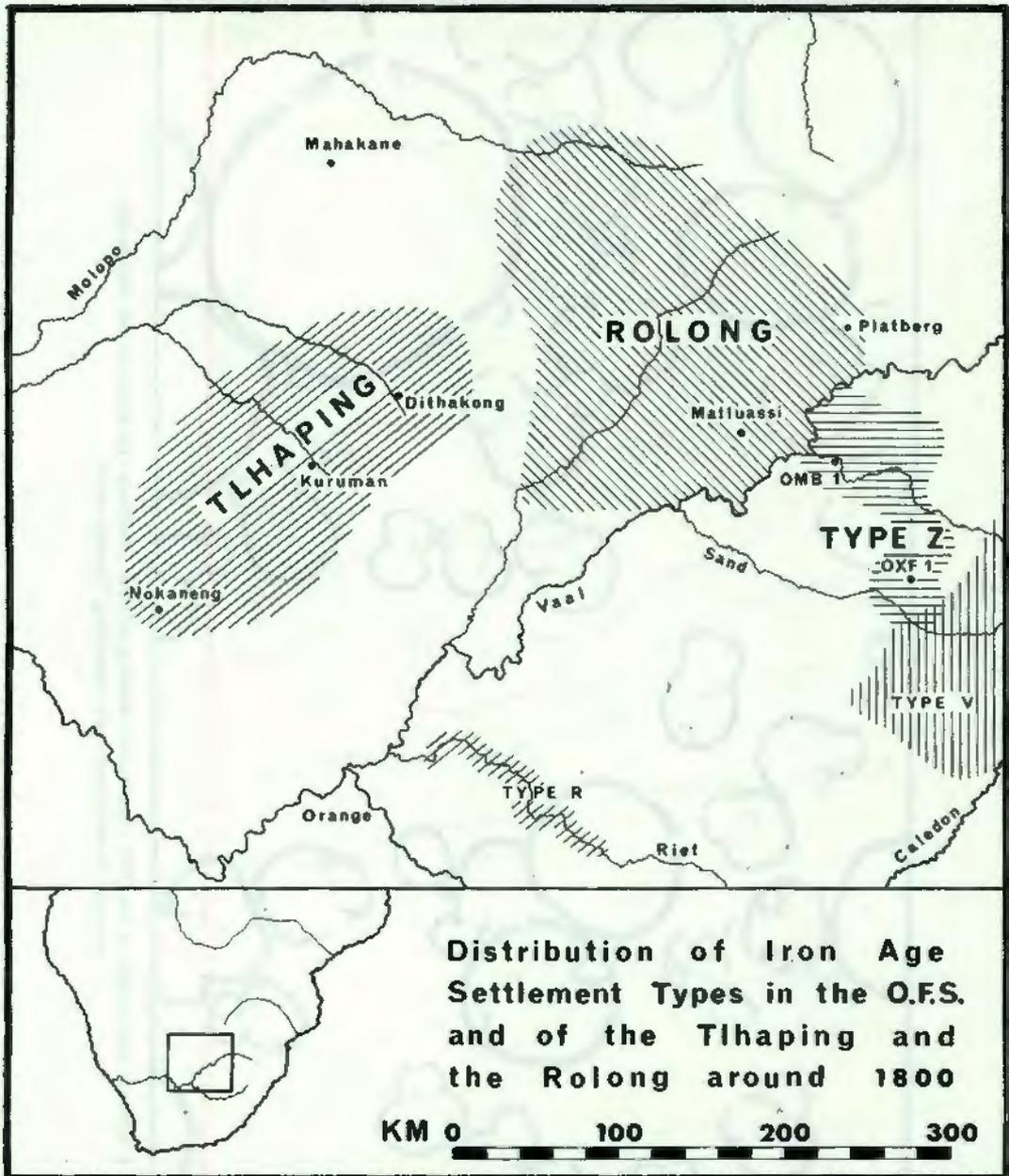


Fig. 81

of Type Z has clearly been influenced by the availability of timber, for, as mentioned in chapter 3, all sites are on the escarpment of the central Orange Free State or in the valleys of the Sand, Vaal and Renoster Rivers. We may therefore conclude that for Type Z settlement, unlike Type V, timber was a crucial factor in determining distribution. This alone could explain why no Type Z sites have been found in the main treeless zone of figure 5.

CERAMIC SIMILARITIES

There are as yet no archaeological assemblages whose pottery closely resembles that of OXF 1 and OMB 1, although the occurrence of similar individual sherds at some sites north of the Vaal have been mentioned. If

we turn to the pottery from Tswana settlements, particularly those of the Tlhaping and Rolong who were also builders of bilobial dwellings, we can see a number of features in common with Type Z pottery, but the information is too slight to allow for a close comparison.

From the Platberg Iron Age site, which, as we have seen, was probably built by the Rolong, Wells (1933) describes "short-necked globular pots and shallow dishes", sometimes decorated with incised lines or patterns in red ochre, which would seem to agree well with the OXF 1 pottery. There are no detailed descriptions of recent Rolong pottery (Lawton, 1967, 133), but examples seen by the writer are again spherical pots decorated with red ochre and with straight necks.

More is known of Tlhaping pottery. Early Dithakong produced spherical or sub-spherical bowls and pots, the latter having short straight necks (Daniell, 1820, and prints D12 & D13 in Fehr Collection, Cape Town). No mention or illustration of decoration appears, but some vessels had an ochre burnish. More recent Tlhaping pots have the same shape and some are decorated, although no bowls are recorded (Lawton, *op.cit.*, and writer's collection). Plate 64 shows two pots at Dithakong which are of the characteristic spherical to sub-spherical shape with straight upright or everted necks and well defined points of inflection. They are decorated on the shoulder by an ochre burnish in a chevron line and in triangles, respectively, both of the necks being likewise burnished. They resemble the Type Z pots in shape while figure 75, No. 1 has the same ochre chevron motif. We may repeat here that ochre lines do not occur among the decoration of the sites further east on the Highveld, but they are an important element in Type Z assemblages. Furthermore, grooved decoration in combination with ochre lines is also recorded from the Tlhaping (Lawton, 1967, Nos. 108-9). Although Tlhaping and Type Z pots are not identical, the geographical separation of some 300 km and the chronological difference would adequately account for this. But the similarity is sufficient to show that they are part of the same broad tradition, in which the Rolong will also probably be included once their pottery is better known.

RAW MATERIALS AND THEIR SUBSTITUTION

An aspect which arises from the comparative exercise of this chapter, and which we have not yet examined in detail is the selection of raw materials for building. While environmental differences have clearly played a part here, cultural factors are evidently of equal or even greater importance.

The livestock pens at Type Z sites and in the Klerksdorp area are of



Plate 64. Contemporary Tlhaping pots at Dithakong. Note sub-spherical and spherical shape, straight upright and everted neck, ochre line decoration in chevron and triangles.

stone whereas at historical Dithakong and in many parts of Botswana they are of poles. Stone was clearly substituted for timber in the relatively treeless environment such as around OXF 1, yet there may well have been sufficient wood in the bushveld north of Klerksdorp to allow the inhabitants to have built in timber had they so desired. The ruins at Dithakong show that at a relatively early period stone was used quite extensively, but by the end of the eighteenth century there had been a complete change to timber. While trees may become scarce after intensive local settlement, stone can always be re-used and therefore this change was one of preference.

The choice of materials to build dwellings is of even greater interest. The rows of upright slabs which are all that remain of the walls of huts and verandas on the Type Z sites have already been described. At OMB 1 the walls of the front lobes are often of this construction too. Although little positive evidence as to the nature of these walls was obtained during excavation, their construction can confidently be interpreted by analogy with modern Tlhaping and Rolong walls. Here the first step in building a daga wall is to set a single or double row of slabs on edge in the ground; the daga is then applied on both sides and on top of these (writer, observation at Dithakong; Barbour, pers.comm.). After such a dwelling has been abandoned for a few years, all that remains are these rows of slabs to mark the positions of the mud walls (Plate 63). The function of the slabs is not obvious; it may be to keep out moisture or burrowing animals, but whatever the reason, the practice has clearly been widespread over a long period.

The walls of the huts and, where present, the verandas, are everywhere of daga. Lichtenstein (1812, 299) and Burchell (1822, 364) refer to wattle and daub construction of walls by the Tlhaping, but recent examples seem to be entirely of daga with no wooden framework. The floors of huts and verandas at Dithakong were and still are raised on daga platforms, while at OXF 1 a layer of paving stones was covered with daga to achieve the same effect.

At different places and at different times one raw material has been substituted for another in the construction of the lobe walls without altering the bilobial pattern. At historic Dithakong the lobe walls were entirely made of vegetation, usually sticks and branches of Tarconanthus placed upright and so well packed together that they formed a solid wall about 2 metres high (Burchell, op.cit., 363), although poorer examples might be a rough fence of branches, only 1,5 metres high.

By contrast, at modern Dithakong the wall of the front lobe and the

end sections of the rear lobe are of daga built over a row of upright slabs (Plate 63). They vary in height and decoration, but there always seems to be a central section of the rear wall consisting of a fence of small branches placed upright, although not as neat or dense as in Burchell's time. This is also the pattern of walling of the Tswana dwelling at the Duggan-Cronin Bantu Gallery, Kimberley (fig. 82). The reason given for retaining this section of stick fence was that it is required to dry washing (Barbour, pers. comm.), but in a sense it is also a survival from the nineteenth century practice.

With the Type Z settlements substitution has gone further. At OMB 1 the front lobes usually had daga walls built over upright slabs, while at the rear was a dry stone wall built of undressed stones like the livestock enclosures on these sites. At OXF 1 both lobes are of dry stone walling which in most cases would have been little more than one metre high, but sometimes up to two.

Most of the early travellers mention the stone ruins from which Dithakong derives its name. Even in 1801 the Tlhaping had no memory of who built them, but Borchers (1861, 85) describes the habitations which were "circular in shape, and the walls of stone, about four or five feet high, resembling the houses of the inhabited town". This description is not, however, of much value without more detailed information. The stone walls seen by the writer were a series of adjacent livestock pens, probably built over a period of time and not appearing to follow any particular pattern. There are several sites with stone walling around Dithakong (Breutz, op. cit.) and further work would be needed to assess these.

The bilobial pattern is purely a cultural trait; it is part of the personality of the builders and cannot, except in a very general sense, be considered as a response to the environment. The substitution may to a large extent be environmentally determined but even this is not always clear. In some cases, such as the retention of a portion of stick fence in the wall of the rear lobe, preference or function is the determining factor, not environment. At present it is only possible to show that substitution has taken place, but not always to explain why it has happened.

CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this chapter has been to show that there is a network of typological similarities between historical and contemporary Tlhaping and Rolong settlements on the one hand and the Type Z settlements of the north-western Orange Free State on the other. The latter are known only from

BILOBIAL DWELLINGS

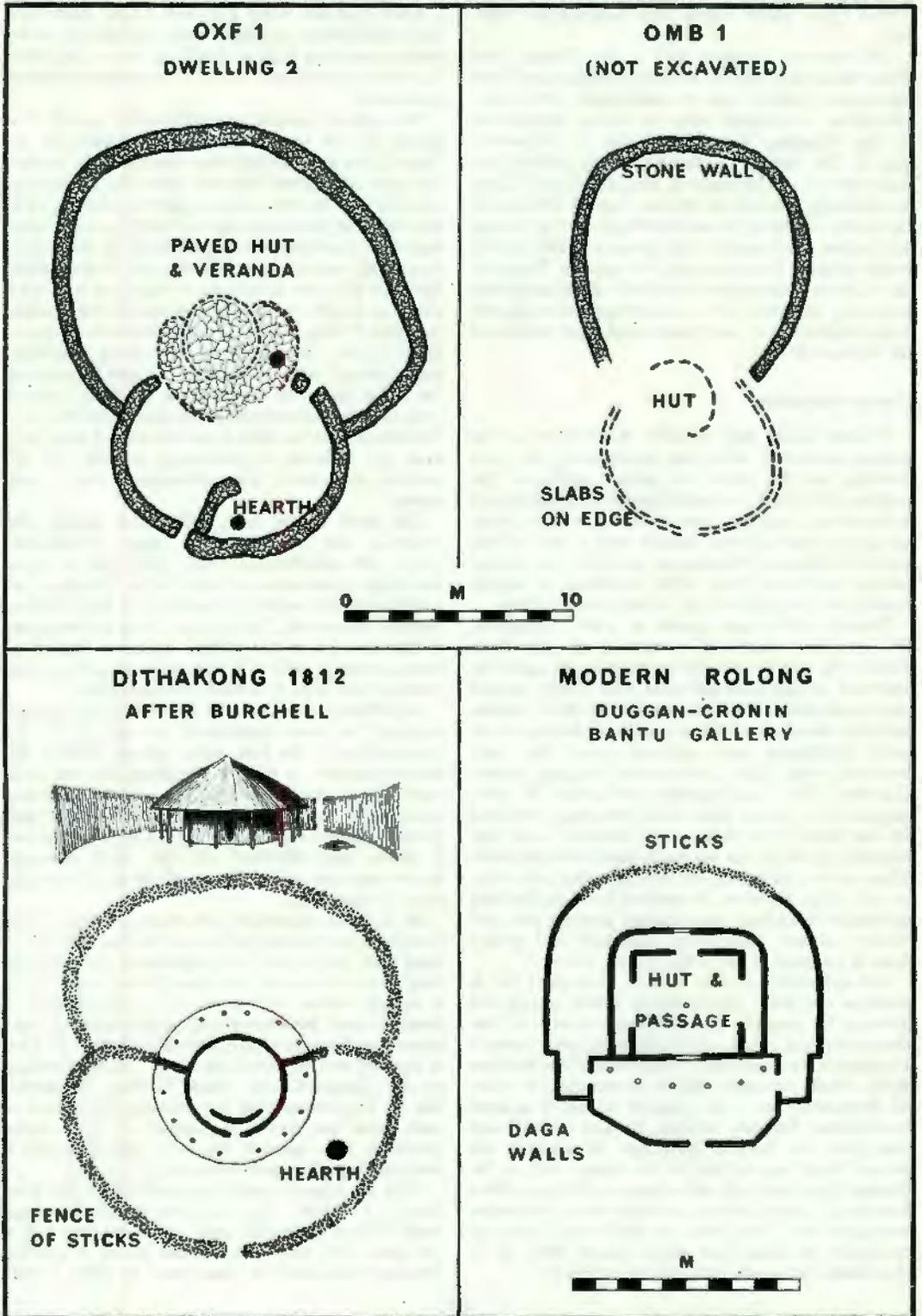


Fig. 82.

archaeological research while conversely the former are known almost entirely from historical and ethnological sources.

While ceramics have normally played the dominant role in Iron Age typological studies, so little is known of Tlhaping and Rolong pottery that it is only possible to demonstrate a general similarity. For this reason the typology of the settlements themselves, including architectural details of huts and dwellings and the larger scale features of the settlement patterns, has been used. The settlements may be considered as elaborate artefacts and indeed they reflect the personality of their makers more sensitively than any other category of artefact.

We have seen that stone, daga and brushwood have all been used to build the courtyard walls of bilobial dwellings. Over an interval of time or space one of these materials may be partly or wholly substituted for another, yet the bilobial plan remains unchanged. The recognition of this practice of substitution is important for Iron Age research for it shows that the settlement pattern itself rather than the materials used in its construction is the most important factor in cultural comparisons between settlements. There has been a tendency in southern African Iron Age studies to stress the difference between stone-building societies and non-stone-building societies. But the present example shows that such subdivision is not always valid and may sometimes be highly misleading. It also points out the need for further detailed ethnological recording of traditional architectural patterns as well as the need for increasing efforts to recover comparable data from excavations.

The people who built the Type Z settlements lived in wards similar to the Tswana peoples in general, while their bilobial dwellings are typologically similar to those of the Tlhaping and Rolong. Their pottery likewise indicates a relationship with the southern Tswana and a differentiation from the Iron Age pottery of the eastern Orange Free State and from the recent material culture of Lesotho.

Eighteen- and early nineteenth-century settlements of the Seleka Rolong are known from the north side of the Vaal immediately opposite the area of the Type Z sites. Stone structures similar in several respects to those of Type Z occur in this area and although Breutz (*op.cit.*, 15) argues against these being the work of the Rolong, this is the most likely hypothesis, and one that can be tested by fieldwork in the area.

A review of Rolong history would be a research project in itself, but a few points from it are relevant to an interpretation of the Type Z sites. Legassick (1969, 111) has recently warned of the caution needed when using

the syntheses of previous historians on the earlier oral history of the Tswana. However, Legassick (op.cit., 115) does accept that "The ruler list of the Rolong goes back fourteen generations before their famous chief Tau (c. 1700-1760) to the two mythical ancestors Morolong and Noto, who might therefore have lived about 1300 to 1400. It would seem that the Rolong were forced south-westwards from the Mosega area across the Molopo by the Hurutshe in about 1500 to 1600. From this time until the time of Tau their traditions relate almost nothing more than the names of rulers, indicating probably a lengthy period of isolation both from events north and east of the Molopo, and even across the Vaal to the east." The Rolong would therefore have been in much of the area indicated in figure 81 from at least the sixteenth century. This is supported by the 1662 entry in Van Riebeeck's Journal, quoted at the head of this chapter, which must refer to the Tswana and probably the Tlhaping or Rolong (Saunders, 1966).

The C14 determinations indicating a probable span of time from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries for Type Z settlements, are in accord with the historical evidence. There is apparently no oral tradition of Rolong settlement south of the Vaal before the nineteenth century, but in view of the relative hiatus in Rolong traditions mentioned by Legassick (above), this cannot be regarded as positive evidence.

The present evidence establishes that the Tswana had reached the southern limits of their distribution, which follows approximately the Sand, Vaal and Orange Rivers, by the seventeenth century or earlier. A section of this people, almost certainly from among the Rolong, settled in the north-western Orange Free State where they built the Type Z sites.

THE TYPE R PASTORAL SETTLEMENTS

"Bushmen...were numerous...along the banks of the 'Gij-'Gariep (Vaal) and 'Gumaap (Riet), while in the large central plains between these two rivers they were not only more numerous, but they had commenced a more settled mode of existence, having adopted pastoral pursuits in conjunction with their hunter life. Some of them possessed considerable herds of cattle, and were more civilized than those met with in any other part of South Africa."

Stow, 1905.

The Type R settlements along the lower reaches of the Riet River in the south-western Orange Free State and Griqualand West are distinct both geographically and culturally from the settlements examined in previous chapters. They were first described by Van Riet Lowe (1929 & 1931) who plotted six of them on his map of the area and briefly described the one at Afvallingskop. More recently Du Toit (1964) recorded other settlements further down the river, one being near the Driekops Eiland engraving site. Although there have been occasional references (e.g. Walton, 1956), none of the sites had been examined in detail or excavated prior to the present project.

Parallel to the problem of the settlements themselves is that of other archaeological occurrences along the Riet, namely rich concentrations of Late Stone Age material, rock engravings and local concentrations of burials. The latter were first described by Van Riet Lowe (1931) while many were excavated by William Fowler of Koffiefontein and are now in the McGregor Museum, Kimberley.

The present fieldwork was carried out between June and August 1969 when many of the sites were examined and of these OFD 1 was selected for surveying and excavation. The results of this work have already been published (Maggs, 1971) as also the work on graves and surface Late Stone Age material at OFD 1 carried out in association with Tony Humphreys (Humphreys & Maggs, 1970). These two papers provide the content of this chapter and I am grateful to the South African Archaeological Society for permission to reproduce the material. As part of the renewed interest in the Riet River, Humphreys (1970) also described the archaeological aspects of 57 burials excavated by Fowler, as well as several others from the area.

Since this work was published Humphreys (1972) has undertaken a further and more intensive research project as his M.A. thesis. His findings have extended our knowledge and provided greater insight into the Type R

settlements and their inhabitants, although the results are broadly similar to those presented here. As Humphreys' thesis postdates and is partly based on the present work, and as it contains a full review of the relevant information, its results will not be reincorporated into this chapter. The reader is, however, referred to Humphreys' (1972) thesis for the fullest and most recent synthesis on the Type R settlements.

THE ENVIRONMENT

The lower course of the Riet River is through flat or gently undulating country consisting of the relatively soft rocks, mainly glacial tillite and shales, of the Dwyka and Ecca Series of the Karroo System. In places these are overlaid by Quaternary red sands and calcretes. The Karroo sedimentary rocks are penetrated by dykes and sills of dolerite in many places, and this hard rock determines the relief of the area. The resulting hills and groups of hills are typically steep-sided, sometimes flat-topped and anything from a few metres up to 100 metres in height. The exposed surfaces of dolerite often weather to a shiny black patina. Towards the west there are also a few outcrops of Ventersdorp lava, notably around Ritchie and Plooyburg.

Away from the Riet and Modder Rivers, which get most of their water from the higher rainfall areas further east, there is comparatively little development of normal stream drainage. Instead, the low rainfall and general flatness of the landscape, together with the nature of the underlying rock, provide suitable conditions for the formation of pans (fig. 83). Wind deflation is normally considered to be the main agency of pan formation (King, 1951), while some result from the blocking of old stream courses (Piaget, 1963). Pans act as local drainage basins, often without any outlet. They usually contain water only after rain but some hold perennial water; some are saline.

In altitude the area has a gradual slope from around 1 300 metres in the east to around 1 000 metres above sea-level in the west near the confluence of the Riet and Vaal.

The range of temperature in this area is high. The mean for January, the hottest month, is around 25°C, with the mean maximum as high as 38°C. Conversely winters are cool with a July mean of about 8°C and a mean minimum of -5°C. Diurnal-nocturnal temperature changes may also be severe. Frost is common and may occur from late May to mid-September (Wellington, 1955).

The mean annual rainfall is 40 cm and occurs during the summer months, particularly between January and March. With such high summer temperatures

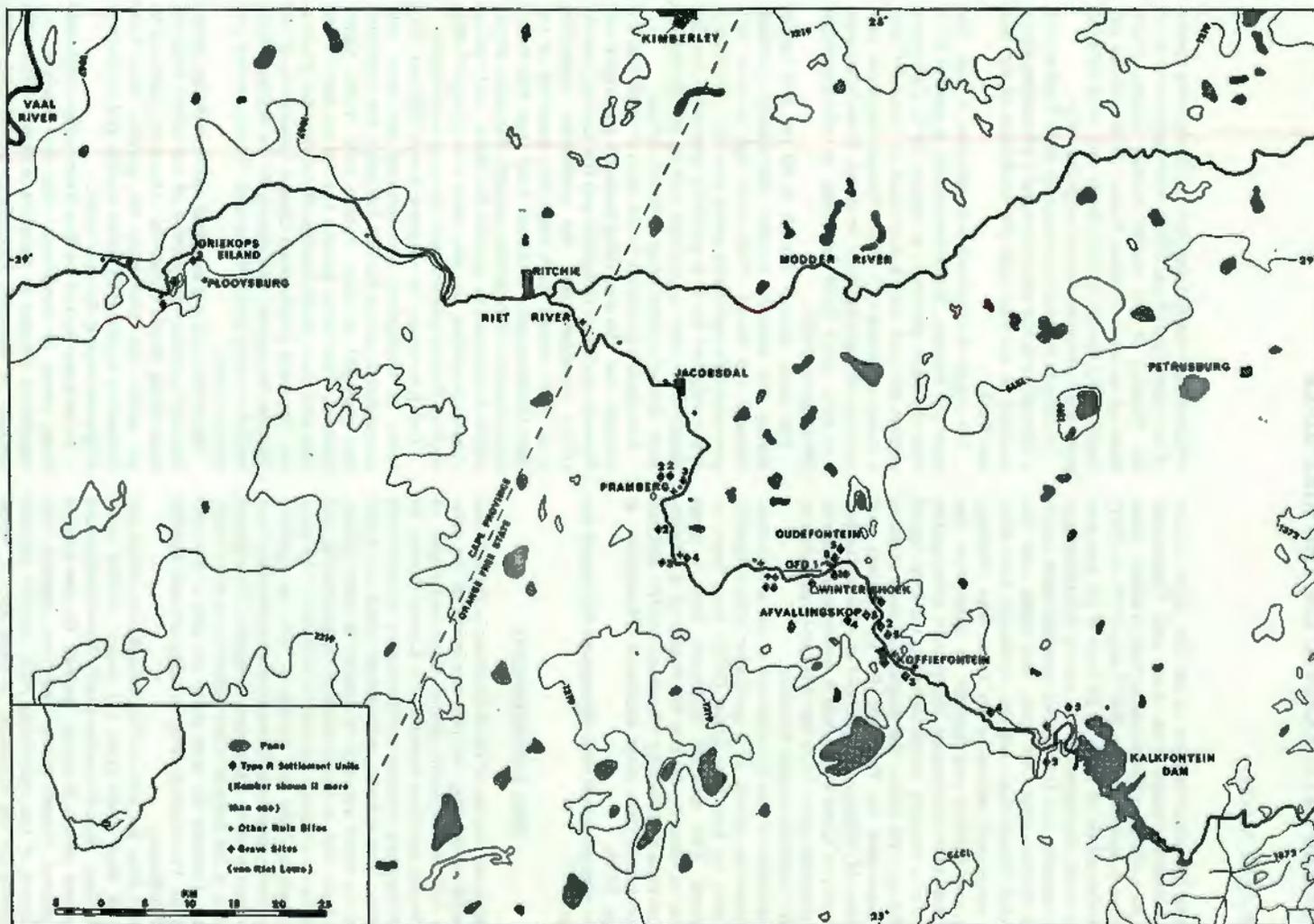


Fig 83 The distribution of Type R settlements.

the evaporation rate is also high. The rainfall is not only low but it is markedly unreliable, varying greatly from year to year. This is therefore among the more drought-prone areas in South Africa and it is beyond the limits of dry land agriculture.

The picture presented by the natural vegetation is a complex one, the area being basically marginal between the Sweet Grassveld and the Karroo. Acocks (1953) considers that the prehistoric vegetation (A.D. 1400) would have been true grassveld of the Dry Cymbopogon-Themeda Veld type. This would have included other grasses, notable Tetrachne dregei, which is particularly suitable for sheep, and various Eragrostis species, but also some Karroo-type bushes such as Pentzia globosa and Chrysocoma tenuifolia.

Today, however, the situation is very different. As a result of widespread over-stocking and poor veld management during the last 150 years, the vegetation has regressed to Acocks' False Upper Karroo. The better grasses have given way to less desirable ones, chiefly species of Aristida and Eragrostis. The most pronounced change however is in the increase in quantity and variety of the bushes, which include several Erioccephalus and Pentzia species and many others.

Since this area is a marginal one it probably always included a greater proportion of the bushes than did most of the 'Sweet Grassveld'. However, there can be no doubt that previously the grazing must have included a significantly better quality and proportion of grasses than is the case today.

In the lower part of the Riet River valley, westwards from about its confluence with the Modder, the vegetation changes to Acocks' Kalahari Thornveld invaded by Karroo. Here thorn-bushes and trees become the dominant feature of the vegetation, including the Acacia species, A.giraffae, A.datinens and A.tortilis, and several other trees. There would have been a grass cover including some of the 'Sweet Grassveld' species such as Themeda triandra and some of the 'white' Kalahari grasses. Here again however there has been a regression due to overgrazing. The better grasses have given way to poorer ones and to bushes, including various species of Pentzia and Chrysocoma tenuifolia.

The rainfall is today insufficient for agriculture without irrigation, and it is unlikely that there has been a radical change in the recent past. The natural vegetation and its suitability for grazing must therefore have been the major environmental control on the settlements along the Riet River. The vegetation would have been sparse due to the low rainfall and this would have been accentuated at times by drought. The sensitivity of the veld would have led to regression in the quality of grazing if prolonged overgrazing

took place in a particular area.

A periodic phenomenon that would have damaged the grazing is the incidence of locust swarms. While this would to some extent have affected most of the continent, the Riet River valley is on the edge of the highest frequency outbreak zone of swarms of the brown locust (May, 1969). Outbreaks tend to be cyclical, building up over one or more wet years and dying down again with drier conditions. One such outbreak was recorded by Moffat (1842) in 1826 at Kuruman, and he describes not only the devastation of the vegetation, but the large if temporary food supply the locusts provided for the Tlhaping tribe. The same outbreak provided food for the impoverished Seleka Rolong some 200 km further east on the Vaal River (Mears, no date) and about 150 km north of the Riet.

Despite these disadvantages, the natural grazing of this area has several definite advantages, the most important being that it is 'sweet veld'. The phosphorus and protein content, which is particularly high in summer, remains at a moderate to high level even in winter. This is in contrast to the position in the higher rainfall grassveld, where the condition of livestock greatly deteriorates in winter due to deficiencies of these chemicals (Wellington, 1955). The Karroo bush vegetation is particularly resistant to drought, retaining its nutritive value under such conditions. The grasses show more variation according to season and drought, but in their earlier stages of growth they are more nutritious than the bushes.

Under these circumstances and provided that extensive areas of land were available, livestock could be maintained in good condition throughout the year and even during moderate drought. The carrying capacity has been estimated from near our area (Fauresmith) as varying from 2,75 to 1,33 sheep per morgen (= 0,85 hectares) according to the composition of the vegetation (Henrici, 1932 quoted in Wellington, 1955).

THE SETTLEMENTS

Aerial photographs of the Riet River valley revealed many settlements in addition to those previously recorded. The stone walls are often rather indistinct, but in most cases it is possible to resolve the ground plans of the settlements. While there is considerable variation in size and number of structures, the plans show a consistent pattern in the arrangement of the individual structures. The settlement unit consists of a particularly large enclosure, which is more or less circular in shape, towards the centre. Around this are a number of smaller enclosures, some of which may be linked

by secondary walling at a few sites. There may also be a partial enclosing wall around the outside in some cases, but this does not seem to have been completed.

The concept of the settlement unit is important to the interpretation of Type R sites. It must have been fairly self-sufficient, for in several cases a single settlement unit occurs in isolation. At other sites, where a number of settlement units occur in a cluster, there is no regular arrangement of relative positions or distances apart. Even in the largest clusters there is no increase in the complexity of the settlement; the size is merely increased by the addition of other settlement units of the same basic pattern.

One exception to this is a large group of structures on the farm Winterhoek where there are at least six large enclosures and many smaller ones all crowded together. This seems to represent the fusion of several settlement units to the extent where the individual units have lost their identity. One or two less marked examples of this process were also noted, showing that there is some flexibility beyond the usual arrangement of the settlement unit, but they represent a very small proportion.

Distribution

The distribution of Type R settlements is limited to the Riet River between Kalkfontein Dam in the east and the hilly country around the village of Plooyburg in the west, a distance of some 130 km (fig. 83). The great majority, consisting of at least 78 settlement units, occur in the eastern half of this area between Kalkfontein Dam and the town of Jacobedal. From here there is a gap of about 50 km until the settlement at Driekops Eiland is reached. In this area north and west of Plooyburg are an additional six or more settlement units.

The gap between these two concentrations may be more apparent than real. The intervening landscape is predominantly flat with few of the dolerite outcrops from which the structures were built. Nevertheless there are three ruin sites shown on the map (fig. 83) as small dots. Although these cannot now be recognized as Type R they may originally have been this type. For example the site nearest Ritchie, recorded by Van Riet Lowe (1929, Plate 37), has recently been exploited for its stone and all that now remains is the vague outline of a large enclosure. Furthermore the site described by Du Toit (1964) on the farm Dekrans about 16 km west of Ritchie is likely to be a Type R settlement, but it does not seem to be visible on the aerial photographs.

Considering the large number of settlements along the Riet, their

absence along the Modder is surprising. The landscape is relatively flatter, but this alone would not seem to be sufficient reason. Further afield a few scattered stone ruins were located on photographs along the lower Vaal and Harts and the Orange above its confluence with the Vaal. But none of these have been identified as Type R. The only settlement excavated in this area, Muirton, north of Schmidtsdrif on the Vaal (Sampson, pers.comm.), has a different settlement pattern from the Riet River sites.

Location of Settlements

Not only is the distribution of Type R clearly limited but the location of the individual settlement units and their clusters within this area conforms to a definite pattern. There are two main factors that have determined settlement location; firstly, the position and morphology of the dolerite outcrops, and secondly distance from the bed of the Riet River.

The dolerite outcrops are mainly in the form of sills which characteristically weather into groups of flat-topped and steep-sided hills. There is a great deal of variation, however, and in the area between Pramborg and Koffiefontein groups of small, often irregularly shaped hills occur, while towards the eastern and western limits of distribution larger flat-topped hills predominate. All the settlements are on or immediately beside dolerite outcrops. This hard rock weathers into angular or sub-spherical blocks which litter the ground on and around the outcrops, providing suitable building material with no further modification. None of the other local geological formations offer suitable stone for building, on the surface. The stones have never had to be carried more than a few dozen paces to the walls. In some cases walls have been built in positions where boulders or outcrops could be incorporated and thus save effort.

The positions of the settlement units in relation to the hills have been divided into five categories and their details are included in Table 1. The majority occur in hollows between hills where they have higher ground sheltering them on two or more sides. Others are on flat ground beside a hill, a variation on the first situation but with only one side sheltered by high ground. A few units were built on the sides of hills, where there is either a gentle rocky slope or a natural terrace. The remaining few are on flat hilltops. Settlement units were never built on the steeper slopes although these are particularly well supplied with loose rocks; however, small isolated enclosures may occur on these slopes where there is a settlement unit near by.

The other main factor that has determined the location of settlements is the proximity of the Riet River. It is the only perennial river within

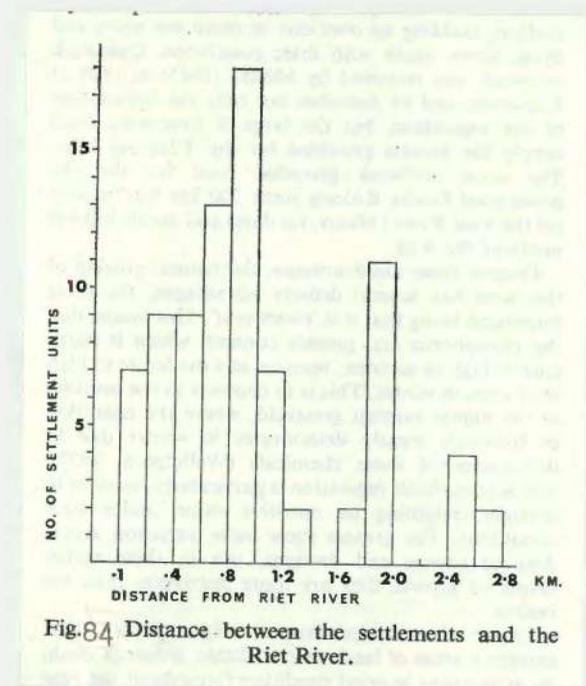
TABLE 1
LOCATION OF TYPE R SETTLEMENT UNITS

Farm Name from 1 : 50 000 series maps	No. of units on farm	No. of units in cluster	Hollow between hills	Flat ground beside hill	Gentle rocky hill slope	Natural terrace on hillside	Flat hilltop
Kalkfontein	5	5	1	1	3		
Bergfontein	1	1		1			
Telegraaffontein	2	2	1	1			
Poortjie	4	4				4	
Koffiefontein	3	3		3			
Rooidraai	7	7	4	3			
Leeuwarden	1	1	1				
Afvallingskop	9	5	3				2
Afvallingskop		4	2	1	1		
OFD 1 (Oudefontein)	13	13	10	1	2		
Wintershoek	11	10	9	1			
Wintershoek		1	1				
De Kiel	6	6	6				
De Aar	4	4	4				
Waterval	3	3	2	1			
Khartoum	2	2	2				
Pramberg	7	3	3				
Pramberg		2	2				
Pramberg		2		2			
Driekops Eiland	3	3	3				
Mierkraal	1	1	1				
Weltevrede	1	1					1
Christian Drift	1	1					1
Totals	84	84	55	15	6	4	4

the range of Type R; the only other permanent source of water would probably have been the few pans that retain water throughout the year. The river-banks are about 4 metres above the bed and support a line of trees. The bed itself may be sandy or rocky and is overgrown by clumps of tall reeds.

The histogram (fig. 84) indicates the distance of the settlement units from the river. This varies from 100 m to 2,8 km, the average being one kilometre. When this is examined more closely it is apparent that most settlement units are between 0,2 and 1,2 km from the river, while two small groups are around 2 km and 2,5 km away respectively. A greater distance than this was presumably regarded as too inconvenient by the inhabitants.

Most of the settlement units are grouped in clusters of from two to seven, while there are two larger clusters of ten and thirteen (Table 1). It is not known whether the units of a cluster would have been built at the same time or over a period, but in either case this preference for clustering rather than living in isolated units would have had some influence on location.



In the heavily settled area between Jacobsdal and Kalkfontein, it is noticeable that most of the locations that fulfil these requirements have in fact been used. There are others, however, that do not seem to have been used. Some of these may have had settlements that have subsequently been destroyed or are not readily noticed on the aerial photographs, but at least some locations that fall within the range of known requirements have not been used. Taking the evidence a step further, there does seem to be a pattern in the positioning of the settlements relative to one another. This tendency is reinforced if the few isolated settlement units are ignored, if the groups of small clusters such as those at Afvallingskop and Pramberg, which are only one kilometre or so apart, are considered as single, looser clusters, and if it is accepted that clusters may occur close together if they are on opposite sides of the river. With these three provisos the Type R settlement clusters are almost all from 5 to 10 km apart. If this evidence accurately reflects the pattern of settlement in its original form, it is probable that economic factors, in particular pressure on grazing for livestock, made this spacing necessary.

Settlement locations on the Riet are quite different from those typical of Iron Age sites in the northern and eastern Orange Free State. Where Type R sites are about one kilometre from the river, the Iron Age sites, while also concentrated along the main rivers, are often 3 or 4 km from them. And again where Type R settlement units are usually at the base of hills, often not much above the level of the river banks, the Iron Age sites are usually on top of hills or ridges well above the valley floors. These differences must reflect the preferences of the peoples concerned,

although somewhat different environmental conditions may play a part.

It could be argued that defence played a part in the choice of location. The sites in hollows or on flat hilltops would have been relatively concealed while the latter would also have offered a view over the surrounding country. On the other hand the construction of the settlements has clearly not been determined by requirements of defence and most of the locations give no protection from attack. Furthermore the concentration of settlement along the river would have invited attack, as any group of people moving through this area would tend to follow the river to assure themselves of a water supply.

On the present evidence then, the Type R settlements were located on the basis of a suitable dolerite outcrop, preferably in the form of a group of small hills with hollows between and preferably about one kilometre from the river although up to 3 km was acceptable. If a cluster of settlement units was to be built, the site might be about 5 or 10 km from the neighbouring clusters on the same side of the river.

THE OFD 1 SITE

After most of the settlements had been examined in the field, it was decided to carry out more detailed examination and excavation on the farm Oudefontein. The site is called OFD 1 and is situated 12 km north-west of Koffiefontein town, on the north bank of the Riet. The site contains the largest cluster of settlement units, thirteen in all, with a further ten just across the river on the farm Wintershoek, but it was chosen mainly because it seemed to offer the best opportunity for excavation, of all the sites visited.

The site consists of an irregular line of small dolerite hills running in a north-north-easterly direction from the edge of the river, whose course is diverted by it towards the south. The southern group of hills forms a ridge which encloses a small and slightly elevated basin (Plate 65). Six of the settlement units are built within this basin, the others being strung out among the hills to the north (fig. 85). To the north, west and south are large exposures of a dolerite sill. The southern group of hills may also be part of this sill, but north of the basin the line of hills is formed by a dyke which splits towards the northern edge of the map (fig. 85). East of the hills is a broad flat part of the river valley with alluvial terraces on either side. A similar terrace runs southwards along the river from the southern end of the hills, and on this are the burials as well as a rich surface scatter of Late Stone Age material described elsewhere



PLATE 65. View of OFD 1 from the south. Riet River in foreground, then river terrace with burials, followed by the line of hills among which the settlement was built.

PLATE 66 Chop-marks on bones. Trench 1. Scale of cm.



(Humphreys & Magge, 1970).

Thick beds of reeds grow in the river and there is a belt of trees, mainly Acacia and Salix species, along each bank. On the dolerite hills stunted trees including Ziziphus mucronata, Boscia albitrunca and Rhus spp. are found; otherwise the vegetation is typical of the 'False Karroo' described above.

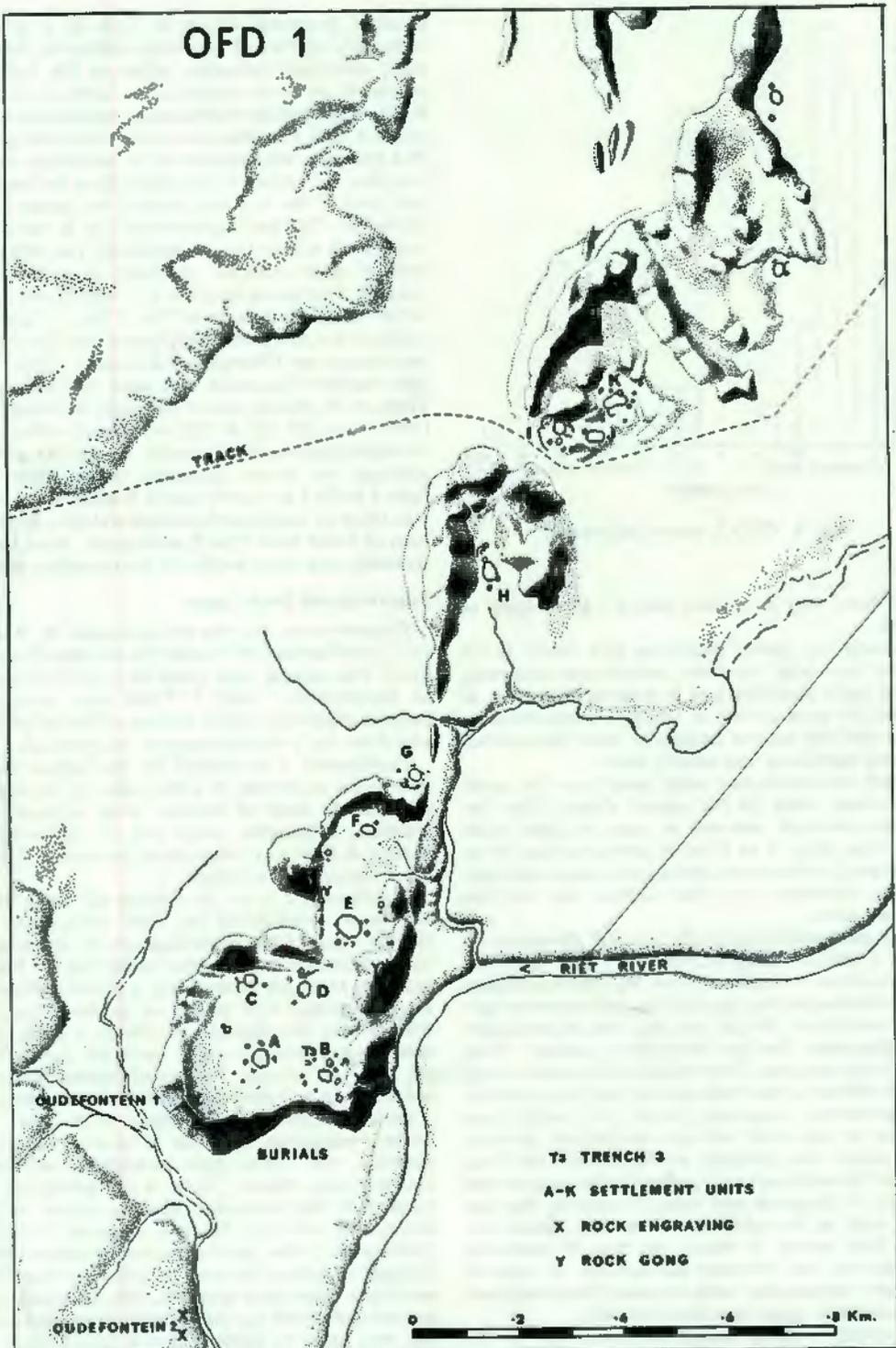


Fig.85 Map of OFD 1.

The Structures

The types of structure and details of construction of the OFD 1 settlement are characteristic of Type R in general; therefore they will be described in some detail. The walls are built of the weathered dolerite blocks, which makes them unstable, and most are so collapsed that their original form is no longer visible. Plant growth, grazing animals and soil erosion all contribute to the destruction. Some walls may always have had this rather haphazard piled appearance but some at least were better made, with carefully placed stones forming near-vertical faces over a metre high. The average height was probably 60-80 cm.

Entrances were usually built with no more care than the walls, most being too collapsed for their dimensions or even their positions to be recorded. In rare cases large rocks were used to strengthen the walls at entrances, as on the Iron Age sites further north; but on the Riet this was not common. Compass bearings of all surviving entrances on the eleven settlement units analysed showed a completely random orientation. The entrances of the smaller enclosures, however, tend to face the central enclosures. This arrangement is only approximate but very few actually faced outwards.

The primary enclosures of eleven of the settlement units (fig. 85, A-K) were measured and the histogram (fig. 86) gives their diameters. In each case the average of two internal measurements, taken approximately at right angles, was used. The result shows a definite gap between the size ranges of the smaller enclosures up to 14 m, and the large central enclosures from 21 m upwards. The largest central enclosure on OFD 1 is 41 m, a size repeated on other sites, while the largest one observed was an impressive 70 m in diameter, on the farm Afvallingskop (Plate 11). From their size and position these central enclosures were clearly the focus of the settlement unit. It is difficult to think of any purpose for them other than livestock pens.

The wide size-range of the smaller enclosures, from 2 to 14 m, suggests that they served several purposes, although there are no obvious divisions. The smaller ones, perhaps up to 6 m, were probably for domestic activities of some sort. The larger ones are less common, but there is at least one of them on almost every settlement unit. Some may have been pens for small stock or calves.

Among the smaller enclosures and mostly in the smaller size-range are seven semicircular structures. These again probably had a domestic function, as screens for some activity or less permanent structure. These and the smaller enclosures often have surface cultural material in and

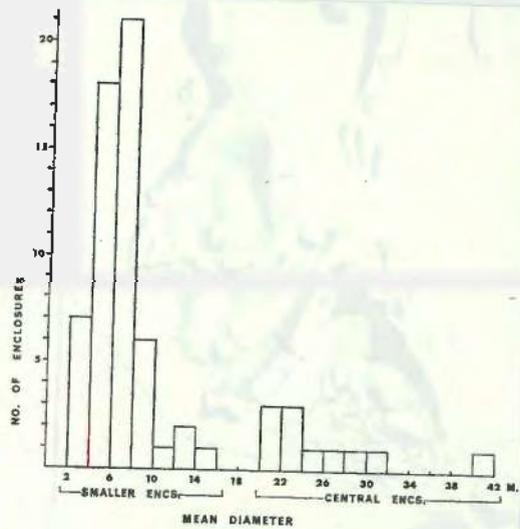


Fig 86 OFD 1, size of enclosures.

around them.

Small enclosures also occur away from the settlement units, often on the steeper slopes. They frequently use rock outcrops as parts of their walls. Their size range, 3 to 12 m, is similar to that of the other small enclosures so their function may have been similar. However, it is not certain that they are contemporary.

The surrounding walls are not well developed on OFD 1 with the exception of Settlement Unit I (fig. 85). Traces also occur on Settlement Units G and H but are otherwise absent. Here as elsewhere no surrounding walls seem to have been completed. On this site they are all secondary, but elsewhere they are sometimes primary. Their function is not clear. They would not have been much use in defence as the walls are too low, discontinuous and sometimes unsuitably placed. They might have helped to keep wild animals outside and domestic ones inside. They probably served to define the living area of the settlement unit, perhaps rather as a modern garden or farmyard wall does. Sometimes they are built only on the uphill side of the settlement unit, where they may have served to check the flow of rainwater through the site. However the majority of settlement units do not have surrounding walls, so clearly the inhabitants did not attach great importance to them.

Secondary walling occurs on about half of the settlement units, but as it does not follow any regular pattern it is not a diagnostic feature of Type R. It is most commonly attached to the central enclosures, forming small secondary enclosures, either on the inside, as in Settlement Unit D, or on the outside, as in Settlement Units E, G, I and K (fig. 85). Sometimes

it abuts on to smaller enclosures, while in Settlement Unit I it abuts on to the surrounding wall. In a few cases what appears to be secondary walling is in fact two periods of building, where the later has used part of the wall and most of the stones of the earlier one. This has happened on Settlement Unit B, but on the whole there is little sign of rebuilding. The only other type of stone structure consisted of a few stone mounds. They occur on Settlement Units E, F and G and in one of the smaller enclosures of Settlement Unit I (fig. 85). They are similar to but rather less conspicuous than the mounds marking graves. They may therefore be graves, but none were excavated. Three of the Fowler graves described by Humphreys (1970, Nos. 195, 223 & 225) were found within stone enclosures and were presumably marked by mounds although this is not specifically stated. They came from 4 and 4,8 km north-west of Koffiefontein, which puts them on the farms Rooidraai and Afvallingskop, both of which have Type R settlements. Some burials therefore took place within the actual settlements.

Engravings and rock gongs

Engravings on this site are mentioned by Wilman (1933) and Battise (1948) under the old name Koppieskraal. Two groups were found and will be described as Oudefontein 1 and 2. There were also some isolated engravings on the southern hills and perhaps elsewhere, but a complete search was not made.

Oudefontein 1 is situated on the highest hill, a little to the south-west of Settlement Unit A (fig. 85). The engravings include three of humans, three ostriches, two blesbuck, a possible jackal and an indeterminate animal. A little way down the slope towards Settlement Unit A is an engraving of an eland.

Oudefontein 2 is on the dolerite sill south of the settlement, overlooking the river terrace and the burials. Most of the engravings are on two adjacent knolls immediately above the terrace (fig. 85). On the southern knoll are three eland, a possible fat-tailed sheep, a quagga with stripes on its shoulders, three rhinoceroses, two elephants, an ostrich, a jackal, three indeterminate animals and a probable eland. There are also two humans, four small human footprints 4-8 cm long and three non-representational items.

On the northern knoll, about 10 m away, are further engravings including a rhinoceros, hippopotamus, two eland, four springbuck and three indeterminate animals. Three of the springbuck are particularly fine examples, showing details such as horns, ears, tails and the dark strip on the flanks. Unfortunately this site has recently sustained some damage;

rocks have been moved and some engravings may have been taken away. A rock on which there are two springbuck has chisel marks where an attempt has been made to divide it, and a flake of rock has been detached, taking with it one of the heads. The hippopotamus, one of the springbuck and two foot-prints are illustrated by Battise (1948, 104).

Two other eland were noticed near by, one a few metres downhill to the east, and the other, executed in an unusual fine-line technique, on a higher knoll some 200 m to the west. Near it are two indeterminate animals.

On the hill above Settlement Unit B are three indeterminate animals and on the hill south-east of Settlement Unit E is another. Several large rocks beside the latter have been used as rock gongs. These rocks have battered patches near their edges where they have been repeatedly struck. When these areas are struck they produce a clear metallic ringing note. A similar outcrop with rock gongs occurs near the foot of the hill north-west of Settlement Unit E (fig. 85).

The engravings, or at least the majority, must have been the work of Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers. There is no established association between engravings and gongs in this area, but this could be from lack of research. Most of the engravings have patinated to nearly the colour of the rock surfaces, while the battered patches of the gongs are relatively fresh, suggesting that they are more recent. The situation of the gongs close to the settlements suggests that they may be associated, but this is by no means conclusive.

SETTLEMENT UNIT A

Most of the Type R settlements were visited in the field. In particular a search was made for accumulated deposits and areas where surface material was common. Unfortunately soil erosion is general and sometimes so far advanced that only the subsoil remains. Surface material is rare and on some sites virtually absent. Deposits consist mainly of silting within enclosures against the lower walls; the ashy middens typical of Iron Age sites further north were nowhere found. The difficulty of finding deposits suitable for excavation is indeed likely to be one of the main problems in understanding these settlements.

Settlement Unit A was chosen as it seemed to be the most favourable of the sites visited. The central enclosure was silted up on the downhill side and in several places there were patches of grey soil in contrast to the reddish-brown soil general on the dolerite outcrops. Cultural material including pottery and upper grindstones occurred on the surface of the grey

soil. This suggested that it might be ash, but that in any event the presence of cultural material would make excavation worth while.

Settlement Unit A consists of five smaller enclosures around the central one (fig. 87). The southernmost is semicircular but the others probably had fairly narrow entrances, of which only the western one is sufficiently well preserved to record. The walls are made of natural angular blocks and there has been much collapsing and scattering of stones. Two of the enclosures have outcrops incorporated into their walls, while the northern enclosure has walls formed of a double row of large tabular stones on edge, an unusual method for these sites.

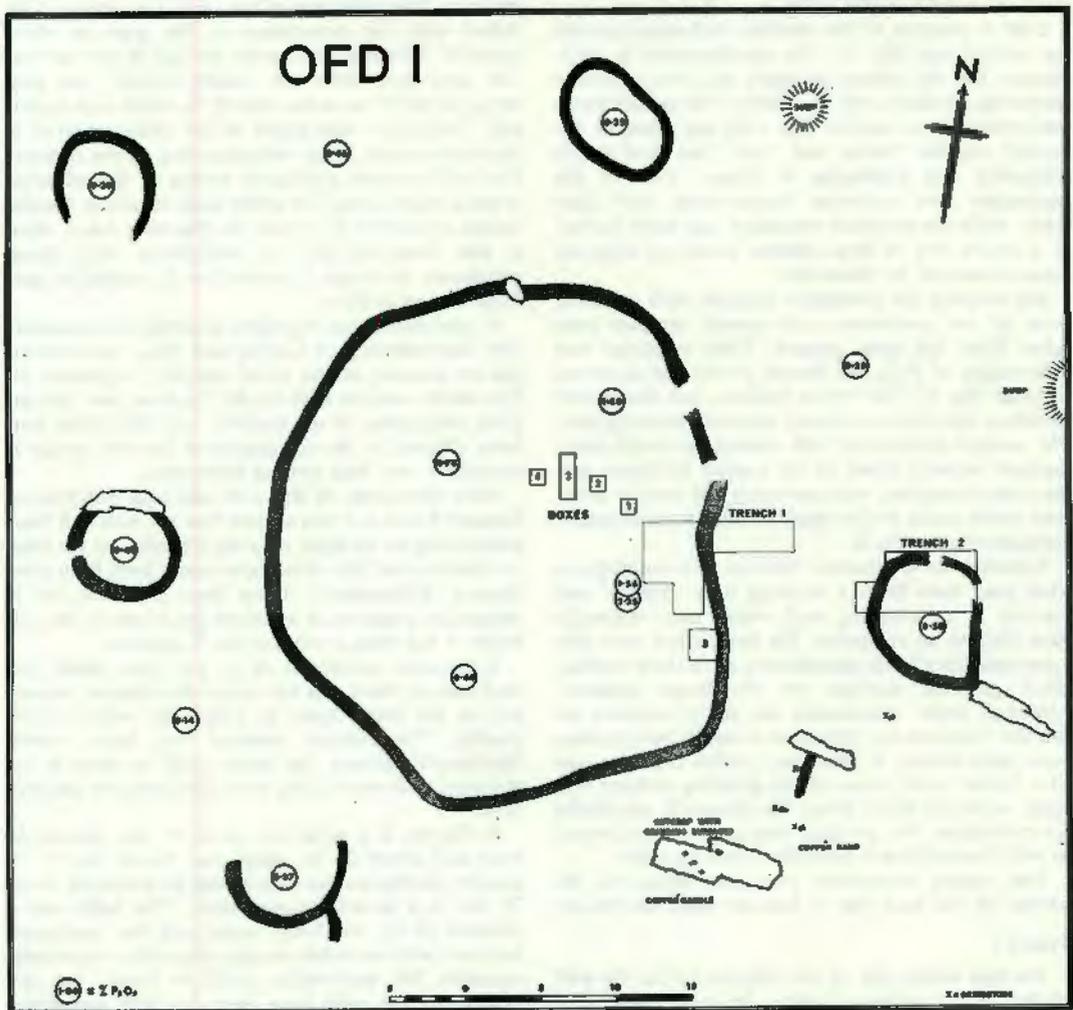


Fig. 87 Plan of Settlement Unit A.

Soil samples for phosphate analysis were collected from all the enclosures and control samples were taken from the open ground. Their positions and percentages of P_2O_5 are shown within the circles on the plan (fig. 87). The results indicate that the central enclosure was almost certainly used as a livestock pen. The smaller enclosures, with phosphate

levels intermediate between those of the central enclosure and the control samples, were probably not used as pens; their levels could be the result of litter from domestic activities (Appendix 1).

Towards the south-east, between two outcrops, is what may have been a working area. Against one outcrop is an abutting wall which may originally have formed an enclosure. On the surface were one upper and three lower grindstones, while there are four small grinding surfaces on the larger outcrop. Although upper grindstones are fairly common on this site there are few lowers, so it seems that grinding took place mainly in this area. Unlike the Iron Age sites further north, none of the grinding surfaces was large or deeply worn. Since the climate is unsuitable for cultivation the grinding was presumably limited to wild foodstuffs and cosmetics, such as ochre.

Two copper ornaments were also found on the surface in this area (fig. 87) and are described below.

Trench 1

The first trench (fig. 88) was laid out to cut the wall of the central enclosure where the most silting had occurred on the inside and where there was grey soil outside. A line of two-metre squares was excavated and this was later extended.

The stratigraphy within the enclosure was as follows:

1. Surface layer a few centimetres thick of light brown soil and grass tussocks.
2. The soft grey soil, about 20 cm thick.
3. Harder, whitish material sometimes as lumps mixed with the grey, sometimes as a more or less continuous layer.
4. A hard grey crust up to 1 cm thick.
5. Bedrock; sometimes solid dolerite but usually dolerite weathered to a hard red-brown soil which retains the granular structure of the parent rock.

Outside the wall the grey soil rested directly on the grey crust, but moving further from the wall in Square E this too disappeared, leaving only a shallow layer of grey-brown soil overlying the weathered bedrock. The formation of the grey crust seems to be linked with the occurrence of the grey or white material, although the reason for this is not known. The grey and white are clearly related, the grey being probably just a mixture of the white with brown soil. The nature and origin of the white material is therefore crucial to an understanding of the deposit. The only possible

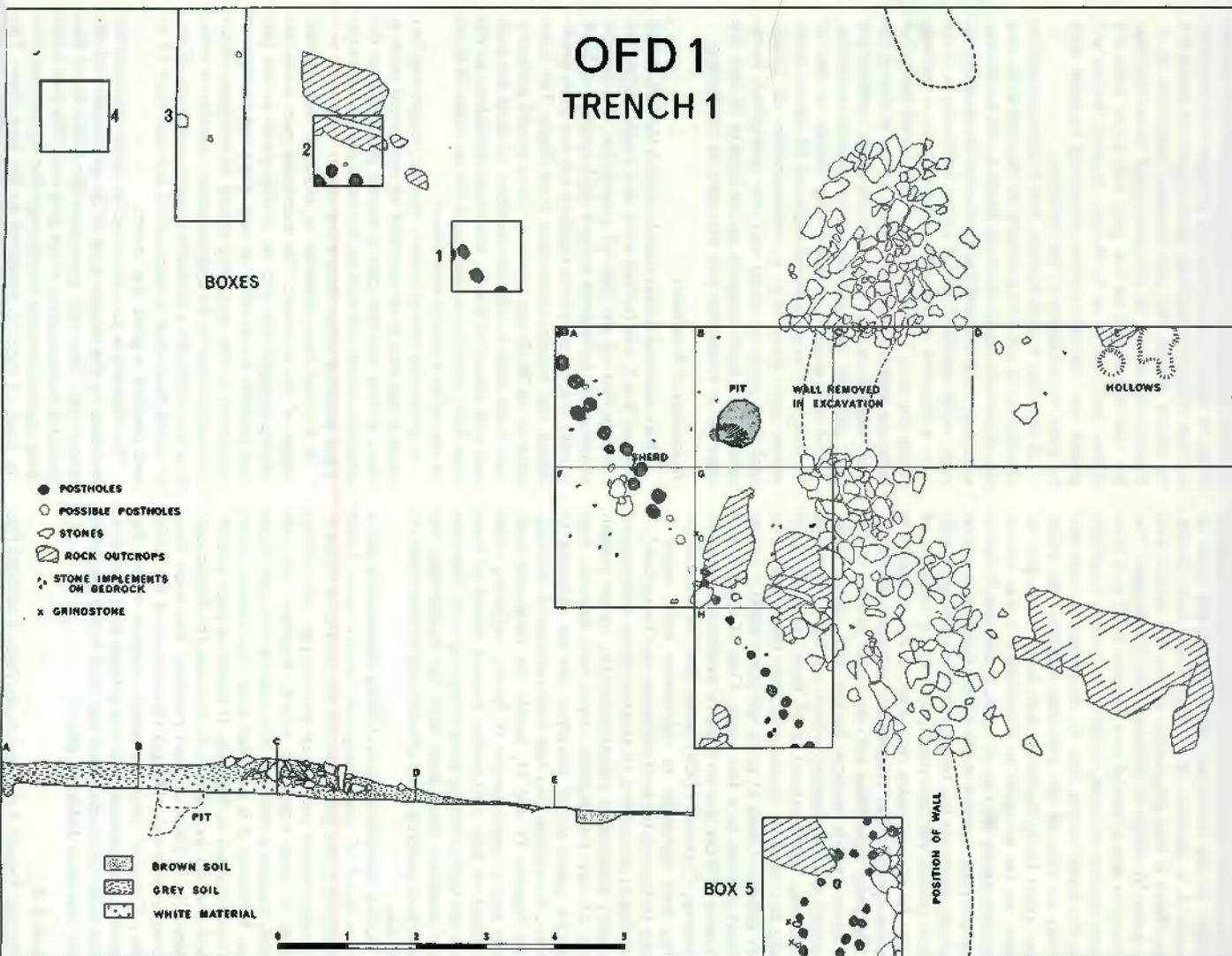


Fig 88 Plan and section of Trench 1.

geological source of this material is the dolerite, since the entire basin in which the site occurs consists of this rock. On the other hand, since it was observed only in association with stone structures, there was a chance that it resulted in part from human activity.

A qualitative spectrographic analysis and quantitative determination of CaCO_3 and P_2O_5 were carried out on samples of the white material (Appendix 1). The results indicate that it is for the most part derived from weathering of the dolerite, but that it has also been affected by the occupation of the site in that it contains a high level of phosphate.

After the stones of the wall had been removed in Squares B and C it was evident that the wall had been built on top of the layer of white material. At the time of construction the white layer must have been continuous. Subsequently it has been disturbed but it remains in places such as below the stones of the wall where it has been protected (fig. 88, section).

Excavation proceeded in 12 cm spits within the enclosure as there was too much disturbance, especially of the white layer, to follow the actual stratigraphy. The cultural material was fairly evenly distributed between the levels, and as there is no apparent difference it has been combined for description.

As there was insufficient charcoal, bone collected from the lowest layer was submitted for dating, with the result:

Pta 964 290 \pm 45 (A.D. 1660)

In Square B a small pit, more or less circular in plan and about 25 cm deep, was found (fig. 88). A narrow portion on one side of this pit extended down 70 cm in a steeply sloping shaft. The infill was a mixture of the overlying layers and the weathered bedrock, with no visible stratigraphy and no significant contents. No tool-marks could be found, but the deeper portion must have been dug with something like a digging-stick, as the space is too confined for a wider tool.

The grey crust was useful in providing a hard surface which contrasted well with the soft filling of the pit. In the same way by brushing the crust in Square A a number of smaller holes were found. They form a line diagonally across the square and are some 10-20 cm in diameter and 15 cm deep. The excavation was extended into Squares F, G and H to follow the row of holes, which continued in a straight line for seven metres (fig. 88). Stratigraphy here was similar to that of the previous squares, the white layer again being disturbed and mixed with grey in places. As far as could be determined it was always disturbed above the line of holes. In Square F and G near the rock outcrop some of the holes were rather shallow, while one has been made by removing a small block within the outcrop. Near by, a number of stones beside the holes may have acted as supports for the uprights that presumably occupied the holes.

The holes were filled with grey soil grading to the red-brown which became harder with depth. They included a little charcoal which proved to be insufficient for dating. The charcoal is all from twigs or small sticks too small in diameter to have been posts. The only possible traces of posts are some slightly darker central patches in a few holes. One of these had a diameter of 6 cm, but no trace of wood could be seen. However, Cornwall (1958) states that "in drier situations, and especially in calcareous soils, wood is likely to lose all trace of structure and be reduced, if anything at all survive, to an amorphous substance of crumbly consistence indistinguishable, in the present state of our information, from soil humus". Any wooden posts would therefore not be expected to survive here unless they had been reduced to charcoal.

In Squares G and H, beside the enclosure wall, there was a concentration of bones, including those of sheep or goat and cattle. Several pieces of bone have cut marks from a sharp chopping tool. This area may therefore have been used for butchering; the small rock outcrop here actually had bones within its crevices.

During excavation several stone implements and a single sherd of grass-tempered pottery were found embedded in the grey crust and are plotted on figure 88. The implements include an end scraper and various flakes in fresh condition which, together with the sherd, suggest a relatively late stage of the Late Stone Age. However, it is not clear how this material came to be embedded in the crust. If the white layer is really a soil horizon, as seems to be the case, the implements can not be in their original position, but must have moved downwards through disturbance of the white layer. Certainly they are most common where disturbance was greatest, near the pit and the post holes, while there are none below the wall where the white layer was least disturbed (fig. 88).

Boxes 1 - 5

Within Trench 1 the post holes form a straight line which was presumably part of the wall of an enclosure of some sort. The excavations were therefore extended at both ends in the form of boxes to try to recover as much of the plan of the original structure as possible. In Boxes 1 and 2 the line of holes was relocated curving slightly to the west, but in 3 and 4 it could not be found except for one possible post hole in 3. Further excavation in this area might reveal the line, but this is unlikely as the grey and white soils are absent and there is no hard crust. Instead, brown soil grades into the red-brown weathered bedrock with no clear demarcation of the interface.

At the other end of the line, Box 5 was excavated to determine the relative positions of the post holes and the stone wall. As is shown in figure 88, the line makes an abrupt turn towards the south-west on reaching the wall, while another line of holes, following a curve with a diameter of about 3 m, runs up to or perhaps under the wall. The last hole of this second line is the only one that is actually covered by the stones of the wall, suggesting that this structure might predate the wall, although the evidence is by no means conclusive.

The stratigraphy in Box 5 was similar to that of Trench 1. Cultural material included six upper grindstones and there was a concentration of bones including some of sheep and two springbuck horn cores. This again suggests as for Square H that the area on or beside the wall was used in

butchering.

Discussion of structures

There was insufficient time to extend the excavation beyond Box 5, but further work here might expose the continuation of the line of post holes. On present evidence the holes seem to have held uprights to form a wall. The nature of the uprights has not been established, but wooden posts seem most likely. The holes tend to be 20-25 cm apart so there would probably have been some horizontal members to close the gaps and add strength. Reeds, which are abundant in the river bed, could have been used, but no trace of them or any other material was found.

In places the row of holes is double, suggesting that some poles had to be replaced or reinforced after a time. If this was the case it would indicate that the structure was in use over an extended period, probably a few decades rather than a few years.

It has not been possible to establish the original shape of the structure. The excavated part shows an almost straight side with an abrupt curve at one end and possibly at the other as well. Since the prehistoric structures of this area, and indeed of southern Africa in general, tend to be approximately circular or oval, this was probably a similarly shaped enclosure. If so, it would have had a diameter of not less than 15 m and possibly a good deal more.

The deposit is too disturbed to yield stratigraphic evidence on the relative ages of the post holes and the stone wall. The wall post-dates the white layer and predates the formation of the grey soil. The post holes were almost certainly cut through the white layer, but no trace of them is preserved in the grey layer. The plan (fig. 88) however provides more information. In Box 5 the abrupt curve of the post holes away from the wall suggests that they were made after the wall. Alternatively, but less probably, the post holes may be the earlier, the wall being built so that it just touched them at one point. The post hole structure would therefore have been built either after the wall or shortly before it so that the posts were still standing when the stones were set down.

The limited occurrence of the white layer calls for comment. If, as seems to be the case, it is derived largely from the chemical weathering of the dolerite, it must once have been widespread on the more level dolerite areas. However, it was observed only in a few places, always associated with stone walls. It would seem to be indicative of the extent of local soil erosion, that the white material has survived only where it is protected by walls.

Trench 2

One of the main aims of the fieldwork on OFD 1 was to determine the function of the smaller enclosures around the central one. This is not obvious as they may have had several uses, while even the smaller ones do not seem to have been the walls of huts. The lowness of the walls and their haphazard construction would seem to argue against their ever having supported roofs. Yet some of them must have had a domestic function, judging by the sherds and other material they contain.

Trench 2 was laid out to examine one of these enclosures which showed the most surface material on Settlement Unit A. There were numerous sherds both within and outside on the downhill (east) side, where there was also a piece of specularite.

The stratigraphy consisted of a few centimetres of brown soil grading into the red-brown weathered bedrock, which became harder with depth. There was virtually no accumulation of deposit, for the bottom of the wall was only about 5 cm below the surface. Most of the cultural material occurred in the first 10 cm although some, mainly stone implements, occurred a little deeper. Erosion and soil disturbance seem to have obliterated any occupation floor, or old ground surface, or internal features of construction if there were any. The surface sherds downhill from the enclosure were probably derived from within by rain wash.

Thus little can be said about the function of the enclosure except from the material it contained. This included stone implements, which are ubiquitous in this area, numerous sherds and some bone. The bone is poorly preserved by the brown soil compared to that from the grey soil of Trench 1. The larger mammals represented were cattle and wildebeest or hartebeest. The material suggests that domestic activity connected with food took place in the enclosure.

Trench 3

As the results from Trench 2 were disappointing, another small enclosure was excavated. This is a small circular enclosure about 4 m in diameter, situated 80 m east of Trench 2 in Settlement Unit B. It was chosen because the grey material also occurred in and around it, and it was hoped that there would also be the hard grey crust as in Trench 1. Most of the stones from the wall had been robbed to build later enclosures near by, so this would probably be a relatively early one.

The interior and northern part of the exterior were excavated. Total depth was only about 10 cm, consisting of light brown soil on the immediate surface, giving way to the grey and then the harder white material. The

hard crust again occurred on the weathered dolerite. The white layer was disturbed and mixed with the grey in places. Stratigraphy is thus similar to that of Trench 1 although much shallower. The wall was again built on top of the white layer which is here slightly greyer and softer.

Some charcoal and a few small nodules of vitrified material were found at all levels. The nodules are probably pieces of earthenware or mud that have been heated to a temperature above that of a normal cooking fire. Similar vitrified nodules have been found on Iron Age sites where there was evidence of huts burning down. This might have been the case here too, but there is no other supporting evidence. A charcoal sample from the lowest layer was submitted for dating but came out as too young to date, SR234.

The crust was brushed and examined for post holes or any other structural details but nothing definite was found. Thus here again the cultural and food remains offer the only information on function. Pottery was rather less common but similar in character to that previously excavated, although there was a higher proportion of accentuated rims. The bone, despite good preservation, was also less common, the only large animal being a medium-sized bovid of unidentified species. Of interest are two vertebrae of a fairly small fish, which were the only fish bones found, but were presumably part of the diet. The 82 ostrich egg-shell fragments, together with a completed bead and another broken during manufacture, indicate that one activity here was bead-making. A large copper bead was also found (fig. 92, 19). The ornaments and the relatively few food remains would tend to indicate habitation rather than food preparation as the function of this enclosure. Some form of roofing would presumably have been necessary if it was a habitation, but no trace was found.

THE FINDS : POTTERY

Form

The pottery is highly fragmented, suggesting that it was trampled for a time on the surface before becoming covered. The shallow deposit and subsequent disturbance would have contributed to this process. Despite time spent on reconstruction it was only possible to draw parts of seven vessels from the excavations (fig. 89, 1-7). To increase this sample, five vessels partly reconstructed from surface sherds collected on some of the other Type R settlements are included (fig. 90). These twelve probably do not cover the full range of pottery, but should give an idea of the main types. They include:

3 Bowls (2 with open mouths)

4 Vessels with more or less vertical sides

5 Pots

The pots show a large range in size; rim diameters varying from 13 to 36 cm. Bases of vessels were probably round, for although none was reconstructed, no flattened or pointed examples were found.

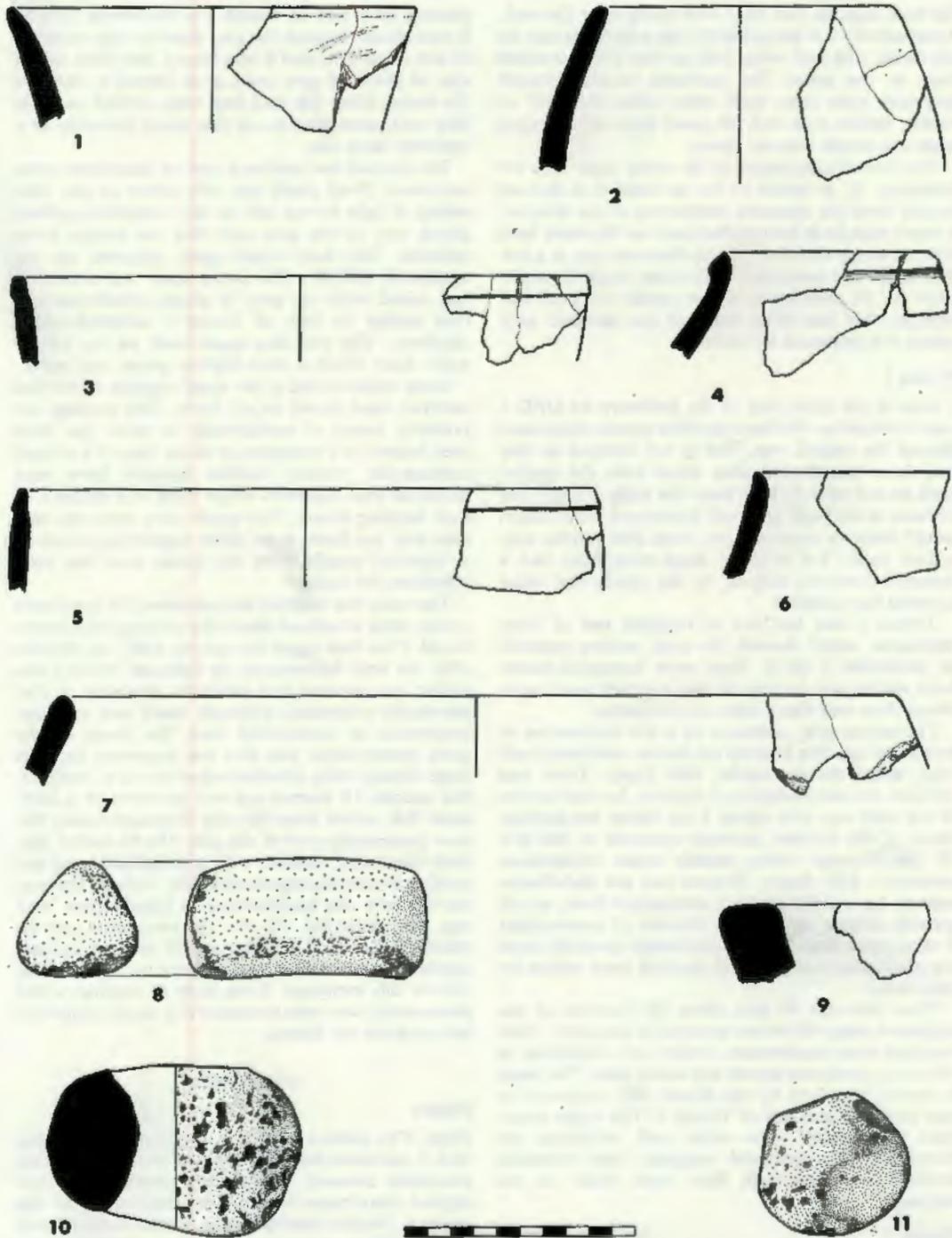


Fig.89 Excavated pottery, etc. from OFD 1.

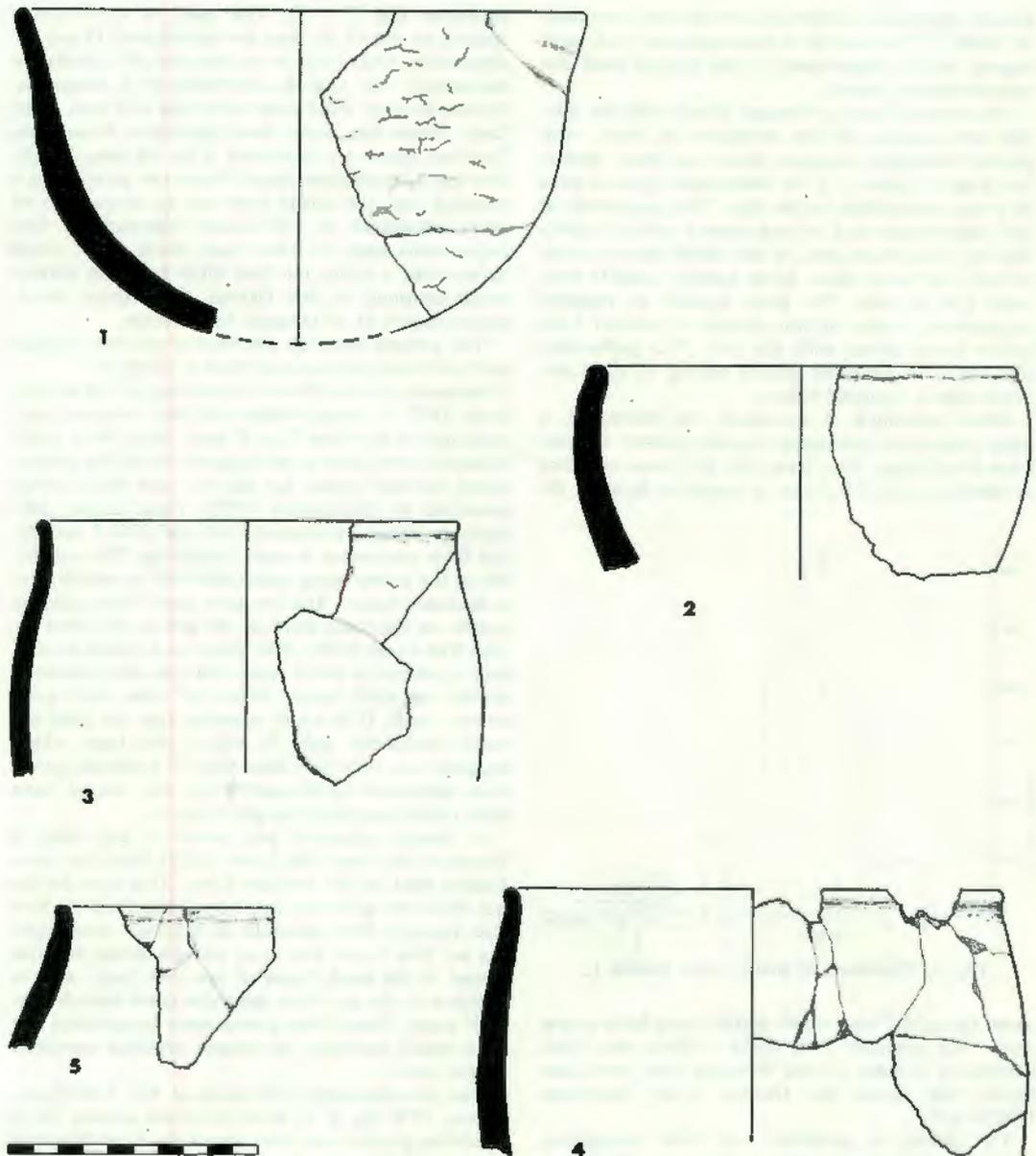


Fig. 90 Surface pottery from various sites.

Fabric

As the pottery lacks distinctive form and decoration, it has to be described largely by its fabric. The Trench 1 pottery was therefore examined in some detail to determine the thickness and temper of each sherd as well as surface finish and rim profiles. The sherds from each level were analysed, but as there was no appreciable difference, results were combined in Table 2. The sample is homogeneous to a large degree, so the disturbance of the deposit does not seem to matter greatly.

Most sherds have grit temper mixed with the clay. The grit consists of fine mudstone or shale with poorly developed cleavage, which has been

broken into angular pieces of a few millimetres up to as large as 6 mm and added to the clay. The proportion of grit varies greatly and in some cases a naturally gritty clay may have been used. A few sherds have a sandy texture and some have grass temper, usually with some grit as well. The grass appears as negative impressions; it was cut into lengths of around one centimetre before being mixed with the clay. The probability that the grass-tempered sherds belong to the Later Stone Age is discussed below.

About one third of the sherds are burnished, a large proportion compared to other pottery samples from the Orange Free State, but few have an ochre or black burnish. Thickness is shown in figure 91, the mean being 10,3 mm, which makes this a fairly coarse ware. For example it is much thicker than both Sampson's Classes A and B wares from the Later Stone Age along the Orange River (Sampson, 1967a & b).

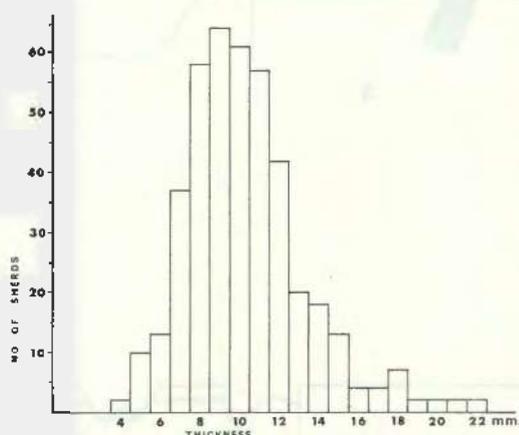


Fig.91 Thickness of sherds from Trench 1.

The pottery is generally well fired throughout, although some sherds have a dark core. Colour is buff, varying to grey or brown, while a few sherds are blackened on the outside from use on a fire. The three thickest sherds, which were found close together, although they do not fit, have carbon on their inner surface, presumably from cooking.

Rims

Rims are either rounded or, less commonly, flattened on their upper surface. Some are slightly rolled over but not to the extent of being significantly thickened (fig. 90, 3 & 4). Some rims are accentuated by a projecting step or ridge a few millimetres below the lip, but even here the rim is not appreciably thickened (fig. 89, 3-5). This may be a distinctive feature, as one in six rims are accentuated (Table 3).

Decoration

Only four out of the total 991 sherds are decorated. This lack is something of a diagnostic feature in itself, since most Iron Age and even some Later Stone Age wares have distinctive decoration. The four sherds are illustrated in fig. 92 (nos. 20-23). One has a herringbone motif in shallow grooves on a rounded rim, the others have one or more rows of small triangular or 'D'-shaped impressions. The impressions seem to have been made by a comb rather than a stylus, but they differ from the normal comb-stamping of the Orange Free State, which shows square or rectangular impressions.

The pottery from all the excavations was similar and has therefore been combined in Table 3.

Relationship to other pottery assemblages

The pottery from OFD 1 seems similar to that observed and collected on the other Type R sites. Apart from a few isolated sherds, little more is known about the pottery along the Riet except for the two pots from graves described by Humphreys (1970). These cannot definitely be linked typologically with the OFD 1 pottery, but their occurrence is most interesting. The possibility of the graves being associated with the settlements is discussed below. The two pots came from adjacent graves on the same farm as the graves described by Van Riet Lowe (1931). The graves had stones on top, each contained a bored stone and one also contained ostrich egg-shell beads, while the other had seven cowrie shells. It is worth stressing that the pots are really miniatures, only 76 and 83 mm high, which suggests that they may have been of symbolic rather than utilitarian significance. They may indeed have been made specifically as grave goods.

A similar miniature pot, about 12 cm high, is illustrated by Van Riet Lowe (1929) from the farm Eagle's Nest on the Modder River. This must be the pot from the grave on that farm, described by Van Riet Lowe in 1926, although he does not specifically say so. This burial was in an upright flexed position placed in the sandy loam of the river bank, and in addition to the pot there were also some ostrich egg-shell beads. These three graves seem to represent the same burial tradition, on present evidence restricted to this area.

The pot associated with skeleton No. 236 (Humphreys, 1970, fig. 3,1) is of additional interest for it resembles pottery from the coast of the Cape Province in its general shape and in having lugs. Rudner (1968), in his extensive work on this pottery, shows that it also extends up the Orange River to above Upington, but it is not known from near the Riet. The miniature

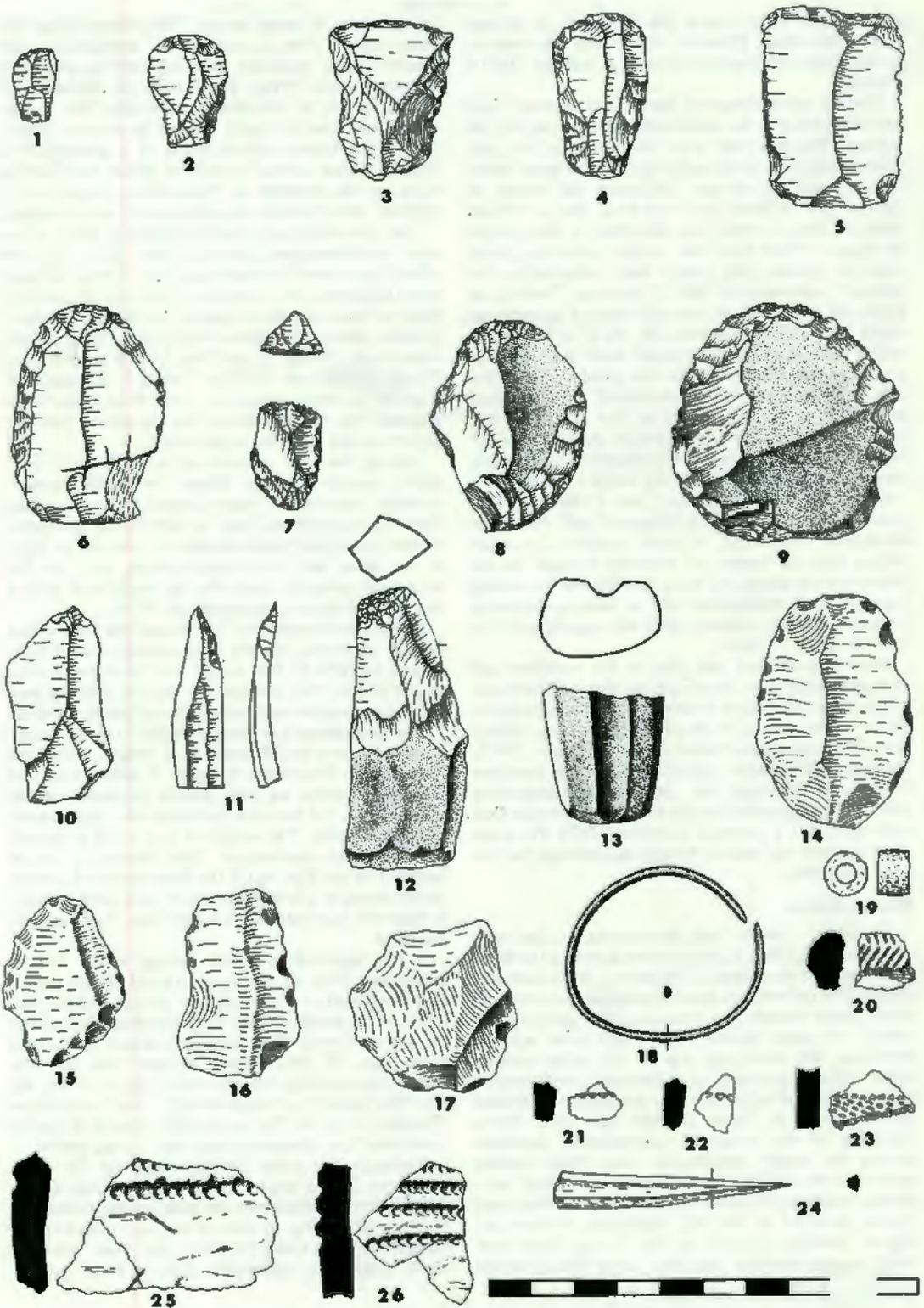


Fig. 92 Stone implements, decorated pottery and small finds from OFD 1.

pot from the Riet is really a crude, naïve model of this type, the characteristic horizontally pierced lugs being replaced by vertically pierced ones. However, one of the characteristic lugs, internally reinforced, has been found near Koffiefontein (Witwatersrand University Medical School No. E 244. Exact location not stated). These two occurrences indicate that some influence

from this type of pottery was felt as far north as the Riet, even if this is beyond its normal geographic range. However, there does not seem to be any close relationship between it and the OFD 1 pottery.

The few grass-tempered sherds from Trench 1 are not considered to be associated with the rest of the pottery. The two with grass temper came from the lowest level, one being embedded in the basal crust. Apart from the textural difference the colour is darker, with a black core and dark grey or brown exterior. Similar sherds are described in Humphreys & Maggs (1970) from the surface collection made near the graves, and others were collected on the adjacent river bank by Miss F. Barbour. Two of the latter are decorated by rows of oblique impressions which form parallel grooves (fig. 92, 25 & 26). Sampson's (1967a & b) Class A pottery from near Norvalspont on the Orange River has similar decoration and grass temper, and is associated with the final expression of the Stone Age in that area, Phase 6. On the Riet a similar association of this pottery with the Later Stone Age is most probable; it is certainly distinct from the majority of the OFD 1 pottery.

Sampson's Class B pottery has a little more in common since it is grit-tempered and has little decoration. However, it lacks burnish, is much thinner and the vessels are unevenly formed. As yet little is known about this ware, but like the succeeding Class A, it is associated with a hunting-gathering economy. Present evidence does not suggest any link with the OFD 1 pottery.

Pottery from the Iron Age sites described above in the northern and eastern Orange Free State is quite distinct from that of the Riet. The main differences are in decoration, use of ochre, temper and vessel forms. Similarly, ethnological collections from the Southern Sotho and Tswana, the nearest Bantu-speaking peoples, show pottery that has no apparent connection with the OFD 1 material (Lawton, 1967). We must conclude that no similar pottery assemblage has yet been described.

STONE ARTEFACTS

The lithic material from the excavations has been combined in Table 4. Categories are according to those in Humphreys & Maggs (1970) derived from Sampson (1967). The utilized and waste categories are excluded, while stone borers and miscellaneous scrapers are added. The latter include flakes with some scraper-trimming, but which do not fit the other scraper types. Other types such as adzes and small convex scrapers are omitted where they are absent. Artefacts are illustrated in figure 92, the first seven being

examples of the range of end scrapers. Included among the larger end scrapers were three double ones (fig. 92, 7). The 'stone borer' is a thick rectangular piece of lydianite flaked on three sides and heavily battered at the end. Although it shows no sign of grinding around the tip, it may have been used, as suggested by Van Riet Lowe (1929), in the manufacture of bored stones. The grooved stone has been shaped from a soft stone, serpentinite; the groove shows striations resulting from a rotational movement (Plate 67). The source of the stone is unknown and its function is uncertain, but it may have been used to apply poison to arrows (Clark, 1959). The bored stone is made of a greenish lava whose nearest source would be either the Dwyka tillite or the outcrop of Ventersdorp lava west of Ritchie. After being broken it was used as a hammer.

The grindstones are made of dolerite. Only a few show well-developed grinding facets (fig. 89, 8), the others have small ground areas, but almost all have small hollows up to 2 mm deep produced by pecking. Most of them also show signs of hammering on edges. At least three have traces of red ochre. They mostly come from Trench 1 and Box 5, with several from Trench 3. Only one is from Trench 2, although the majority of stone implements come from here, which suggests that the grindstones are associated with the pottery rather than the implements.

Among the lithic material are a number of manuports, usually angular blocks or small, stream-rounded pebbles of coarse-grained lydianite. Some show no signs of use, but, in view of the the geological setting, must have been brought to the site by man. A few show peck and scratch marks, and one has numerous scratches made by an implement with a sharp but slightly uneven edge (Plate 68).

Stone implements were found in all the excavations and at all levels, but the great majority were from Trench 2 (Table 4). The reason for this concentration is not known, but perhaps the near-by outcrop provided some shelter even before the enclosure was built.

The assemblage is in general similar to that from the river bank near by (Humphreys & Maggs, 1970) and thus also to Sampson's Phase 6. It differs from the former in having an even greater emphasis on the end scrapers but far fewer other scrapers, particularly the smaller ones. The sample is too small to permit more detailed conclusions. This industry is so far undated on the Riet, but if the grass-tempered pottery is associated, as it is with Phase 6 on the middle Orange, a relatively late date in the Later Stone Age might be expected.

A few implements clearly belong to the Middle Stone Age. They are patinated to a red or grey colour and weathered to a mat, slightly porous



PLATE 67 . Grooved stone showing striations in groove. Trench 2.



PLATE 68 . Small shale slab with striations. Trench 1.

PLATE 70 . Decorated ostrich egg-shell fragments. Box 3. Scale of cm.
(Plates 67 to 70 are all the same scale).



PLATE 69 . Copper band with grooves
cut across its surface.



surface with much of the detail of flake scars obscured. Some have faceted platforms. They include trimmed blades and flakes (fig. 92, 16), frontal scrapers (fig. 92, 14), convex scrapers (fig. 92, 15) and a disc ore (fig. 92, 17). The majority are from Trench 2, with a few from Trenches 1 and 3. The excavated material is clearly a mixture from diverse cultures over a long period.

Although the stone artefacts tend to be more numerous in the lower levels, they are not stratigraphically separated from the other cultural material. It is not surprising, in view of the vast quantities of surface material along the Riet, that many artefacts occur within the settlement. Clearly most are not associated with the settlement, but on present evidence it is not possible to determine whether the inhabitants made flaked stone implements or not.

Colouring matter

Three small pieces of red ochre were found, one from Trench 2 and two from Trench 3. The traces of ochre on several grindstones indicate that it was reduced to powder. Since few sherds have an ochre burnish, the powder was probably used as a cosmetic or perhaps applied to clothing.

Two pieces of specularite were found in the upper level of Square A, Trench 1 and another piece on the surface near Trench 2. This glistening form of haematite was widely used as a cosmetic powder until well into the nineteenth century in central South Africa by both hunters and herders.

The source of the ochre is unknown but it could be local. The nearest known source of specularite is in the Postmasburg area some 200 km to the north-west. It occurs in the lower beds of the Griquatown Series in the Blinkklip Breccia, which was probably formed by tectonic activity and the collapse of solution cavities in the underlying dolomite (Hamilton & Cooke, 1939). The best-known occurrence is at Blinkklip Kop on the Postmasburg townlands. Several of the early European visitors to this area, from Borchers (1861) and Lichtenstein (1812) onwards, described the specularite workings as they were in the first decades of the nineteenth century, when they were being exploited by the Tlhaping and probably also by Khoikhoi.

METAL OBJECTS

The metal objects consist of a bead, a bangle and part of a band, all made of copper. The bead came from the upper layer of Trench 3, while the other two are surface finds; their positions being indicated on fig. 87. The bead is rather large and cylindrically shaped with a diameter of 10,5 mm.

It seems to have been made by bending a strip around and jointing the ends, for it is thinner on one side and a crack there may mark the original seam. The bangle is made from wire of uneven thickness and of oval cross-section (fig. 92, 18). Its small size suggests that it may have been worn by a child. The band is 5 mm wide, 0,8 mm thick and 14 mm long, bent in a curve. A series of parallel grooves have been cut across the outer side, and they still show longitudinal striations from the tool used to cut them (Plate 69). The band has been broken at each end so that the original form is no longer apparent, but if the curvature continued it would have formed a ring with a diameter of perhaps 2,5 cm.

The two surface finds may not be associated with the settlement, but this is more likely than with the Later Stone Age material. The evidence of manual workmanship, especially on the bangle and band, indicates that these copper ornaments probably originated with Iron Age metallurgists north of the Vaal River.

A small, shapeless piece of highly corroded iron was also found on the surface, but it could well be of modern origin. No other iron was found on this nor indeed on any of the other Type R sites.

OSTRICH EGG-SHELL AND BONE OBJECTS

Four ostrich egg-shell beads were found; two from Trench 1, one from Box 5 and one from Trench 3, where there was also one broken during manufacture. Their diameters are 4, 6, 7 and 8 mm and the perforations are conical in section. Two are rough and irregular in outline, the other two being well rounded.

From Box 3 came two small egg-shell fragments each with a double row of small, irregular indentations possibly made by pecking. Incised lines occur on one parallel and on the other obliquely to the rows of dots (Plate 70). They were presumably applied as decoration to the egg-shell container when whole, but the fragments are too small to determine the pattern. Similar examples from archaeological and ethnological contexts are usually decorated with fine incised lines, not these dots which may even be the result of natural weathering.

The only bone tool is a sharp splinter, 55 mm long, from a long-bone. It has not been shaped but became polished near the tip from use (fig. 92, 24).

Several pieces of bone, notably from Square H in Trench 1, show deep chop-marks, made by an implement with a short cutting edge about 1,5 cm long and curved in plan. The chop marks are 'V'-shaped in section and about 2 mm

deep. On one side they show a clean cut while the other is rough and splintered, suggesting that the implement was something like an adze (Plate 66). It seems likely that an iron rather than stone tool was used, but at the present state of knowledge it is apparently not possible to distinguish between stone and iron cut marks.

FAUNAL REMAINS

The identified faunal remains from the excavations are combined in Table 5. The bovids were identified by Q.B. Hendey and L.H. Wells; the loose teeth and post cranial material being largely ignored, so numbers are probably conservative. The similarity between the teeth of sheep and springbuck presented a problem and only fragments of jaws containing several teeth were used. Specific identification of the smaller mammals and reptiles has not been attempted as some of them, such as the viverrids, rodents and lizards, probably lived and burrowed in the deposits subsequently to the abandonment of the settlement.

The condition of the bone is largely fragmented; some long-bones in particular have been split and battered along edges, although there are few of the chop marks described above. A few pieces have been gnawed by small rodents and some softer pieces by fairly small carnivores, possibly domestic dogs. Detailed work on the age of the animals has not been undertaken, but it is very noticeable that the majority of the bovids, both domestic and wild, were juveniles.

In terms of human activity the fauna can be divided into four groups.

The herding of cattle and small stock must have been one of the main activities of the settlement and it seems to have supplied the majority of the protein food. Hunting was also important and supplied a significant, though apparently minor, proportion of the meat eaten. Springbuck seem to have been the main quarry, but larger and smaller antelope and probably other animals were also taken. The tortoises and ostrich eggs would have been collected in the veld, providing a supplement to the food supply and also potential containers. The fourth group includes the frog, fish and fresh-water mussels, which show that the riverine fauna was also exploited, although in terms of quantity it was relatively unimportant. Although there is only one fish represented, this would seem to indicate that there was no taboo against eating fish.

TABLE 2
Comparison of the features of the sherds from Trench 1

Temper	Surface Finish				Mean Thickness mm	Total	Rim Profiles			
	Plain	Burnished					Round	Flat	Point	Misc.
		Burnish	Ochre	Black						
Grit	264	93	5	10	10,4	372	20	12	2	1
Grit & Sand	12	12			10,0	24	3			
Sand	7	3	1		8,8	11	2			
Grit & Grass	3	7			10,4	10	1			
Grass	1	1			11,0	2				
Total	287	116	6	10	10,3	419	26	12	2	1

TABLE 3
Analysis of all the excavated sherds

RIM SHERDS Profile	DECORATED SHERDS			UNDECORATED SHERDS			Total
	Plain	Burnish	Plain	Burnished			
				Burnish	Ochre	Black	
Rounded	1		47(3)	11(1)			59
Flattened			16(8)	8			24
Pointed			2(2)				2
Misc.			4	1	1(1)	1	7
BODY SHERDS	2	1	647	213	10	26	899
TOTAL	3	1	716	233	11	27	991

(Numbers in brackets refer to sherds with accentuated rims)

TABLE 4
Stone artefacts

	Trench 2	Total
End-scrapers	12	16
Side- and end-scrapers	10	13
Small end-scrapers	4	8
Core hammers	3	3
Convex scrapers	2	3
Borers	1	1
Backed blades	—	1
Misc. scrapers	4	5
Stone-borers	1	1
Upper grindstones	1	17
Bored stones (broken) ..	1	1
Grooved stones (broken)	1	1

TABLE 5
Provisional list of fauna from the excavations

	Minimum number of individuals present
Cattle	4
Wildebeest/hartebeest	1
Bovid (medium)	1
Sheep/goat	3
Springbuck	3
Antelope (small)	1
Rock rabbit (<i>Procavia</i>)	1
Viverrid (medium)	1
Viverrid (small)	2
Rodent (small)	2
Elephant shrew	1
Bird (medium)	1
Ostrich egg	several
Tortoise	4
Lizard	2
Frog	1
Fish	1
Fresh-water mussel	6

THE BURIALS

During the course of work at OFD 1 a number of small stone mounds were noticed on the river terrace; three of these were excavated, and two of them proved to be graves. A surface collection was made by Tony Humphreys in order to sample the dense scatter of Later Stone Age material in the vicinity.

Along much of the course of the Riet River in the Koffiefontein and Jacobsdal districts and further downstream are deposits of sandy silt in the form of river terraces. Detailed work on these terraces has not yet been undertaken and it is not known whether or not they are of the same age. However, on the evidence of their contained fossil mammals, including Peloroavis = Homoioceres bainii and others (Cooke, 1948), and the common occurrence of Later Stone Age material on the surface, at least some of them must be of Pleistocene age. These relatively soft deposits form part of the river banks and are being subjected to gully erosion, greatly accelerated at the present time by intense grazing and agricultural activity.

The southern end of the OFD 1 settlement is marked by a dolerite ridge sloping abruptly southwards from just south of Settlement Units A and B (fig. 85). From here a terrace stretches southwards for some 800 metres. It is bounded on the east by the Riet River, on the west by another dolerite outcrop and is some 250 metres wide tapering southwards. Stone implements and debitage occur in large quantities on this surface and are particularly concentrated towards the northern end. Also on the terrace, fifteen stone mounds were recorded, grouped in about the first 100 metres south of the dolerite ridge (fig. 83). There is another mound towards the southern end of the terrace and several others on the river bank 250 metres north-east of the main burial area. These mounds are partly overgrown and in some cases the stones have become scattered. They are in the region of one metre in diameter and built of weathered dolerite blocks from the adjacent hills. Similar mounds and the graves they marked have been described previously by Van Riet Lowe (1931) and Humphreys (1970). On his map of the Riet River, Van Riet Lowe (1929) marked the positions of several burial sites, including the one described here, which appears under the name Koppieskraal. He also showed the stone ruins and the concentration of Later Stone Age material which is assigned to his Smithfield B culture.

A striking feature of this site is the localization of fifteen mounds, most of which must be burials, within such a small area. It seems likely that the people concerned regarded this as a regular burial ground. Van Riet Lowe (1931) records twelve graves from the site across the river from Koffie-

fontein and although he does not give the numbers at the other sites they are apparently similar. Therefore the makers of these graves seem regularly to have buried their dead in particular burial grounds on the river terraces. Burial grounds are uncommon in the archaeological record of southern Africa so that the presence of a number of them along the Riet River indicates a distinct cultural trait.

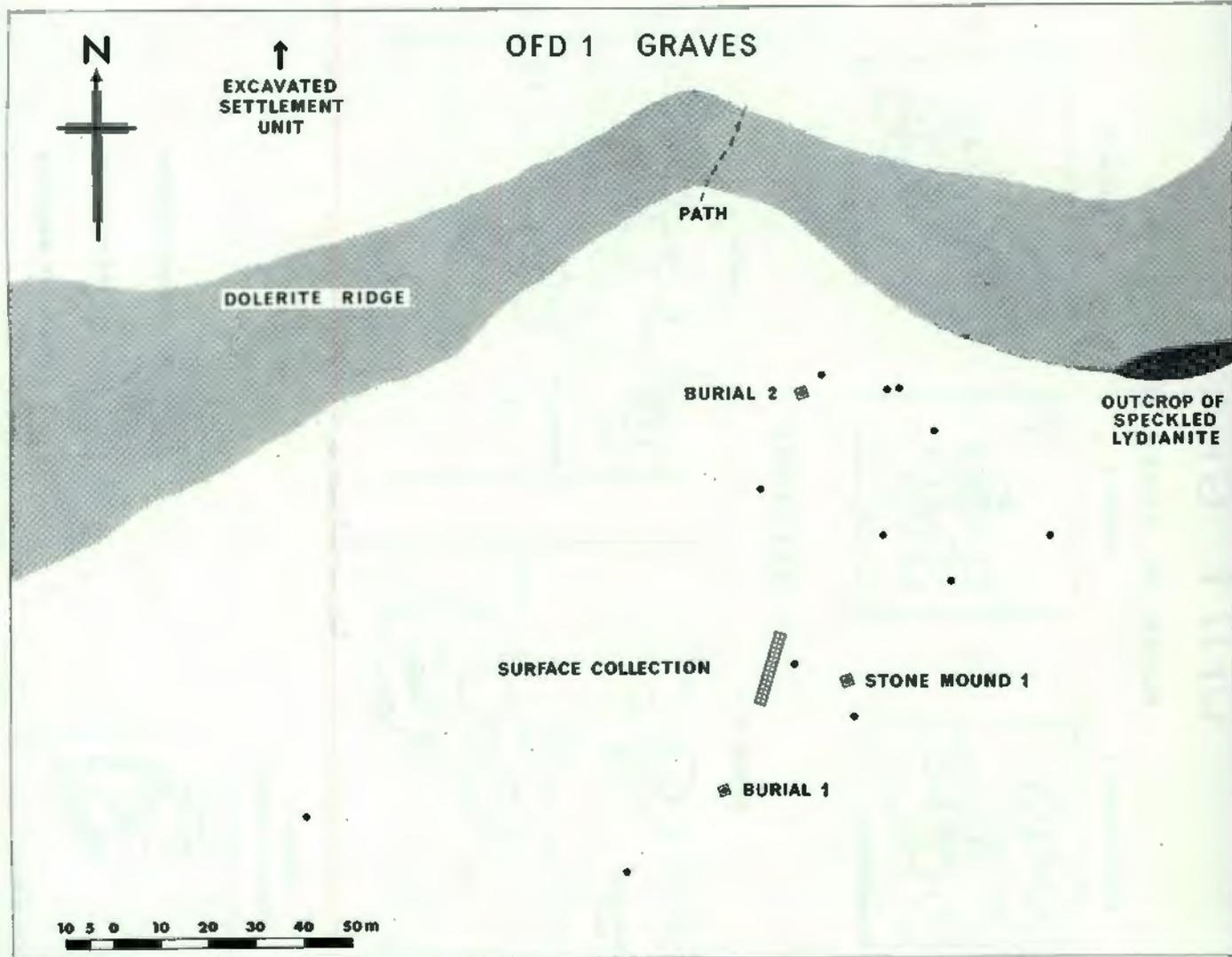


Fig 93 Plan of the major features referred to in the text.

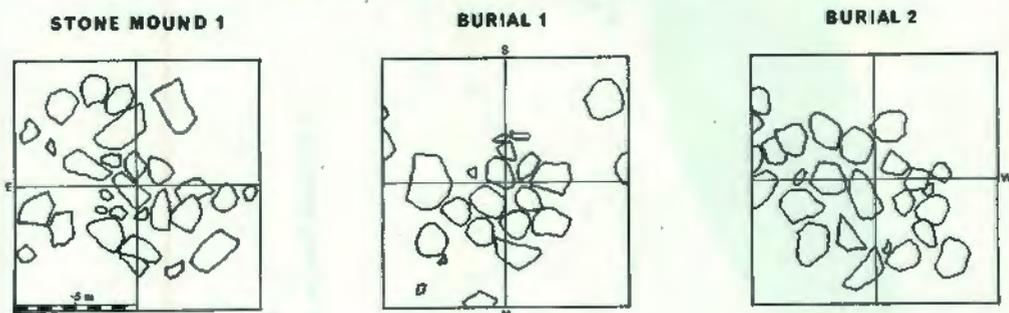
Stone Mound 1

The description of similar graves by Van Riet Lowe suggested that an excavation procedure allowing for the recording of both plans and sections at various stages of the excavation would be required. To record the stone mounds the vegetation was first cleared away and a grid of four squares, each of one square metre, was laid out with the centre being approximately

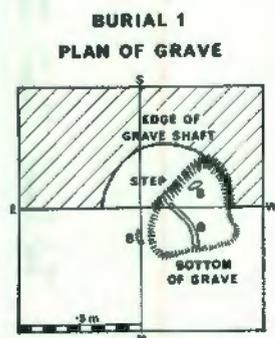
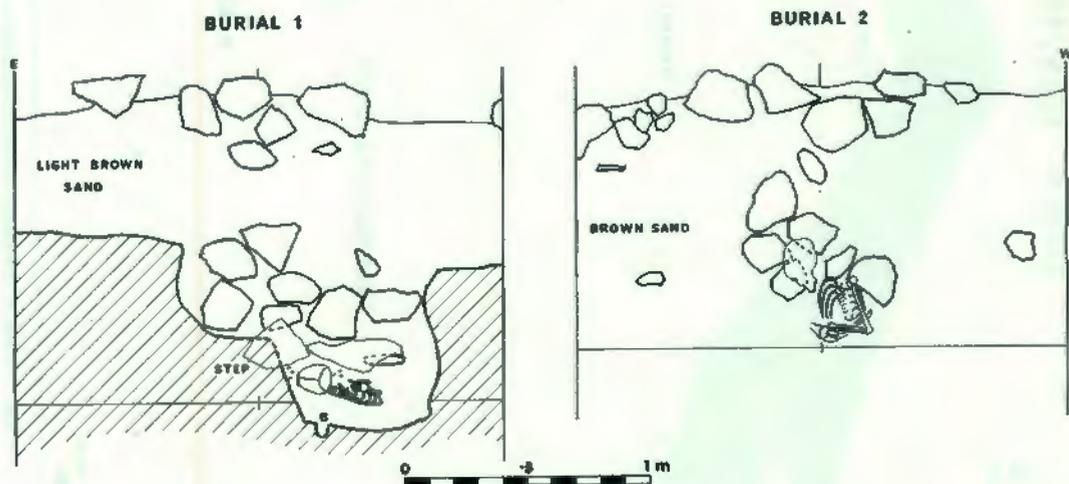
the centre of the stone mound. The sides of the squares were orientated on a magnetic north-south bearing. After the plan of the mound was recorded (fig. 94) the stones were removed and the two northern metre squares were excavated to a depth of 1,8 m. A number of stone implements and a warthog tooth were recovered from the loose sandy soil below the stones, but no further trace of a grave or human bones were found, and therefore Stone Mound 1 did not mark a burial. The objects found within the soil would have

OFD 1 GRAVES

PLANS OF STONE MOUNDS



SECTIONS



B - ANIMAL BURROW
 HARDER LAYER
 DIRECTIONS MAGNETIC

Fig.94 Plans and sections of the stone mound and the burials.

arrived there by the burrowing activity of animals, as burrows are very common in the soft soil of the river terrace. Such stone mounds without burials beneath them have also been encountered in Griqualand West, but there does not appear to be any explanation for them at present.

Burial 1

The same procedure was followed for the second stone mound, but leaving the stones of the southern half so that they would appear in the east-west section (fig. 94). As the two northern squares were excavated, more stones were located from 0,5 m to 1 m below the surface. Below these stones a number of ostrich egg-shell beads, the top of a skull and the articulated bones of a shoulder appeared. These together with the two stones immediately above them are recorded in the section but at a little distance in front of the face of the section itself, to avoid damage to the skull which was already partly crushed by the weight of the stones.

In the upper part of the excavation the soil consists of a light brown, sandy silt, relatively soft and easy to dig. It has been disturbed by animal burrows and there is no trace of the edges of the grave shaft. Below about 0,5 m the soil changes abruptly to a consolidated, lighter coloured material. In the upper portions this consists of hard lumps which separate from one another easily, but the structure becomes increasingly consolidated with depth. This material is thought to be the same sandy silt as the upper layer but here partly cemented by lime or some other substance. In this harder layer the sides and bottom of the original grave shaft are preserved.

After the section had been drawn, the two southern squares were excavated down to the top of the hard layer and the lower stones were uncovered. This showed that the lower stones fill the whole of the lower half of the grave from just above the skeleton to about the top of the harder layer. The angular blocks of stone rest on one another and the spaces in between have become filled with loose sand.

The stones and sand were then removed to uncover the lower part of the grave and the skeleton. While the central part of the shaft was circular in plan, the lowest 0,4 m in which the burial lies was roughly semicircular, being only half of the area of the shaft. The other half was not dug out when the grave was made, but remained, probably to provide a step while the grave was being made and when the body was interred. (See figure 94 section of Burial 1 and plan of bottom of grave.)

At first the position of the skeleton seemed to be flexed and lying on one side, but closer examination showed that this was not quite the

case. In fact the torso from the pelvis to the shoulders was really lying on its back. The head had been twisted to lie on its left side but this may have been caused after burial, by the weight of the stones which have partly crushed the right side of the skull. The arms were folded across the body with the hands near the elbows of the opposite arms. The legs and to some extent the arms were swung across to the left side, the flexed knees resting on top of the forearms and the ankles beside the pelvis. The long axis of the body was, from pelvis to head, south-west to north-east, the head itself facing south (Plate 72).

There was considerable evidence of small-scale disturbance. The finger- and toe-bones were mostly scattered and the left hand and lower vertebrae had become disarticulated. There were several bones of small rodents, and several burrows were found, dug into the hard material at the bottom of the grave, after the skeleton had been lifted (fig. 94).

Ornaments and decoration

During excavation many ostrich egg-shell beads were found scattered about but chiefly in the region of the skull. Protruding from the underside of the skull, a group of beads had remained undisturbed as the result of being covered by an ornament made of a thin sheet of copper. This fortunate occurrence of copper has preserved, by its chemical action, not only the beads and their fibre thread but some hair and skin from the adjacent part of the skull (Plate 73). The hair occurs in tight little balls a few millimetres in diameter (Plate 74). These little curls are thickly matted with powdered specularite. The practice of rubbing specularite, usually with fat, into the hair has been widely recorded in southern Africa and was particularly common along the middle part of the Orange River and northwards (Burchell, 1822, and others).

The ornament is in the shape of a segment 5,3 cm long and 2,5 cm wide. It is made from a thin sheet of copper 0,3-0,4 mm thick. Patination has developed and the remaining metal is rather brittle. There are two small holes about 1 mm in diameter towards the middle of the straight side and the strings from which it was suspended are preserved. The string is made up of about five fine threads, about 0,2 mm thick which are loosely twisted together. The threads have a parallel fibrous texture and are therefore probably vegetable in origin. The two strings, one from each hole, converge to meet at the edge of the ornament from which they may have formed a single string.

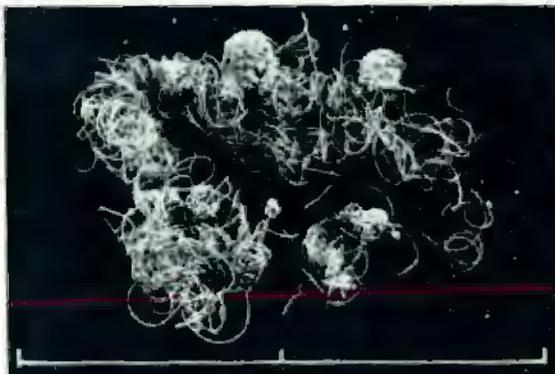
The Tlhaping are recorded by several of the early nineteenth century travellers as wearing earrings made of sheet copper. These were normally



Plate 71. Burial 1, lower stones filling the lower part of the grave shaft from the top of the hard layer to just above the skeleton.



Plate 72. Burial 1, position of skeleton and shape of lower part of grave shaft. Scale is half metre.



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Plate 73. Burial 1, bead headband below copper pendant and skull. Hair and skin preserved above the pendant. Scale of centimetres.

Plate 74. 'Peppercorn' hair matted with specularite powder. Scale of centimetres.

Plate 75. Copper pendant with strings (top centre) preserved. Scale of centimetres.



73



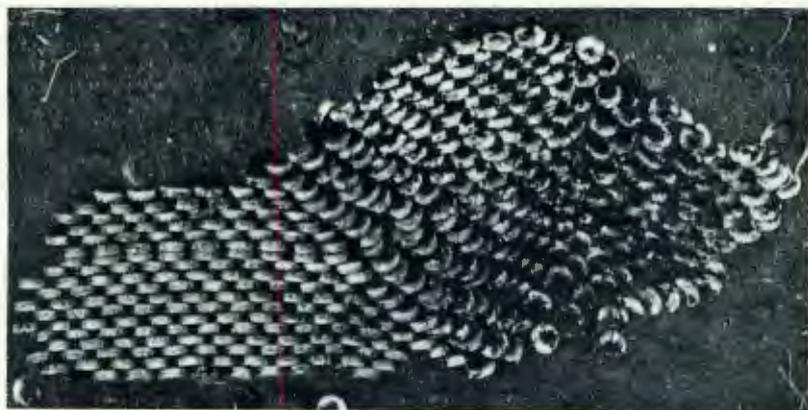
75

worn on one ear only and a common shape was an isosceles triangle with a narrow base, suspended from the apex (Daniell, 1820). Burchell (1822, 306, 403) illustrates an almost rectangular example and records that they varied in length from 5 to 12,5 cm and were apparently only worn by the more wealthy men. Campbell (1822) records a headman who "wore upon his ear a plate of copper, the shape of a heart, about six inches (15 cm) long and five (12,5 cm) wide". The ornament from Burial 1 is evidently an earring of Tswana type and probably of Tswana manufacture, but from its position it is not certain whether it was worn as an earring or attached to the headband.

On removal of the earring and the skull, a large number of ostrich egg-shell beads were found underneath, more or less undisturbed. Below the earring these were quite undisturbed and in particularly good condition with some of the string preserved. Below the skull, however, the arrangement had become partly distorted and the beads were rather decayed (Plate 76). The interstices between the beads were filled with specularite mixed with sand. This was removed with a soft brush and the beads were hardened and stuck together with three layers of Glyptal adhesive. A thin polythene sheet was placed on top and plaster of Paris poured over it. On hardening, the plaster block was lifted with the mass of beads intact.

The beads are well rounded, 6 mm in diameter, and drilled from one side leaving a conical-shaped perforation. Many of the perforations are partly filled with red ochre as distinct from specularite. This probably means that the beads were previously worn by somebody with red ochre in their hair.

The beads are strung in staggered rows except for the two central rows where they are opposite each other. There is a total of twenty-five rows which was evidently the total width of the band, the maximum surviving length being 15,5 cm. Miss F. Barbour, ethnologist of the Duggan-Cronin Bantu Gallery in Kimberley, pointed out the resemblance of the beadwork to headbands and side-flaps collected from recent Bushman groups in the Kalahari. The side-flaps are shorter and narrower than the surviving example and therefore the probability of its being a headband was examined. The length and orientation relative to the skull supported this interpretation, as did a small patch of similarly arranged beads, also with specularite, on the right side of the skull. Furthermore in almost all the ethnological examples, the centre of the band is accentuated by rows of beads opposite each other; two, three, four or even five such rows occur. Of thirteen examples examined at the Duggan-Cronin Gallery and at the South African Museum, Cape Town, the average length is 53 cm. While most have fewer rows of beads, one of them also has 25 rows. Using these figures it is evident that such a headband



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Plate 76 Surviving portion of ostrich egg-shell bead headband. Near the centre are two rows where the beads are opposite each other.

Plate 77 Burial 2, position of skeleton and some of the lower stones. Scale is half metre.

77

would have required some 1 800 to 2 000 beads. When all the beads from the burial were counted a total of 1 180 was reached. While this is still well short of the required number, the difference could be accounted for by dispersion of some beads, while a considerable number from below the skull must have decayed to such an extent that they were not recovered. The evidence therefore all points to this having been a headband similar to those worn by Kalahari Bushmen up to the present time. Apart from the red ochre on the beads, this substance also occurred in a number of other places. A small lump was found near the skull, while patches also occurred on a number of bones including the following: mandible, right humerus, left arm-bones, right ribs, both knees and tibiae. It was usually on the upward-facing surfaces but on the legs it was on the underside as well. It presumably came from ochre smeared on the skin before burial which, after decomposition, became attached to the bones.

Burial 2

The excavation procedure was the same as for Burial 1. After the stone mound had been recorded, the two northern squares were excavated. Here again, below the stone mound, further stones were found which rested on the skeleton (fig. 94). The gap between the upper and lower stones however is less pronounced, although it is still present, and the grave is not so deep, the maximum depth being about one metre. There are fewer of the lower stones and they are more closely mingled with the bones, the skull actually resting on one stone.

The soil to the bottom of the excavation consisted of light brown, loose, sandy silt. This has encouraged burrowing animals and there is considerable evidence of their activity in and around the grave. In the absence of the harder layer it was not possible to trace the margins of the grave shaft, although the positions of the stones give some idea of them. The bone is in markedly poorer condition than Burial 1 but it is not known whether this is due to difference in soil, age or some other factor.

Burial 2 is also a flexed burial but the position is different from that of Burial 1. The torso has its front downwards, the lower spinal column being horizontal but the upper part rises towards the shoulders. The left arm is flexed, the distal ends of radius and ulna resting on the left knee, but the bones of the hand were completely dispersed. The right humerus remains in its correct position but the scapula had slumped downwards and the radius and ulna were not articulated. The orientation of the spinal column is approximately south to north from pelvis to neck. The

skull however is twisted into an east-west axis facing directly downwards. The position is probably the result of slumping and disturbance as there was considerable burrowing in this area; the neck vertebrae became disarticulated in the process and the mandible has disappeared altogether (Plate 77).

The femurs were parallel, running northwards below the torso. The left leg was only partly flexed, the tibia and fibula running below the bones of the right leg which was fully flexed but lacking its fibula. Extensive disturbance had taken place in the pelvic region, resulting in the disarticulation of the right ilium from the femur and the complete disappearance of the sacrum and most of the bones from the feet.

The general position of this burial is then a flattened kneeling posture, although subsequent burrowing and slumping have caused much disturbance. Some of the bones including the mandible, right fibula, right radius, sacrum and most hand- and foot-bones had become so far dispersed, presumably by the burrowing animals, that they were not located in the excavation. A number of rodent skulls were found, and in the area of this grave were many fresh burrows around 10-20 cm in diameter.

During the excavation of Burials 1 and 2 as well as Stone Mound 1, artefacts and debitage of lydianite were found. They occur chiefly in the upper portions and on the surface, and there is no evidence to associate them with the actual burials. Rather they are a part of the general scatter of surface material which would have become mixed into the softer parts of the terrace deposit by burrowing and when the graves were refilled. The material resembles that from the surface collection and therefore it was not considered to be worth separate description.

CONCLUSIONS

Subsistence

The limited distribution and well-developed pattern of the Type R settlements suggest that they are a local cultural entity, which would presumably have required a considerable period of time in which to develop and spread, even in their known area of some 130 km along the Riet. The present evidence does not suggest an origin outside this area.

Food was obtained by pastoralism aided by hunting and collecting, but nothing is yet known about the vegetable side of the diet. The extensive stone structures suggest a more settled population than that of the pastoral Kora and Griqua to the east, who frequently had to move to new pastures according to the seasons or droughts (Campbell, 1815, 340). In view of the

low carrying capacity of the veld and the incidence of drought, the Riet River pastoralists probably also had to make seasonal or periodic moves, although evidence of this has yet to be found.

The typology of both settlement patterns and pottery does not yet show any clear links with other groups in this area. The lack of information on the type of hut used is unfortunate as this is likely to be of typological significance. The very absence of information would, however, argue in favour of their construction being rather fragile. They may well have consisted of a light framework of poles covered over by reed mats, for such were the huts of both hunters and herders along the Orange and lower Vaal; those of the herders merely being bigger and better shaped, but none the less portable. Such huts would not last long nor would they leave much trace except perhaps a few small post holes.

Burials

The Riet River graves, or at least the better-documented ones, represent a distinct burial tradition (Humphreys, 1970; Humphreys & Maggs, 1970). Considerable attention was paid to the grave itself, stones being placed both within the shaft and on the surface in the form of a small mound. Grave goods are common and include occasional bored stones and miniature pots as well as ornaments. Ostrich egg-shell beads are the most common item but only one ornament made from them can be reconstructed, that being the headband from Burial 1. The other ornaments include marine shells, copper items and six glass beads. Clearly these people paid more attention to burying their dead than did most other prehistoric groups in southern Africa.

Ribs from the two burials excavated at OFD 1 were submitted to Dr. J.C. Vogel of the National Physical Research Laboratory, Pretoria, for radiocarbon dating. The results were:

Burial 1	Pta 247	bone collagen	110 ± 50 B.P.	(A.D. 1840)
Burial 2	Pta 248	bone collagen	380 ± 50 B.P.	(A.D. 1570)

Dr. Vogel comments that: "From the C14 calibration curve the most probable historic dates derived from these measurements are:

Burial 1 either A.D. 1845 or A.D. 1690
 Burial 2 either A.D. 1590 or A.D. 1475."

From the historical evidence it seems that occupation of Type R sites had ceased by 1835 (see below), therefore Burial 1 probably dates to a little earlier than the 1840 of the conventional C14 date, but it could be from the early nineteenth century. The OFD 1 burial ground may have been in use for

about three centuries up to this time, and as the burial dates span the Pta 964 date of 290 ± 45 B.P. from Settlement Unit A, they appear to be contemporary with the settlement.

There are several additional reasons for thinking that the graves are associated with the settlements. In their total distribution as well as their individual locations they agree closely with the Type R sites; indeed, of the ten grave sites shown by Van Riet Lowe (1929, Plate 37), nine are beside ruin sites (fig. 83). The river terraces, on which most of the burials occur, are often the nearest place to the settlements where graves could easily be dug. As mentioned above, three of the Fowler graves were actually within stone enclosures and for these, at least, there seems to be no reason to doubt the association. Later Stone Age implements occur in quantity on many of the grave sites, as at OFD 1, but since this surface material is ubiquitous along the Riet there need not be any association.

The burial practices, to a lesser extent, also suggest a link between the graves and the settlements. The grouping of a dozen or more graves together, as is the case on at least two of the burial grounds, is more likely to be the work of relatively settled pastoralists than of roving hunter-gatherers. Likewise the extensive use of stone, both in the grave shafts and as surface mounds, is more likely to be the work of people who regularly built in stone than of others. Although the grave goods do not provide any close typological link with the OFD 1 material, both include ornaments obtained by trade and also pottery, which suggests a similar cultural level. Pastoralists would have been in a stronger position than hunters to engage in trade.

In the opinion of the writer the present evidence justifies a provisional association between the Type R settlements and the better-documented graves which are known to have the characteristics described above. However, as Humphreys (1970) has shown, many of the Fowler graves have so little information recorded on them that no association whatever is possible.

Trade

The copper ornaments from OFD 1 and from the various graves were all probably the work of Iron Age metallurgists to the north of our area. In this connection, it is thought that the 'extinguishers' from Fowler grave No. 277 (Humphreys, 1970, fig. 3, 3) are probably earrings of Sotho-Tswana manufacture; the thin hooks at the top of each going through the pierced ear-lobe (Burchell, 1922, 399). Wikar (1779) records from the Orange River that the Tlhaping came each year to trade tobacco, ivory spoons and bracelets, copper and iron beads, glass beads, copper earrings and bracelets, knives,

barbed assegais, axes and awls, for which they obtained cattle. This list includes a large part of the trade goods from the Riet River, and as this is no further from the main Tlhaping settlements (Kuruman and Dithakong) than the Orange, a similar trade probably existed. This, however, may have been with the Rolong, who lived to the east of the Tlhaping and therefore would, from some of their settlements, have been closer to the Riet. It is not clear from the historical sources whether the Tlhaping made these trade goods themselves or obtained them from peoples further north such as the Hurutshe (Wilson, 1969, 143), but Burchell (1822) found little metal working at Dithakong in 1812.

The six glass beads found with skeleton No. 228 (Humphreys, 1970) could have come from the Cape, but in view of Wikar's evidence they are more likely to have come via the Tlhaping or Rolong.

The marine shell ornaments from the graves indicate trade with the Indian Ocean coast of the Cape and Natal (Humphreys, *op.cit.*). Such trade was probably indirect, passing from hand to hand along the way, as the minimum distance is 500 km.

The specularite trade must have been of considerable importance as this powder was highly regarded as a cosmetic by all the peoples of the area. Its use extended westwards down the Orange to the coast of Namaqualand - a half-full pot was found near Port Nolloth (Rudner, 1968, 473) - and eastwards as far as OFD 1 on the Riet, and probably further. The Tlhaping traded it to the peoples north of them; its exploitation being controlled by their chief (Campbell, 1822, 194).

HISTORICAL NOTE

A complete review of the historical sources is not possible here, but a brief examination of the peoples living in the region of the Vaal-Orange confluence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is necessary. The earliest documentary evidence is that of Wikar (1779) and Gordon (Forbes, 1965) who recorded various pastoral and hunting groups along the Orange below its confluence with the Vaal in the 1770's. Upstream from about Koegas and Kheis they encountered villages of Kora pastoralists. This people had moved here after the Dutch settlement at the Cape had displaced them; although there is some doubt whether all the Kora came from the Cape (Meingard, 1932). They were followed during the late eighteenth century by the Griqua, who had had longer contact with the settlers and spoke Dutch.

From the early nineteenth century the names 'Griqua' and 'Korana' tended to be applied loosely to all Khoikhoi of this region, which may have

obscured earlier divisions. It also gives the impression that Khoikhoi only reached the middle Orange in the eighteenth century, whereas there is reason to believe that some groups were here well before this time. For instance, both Wikar and Gordon mention the Eyniqua, who were divided into three groups and settled along the river from above Keimoes to the Augrabies Falls. Later writers tend to include them among the Kora (Maingard, 1932; Engelbrecht, 1936, 26) but Wikar and Gordon do not, indeed the former states that their language differed somewhat from both Kora and Nama. Even their name suggests that they had been living on the Orange for a long time, as the Eyn was one of the names of that river. These and other Khoikhoi groups were probably living in small villages along the river long before pressure from European settlement drove others to join them in the eighteenth century.

The first information on the Riet is from the early nineteenth century. Campbell (1822, 293) mentions Kora living along the middle Orange, lower Vaal and Harts, but he does not mention them on the Riet except at its confluence with the Vaal (Campbell, 1815, 341). Instead he makes the rather surprising statements: "The poor Bushmen on the salt-lake district (between the Orange and Riet) possessed many sheep and goats till about eight years ago, when a plundering party of Caffres (Nguni speakers) came into their country, carried off the whole, and killed some of the Bushmen....The Bushmen further to the eastwards, on the Alexander (Riet) and Yellow (Vaal) Rivers, have lately been discovered to be in a much more comfortable state than any of the Bushmen to the westward of that river, possessing comparatively many cattle; some kraals have as many as five hundred" (Campbell, 1822, 287).

Campbell's remarks are surprising, since the term 'Bushman' is normally synonymous with hunter-gatherer, but they are supported by no less an authority than Burchell (1822, 283). While encamped at the Riet-Vaal confluence in 1811, Burchell was visited by "fourteen Bushmen" who "were nearly all of a mixed race of Bushman, Kora and Bichuana descent. Their language was quite different from that of the inhabitants of the district of the Karree mountains (south of the Orange); and I was assured that the variety of language amongst the Bushman race is so great, that neighbouring kraals often speak dialects so different as not to be understood without difficulty." Burchell's companion, Mr. Janez, visited their village about 20 km up the Riet from the Vaal. It was about the size of the missionary village of Klarwater (about 25 huts) and the inhabitants "appeared to be less wild, and much richer than those which he had hitherto had an opportunity of seeing. They possessed sheep, goats, and cows; which, however, they confessed were part of plunder obtained from the Caffres, already mentioned

as having a kraal on the Gariep (Orange)....As Bushmen, they are considered good-looking and rather tall men" (op.cit., 302-3).

For information further upstream we have to wait until 1835 when Andrew Smith (1939) travelled down the Riet from the neighbourhood of Koffiefontein to its confluence with the Vaal. By this time conditions had greatly changed. The area was more or less under Griqua influence, there being villages, some even of Tswana, under Waterboer and the Koks, and parties of Griqua regularly travelled along the river. Smith also mentions various Kora, San and mixed groups in the area, usually in connection with cattle-raiding. Population pressures had brought not only the Griqua and less disciplined Kora to the area but also a growing number of European farmers. From the north and east many Tswana and Sotho had been displaced by the Difaqane wars (Lye, 1969, 202), which would account for the Tswana villages on the lower Riet, of which there is no mention in 1811 (Burchell, op.cit.).

An interesting report, and one which may be the earliest to mention Kora on the Riet, appeared in 1829 (Engelbrecht, 1936, 50). In it, Adam Kok complained to the Civil Commissioner at Graaff-Reinet that "the Korana of his territory are rebellious and that they have lately raided much cattle from the Bushmen". The Commissioner travelled to the Riet to reconcile Kok and the Kora. During the following fifteen years there are other references to Kora groups here, but after about 1845 they seem to have moved away from the Riet again, to various missions. It is significant that this early reference to the Kora on the Riet mentions them raiding "cattle from the Bushmen". It should have been relatively easy for them, by now equipped with horses and guns, to steal cattle from people armed only with bows and poisoned arrows. Indeed the Kora only seem to have taken to cattle-raiding in a big way once they had these advantages. It may even be for this reason that they did not penetrate up the Riet earlier, as they did up the Vaal and Harts where the initial opposition seems to have been only from hunters.

In a recent controversy over the makers of the Driekops Eiland engravings, Fock (1969) has suggested that both the engravings and the settlement near by may be the work of the Springbuck Kora of Jan Bloem. However, for a number of reasons this seems unlikely. The settlement is characteristic of Type R and therefore probably made by the same people as those further upstream. The Kora did not normally build in stone, and indeed Bloem's people were notorious cattle-raiders and moved about so frequently (Engelbrecht, 1936) that they would hardly have built large stone structures. None of the later residents on the Riet, the Kora,

Griqua and Tswana, can at present be recognized in the archaeological record. There is also no association established between these engravings and the settlement, nor have similar non-representational engravings been found near other Type R sites. However, Driekops Eiland is only about 30 km from the Vaal and therefore would have been near Burchell's village of pastoralists.

Stow (1905, 394) maintains that by 1837 "the kraals of the semi-pastoral Bushmen had disappeared". Some of them, however, remained under their chief 'Kousopp (Engelbrecht - Khausob) who was said to have had rights over the whole area from the Riet and Modder up to the Vaal. With the encroachment of European farmers, 'Kousopp claimed the area in 1850, but this was turned down and he took to cattle-raiding, helped by some Kora. He was finally shot by a commando around 1858 (Stow, 1905, 399-401; Engelbrecht, 1936, 228).

There does not seem to be any historical evidence to suggest that Sotho or Tswana groups lived in this area before the Difaqane. Furthermore the Type R sites are quite different in terms of settlement pattern, details of structures, pottery and in other respects from known settlements, both recent and ancient, of the southern Tswana and Sotho. It therefore seems safe to remove these peoples from the list of possible builders.

The Sotho-Tswana were settled within about 150-200 km of the Type R sites, the Tlhaping to the north-west, the Rolong to the north and various Southern Sotho groups to the north-east and east. Archaeological evidence from the Type N sites indicates Iron Age settlement not later than the mid-fifteenth century. Documentary evidence going back two centuries and oral evidence for still earlier periods shows that the Sotho-Tswana had been living in broadly the same areas for a considerable time. One may therefore ask why, in the time available, they did not move to the Riet and middle Orange, except in the case of a few individuals and trading parties.

The answer to this, although not entirely clear, would seem to be economic. The Southern Sotho and, to a lesser but still appreciable extent, the Tlhaping were cultivators as well as herders, relying for an important part of their diet on vegetable foods, particularly cereals. North of the Vaal the 40 cm isohyet probably marked the approximate limits of cultivation. This just includes the area around Kuruman where there was agriculture (Moffat, 1845), but further to the south and west conditions would have been too dry. South of the Vaal there does not seem to have been settlement west of the 50 cm isohyet, which may be indicative of a greater dependence on agriculture. This interpretation would explain the distribution of the Sotho-Tswana, and show why they did not settle the south-western Orange Free State and Griqualand West, although further historical and archaeological

confirmation is needed.

The evidence therefore does not suggest that these peoples were gradually moving southwards, but rather that they had already reached the limits imposed by geography and climate on the further spread of their means of subsistence. Short of regressing to pure pastoralism, or even hunting and gathering, they could not move further south. This would have created a natural frontier between the Tlhaping-Rolong on the one hand and the Khoikhoi and San on the other. It may have been because of this that conditions on the Orange seem to have been relatively stable, with regular trade and even marriage between Tlhaping and Khoikhoi, until the latter obtained guns and horses and some of them, in particular various Kora groups, took to cattle-raiding almost as a way of life.

The theory of an East African origin for the Khoikhoi and their pastoralism has recently been criticized by a number of writers (Inskeep, 1969, 24; Wilson, 1969, 47). Inskeep concludes that, "The evidence of archaeology and physical anthropology would fit better an hypothesis in which the yellow-skinned cattle and sheep herders represented components of a basic indigenous hunter-gatherer population of the Late Stone Age, whose culture had been variably altered by contact with Early Iron Age farmers and metalworkers." The region around the Vaal-Orange confluence would have been a particularly favourable one for such a process, when both the historical and geographical factors are considered. Relatively peaceful contact could have been maintained for several centuries before 1800, although there is no definite evidence yet as to how long this may have been. In this way hunter-gatherers, either Khoikhoi or San, could have gradually taken to pastoralism by trading or raiding livestock from their richer neighbours. The Khoikhoi were of course already established as pastoralists at the Cape by the fifteenth century at the latest; nor is it suggested that the Orange would have been the only or even the most important zone of contact. However, this process does supply us with an historically acceptable model which we may use to interpret the Type R sites in terms of the meagre documentary evidence available on the Riet River before the disruptions of the Difaqane.

We know that the inhabitants of the settlements were in trading contact with Iron Age people, almost certainly Sotho-Tswana. The only pastoralists for which there is historical evidence on the Riet are Burchell's Bushmen mixed with Tswana and Kora. There is no mention of Khoikhoi or Sotho-Tswana pastoralists before 1829, nor is there a close resemblance between their material culture and that of the Type R sites. On the available evidence, therefore, Burchell's group are the most likely people to have

inhabited the settlements. They may well have advanced to pastoralism while living on the Riet, for no similar settlements and burials have yet been found elsewhere.

The possibility that some other group of people who are not mentioned in the historical record, may be responsible, must also be considered. Until more is known about the physical characteristics of the people, the chronology of the settlements and their economy and material culture this and other problems will remain unsolved.

APPENDIX 1 OF CHAPTER 12

SOIL ANALYSES

Soil samples were collected and sent for analysis in the hope that they would throw light on two problems; firstly, to determine the nature and origin of the white material found in the lower part of Trench 1 and, secondly, whether the phosphate content on different parts of the site might indicate different activities.

The White Material

A sample of the white material was submitted to Mr. A. Betts of the Fruit and Food Technology Research Institute, Stellenbosch, and the following report was received: "A spectrographic qualitative analysis was carried out by a member of Dr. W. Pienaar's section, viz. Mr. K. GÜrgen, on the sample given me by Mr. Maggs. The following elements were found (a rough estimate of the amounts present is given in the left-hand column):

Medium to high (-	Ca, Cu, Al, Fe
Present	- Ba, Mn, Mg
Traces	- Cr, Sr, Na

"Some plant phytoliths were seen in slides of the material....It is difficult to assess if the amounts are high, medium or low. However, from what I have seen in Transvaal soils I should say that the phytoliths in the Free State sample are a little less than the order one would expect to find in a top soil."

Two further samples of white material were submitted to Dr. J.M. De Villiers of the Soil Research Institute, Pretoria. Sample M704/70 from Trench 1, Square C contained 7,5% of CaCO_3 , and sample M695/70 from Square F contained 2,25% of P_2O_5 .

Although these results do not fully explain the problem of the white layer, two factors are clear. The material is basically a carbonate-enriched soil, derived from the underlying dolerite. However, the very high P_2O_5 value shows that there has been an accession of phosphate far above the normal level for the soil in the area of the site (see below), which must be a result of the occupation. When the archaeological evidence is also considered, the white layer can best be regarded as the preoccupation soil which has been affected by an increase in phosphate and considerable disturbance during and perhaps after the occupation.

Phosphate analysis

Thirteen samples were submitted to the Soil Research Institute in Pretoria for P_2O_5 determination. The results together with the general colour of the soils are included in the list.

No.	Lab.No.	% P_2O_5	Colour
1	M691/70	0,58	red-brown
2	M692/70	0,25	red-brown
3	M693/70	1,40	grey-brown
4A	M694/70	1,56	grey-brown
4B	M695/70	2,25	grey-white
5	M696/70	0,78	grey-brown
6	M697/70	0,60	brown
7	M698/70	0,37	red-brown
8	M699/70	0,41	red-brown
9	M700/70	0,25	red
10	M701/70	0,14	red-brown
11	M702/70	0,46	grey-brown
12	M703/70	0,25	red-brown

Dr. De Villiers makes the following comments: "You have quite obviously got strong indications if not definite proof of habitation in the P_2O_5 contents of some of these samples (3, 4A and 4B)....I would say that there is a good chance that any value above 0,25% might reflect accession of phosphate by some or other means."

The positions of the samples and their values are shown on the plan of Settlement Unit A (fig. 87). Samples 4A and 4B were both taken from the corner of Square F in Trench 1, 4A from near the surface and 4B from within the white layer. This shows that the white material has a much higher P_2O_5 content than the overlying grey-brown soil.

The P_2O_5 content of the samples increases in correlation with two factors; the change in soil colour from red through brown and grey to white, and also the change in position on the site from in the open ground to the smaller enclosures and finally to the central enclosure. This correlation can best be summarized as follows:

Position on site	Soil colour	% P_2O_5
open ground	red-brown	0,14, 0,25
open ground	grey-brown	0,46
smaller enclosures	red	0,25
smaller enclosures	red-brown	0,25, 0,37, 0,41, 0,58
central enclosure	brown	0,60
central enclosure	grey-brown	0,78, 1,40, 1,56
central enclosure	grey-white	2,25

The pronounced correlation between position and P_2O_5 value must surely be the result of the occupation; the maximum value for the central enclosure being about ten times that of the normal soil in the open. The

correlation with soil colour may even mean that the phosphate is partly responsible for the colour change, although CaCO_3 would be more important here. In terms of the occupation of the site, the central enclosure with its high values has clearly had the greatest accession of phosphate, for even its western half, which has suffered considerable erosion, has higher values than elsewhere. One must conclude that the penning of livestock was almost certainly the reason for these high levels.

The values in the smaller enclosures are rather more difficult to interpret. The two northern enclosures have similar values to the samples from the open ground, but as they are severely eroded this is not surprising. The other three have values about twice those of the control samples. Domestic activities and the resulting debris such as broken bones would probably account for these values, and it would seem that the smaller enclosures of this settlement unit were not used as livestock pens.

APPENDIX 2 OF CHAPTER 12

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATED POTTERY AND SMALL FINDS

Fig.89. Excavated pottery, etc. from OFD 1.

1. Small, wide-mouthed bowl, grit, grey-buff, slightly burnished. Trench 1, Square A, 12-24 cm.
2. Small pot with slightly inverted mouth, grit, buff-brown and burnished. Trench 2, Square G, 0-12 cm.
3. Vessel with upright walls and accentuated rim flattened on top, gritty, grey-brown with traces of soot. Trench 1, Square A, 12 cm - bedrock.
4. Vessel with inverted neck and accentuated rim pointed on top, grit, light buff with slight burnish. Trench 1, Square G, 24 cm - bedrock.
5. Vessel with upright walls and accentuated rim flattened on top, gritty, grey-brown. Trench 2.
6. Vessel with pointed rim, grit, brown. Trench 2.
7. Large pot with thick walls and rounded rim, grit, buff-grey, slight burnish. Trench 1, Square A, 12 cm - bedrock.
8. Elongated upper grindstone with three lateral grinding surfaces and one on each end, edges hammered and traces of red ochre on one side, dolerite, Box 5.
9. Thick sherd with flattened rim, shape of vessel unknown, grit, grey. Trench 3.
10. Half of a bored stone subsequently used as a hammer, shaped by pecking and grinding, greenish lava. Trench 2.
11. Upper grindstone with several hollows and ochre on one facet, dolerite. Trench 1, Square G, 24 cm - bedrock.

Fig.90. Surface pottery from various sites.

1. Wide-mouthed bowl, coarse grit temper, buff, slightly burnished and crackled. Pramberg.
2. Bowl with flattened rim, sandy texture, buff with slight burnish. De Aar.
3. Pot with slightly everted, rolled rim, micaceous clay, buff, burnished. Pramberg.
4. Pot similar to No. 3, gritty, yellow-buff, burnished. Pramberg.
5. Pot with flattened rim, grass and grit temper, grey-buff, burnished. OFD 1, Settlement Unit D.

APPENDIX 2 OF CHAPTER 12 contd

Fig. 92. Stone implements, decorated pottery and small finds from OFD 1.

1. Small end scraper, chalcedony (all other flaked implements are of lydianite). Trench 2.
2. End scraper. Trench 2.
- 3 & 4. Side- and end-scrapers. Trench 2.
5. End scraper. Trench 2.
6. Side- and end-scraper. Trench 2.
7. Double end scraper. Trench 2.
- 8 & 9. Convex scrapers. Trench 2; Trench 1, Square D.
10. Borer. Trench 2.
11. Obliquely backed blade. Box 3.
12. Stone borer, flaked on three sides and with end battered. Trench 2.
13. Part of grooved stone, serpentinite, shaped by scraping and polishing. Open 'U'-shaped groove 7,5 mm wide and 3 mm deep shows striations diagonally and at right angles to the length of the groove, from rotational movement together with some up-and-down movement of a cylindrical object (Plate 67). Trench 2.
14. Frontal scraper, faceted platform. Trench 1. Square A, 24 cm - bedrock.
15. Convex scraper. Trench 2.
16. Trimmed blade. Trench 2.
17. Disc core. Trench 1, Square H, 12-24 cm.
18. Copper bangle made of wire of oval section and irregular thickness. Maximum diameter of the bangle is 4,2 cm, therefore it may have been for a child. Surface, see fig. 87 for location.
19. Copper bead, cylindrical, diameter 10,5 mm, diameter of hole 4-5 mm, length 7 mm. Grey patina. Slightly thinner on one side with crack which may be seam from manufacture. Trench 3.
20. Fragment of rounded rim, herringbone motif in small shallow grooves, sandy, buff. Trench 1, Square H, 24 cm - bedrock.
- 21 & 22. Sherds with row of very shallow impressions probably made by comb, grit, light buff. Box 3.
23. Sherd with band of oblique rows of impressions probably made by comb, grit, light buff, burnished after impressions were made. Trench 2.
24. Splinter from long-bone, polished around point from use. Trench 1, Square G, 12-24 cm.
- 25 & 26. Sherds decorated with parallel grooves formed by repeated impressions of a stylus held obliquely. Grass temper, black core with brown surfaces, burnished on inside. Surface finds on river bank adjacent to OFD 1.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AFFINITIES

"Both the nature of archaeological samples and the proper procedure for selecting a sampling plan congruent to the variability of the problem have been seriously neglected - apart from those studies anxious to justify the use of the sample that happens to have been taken."

D.L. Clarke, 1968.

In the preceding chapters we have examined the various types of Iron Age settlement and their representative sites. In the case of Types Z and R and the Caledon Valley sites we have also attempted to obtain a broader view by comparing the archaeological results with relevant information from historical and ethnological sources. This approach will be extended to cover the whole field of the project in the two final chapters, 14 and 15. But prior to attempting an historical reconstruction we must examine the broader archaeological significance of the fieldwork by examining both intra- and inter-site relationships within the present research framework and then to compare our results with those of other workers from the southern Highveld and neighbouring regions.

As a first step in making comparisons between our sites we need to know something of the variability that occurs between samples from different parts of a single site. For the differences between sites to be in any way significant they must presumably be of an appreciably larger order than the variability within a single occupation; but very little is yet known about the order of variability that may occur on Iron Age sites.

In the present analysis, which is a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, emphasis will be placed on the numerical data drawn from pottery decoration. Insufficient information is available on shape since the pottery is highly fragmentary, while other characteristics such as fabric and surface finish are not sufficiently distinctive among the assemblages examined. Furthermore, decoration, where present, is particularly suitable for comparisons since it is essentially a culturally determined attribute and it is probably the most sensitive differentia for Iron Age assemblages.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the pottery, counts were made of decorated sherds rather than vessels. All decorated sherds were classified according to the 19 decorative motifs used in the site descriptions above. The data has been condensed and simplified from the tables given for each site, and it is combined in Appendix 1 of this chapter. In the rare cases

where more than one motif occurs on a sherd it was classified according to the motif which appears dominant or most elaborate, the data on such combinations being available from the more detailed tables.

The first step in the analysis was to examine the statistical hypothesis that samples taken from different parts of the same site may represent random samples of a single homogeneous population. Two sets of data were used, that from the four quadrants of Midden 2 at 00 1 - the midden which showed the least variability on visual inspection - and from the five zones which comprise the occupied area of the 00 1 settlement unit. The chi-squared test was applied using all motifs with a value of at least 5. To achieve this the comb-stamped motifs (1-4) were combined as were the miscellaneous impressions (6 & 12) for Midden 2.

00 1 MIDDEN 2

Motif No.	N.W.	N.E.	S.W.	S.E.	Total
1-4	32	38	33	29	132
(Expected values)=E	33	44	25	30	
5	18	43	18	23	102
E	25	34	20	23	
6 & 12	12	17	9	20	58
E	14	19	11	13	
7	17	17	15	19	68
E	17	23	13	15	
8	5	6	5	10	26
E	6	9	5	6	
9	36	42	13	9	100
E	25	34	19	23	
Total	120	163	93	110	486

The value for chi-squared is 35,4 which, with 15 degrees of freedom, exceeds the critical value at the 0,05 and even at the 0,005 level of probability and therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

i.e. not the same homogeneous population.

OU 1 ZONES

Motif No.	Z o n e					Total
	A	B	C	D	E	
1-4	84	54	47	81	129	395
E	91	52	40	75	137	
5	80	34	22	63	96	295
E	68	39	30	56	102	
6	51	25	23	23	80	202
E	47	27	21	38	70	
7	78	74	35	46	114	347
E	80	46	35	66	120	
8	37	14	6	27	35	119
E	27	16	12	23	41	
9	74	35	52	91	135	387
E	89	51	39	73	134	
12	31	15	7	27	64	144
E	33	19	15	27	50	
Total	435	251	192	358	653	1889

The value of chi-squares is 74,4 which, with 24 degrees of freedom is again greater than even the 0,005 probability level and therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

The chi-squared test was next applied to data from Midden 2 at OU 2 to see whether similar results would be obtained from another site, in this case also of Type V. Two contingency tables were drawn up, the first to examine the horizontal difference as represented by the four quadrants and the second to examine the vertical difference as represented by the stratified material from the three layers of the N.W., N.E. and S.E. quadrants combined.

OU 2 MIDDEN 2 QUADRANTS

Motif No.	N.W.	N.E.	S.W.	S.E.	Total
1-4	17	20	22	26	85
E	23	23	21	17	
5	32	31	10	12	85
E	23	23	21	17	
6	36	14	21	20	91
E	25	25	23	18	
8	48	57	62	58	225
E	62	61	57	46	
9	35	28	47	23	133
E	37	36	34	27	
11	37	45	32	32	146
E	40	39	37	30	
12	35	26	30	17	108
E	30	29	27	22	
14	28	42	22	10	102
E	28	28	26	21	
Total	268	263	246	198	975

The resulting chi-squared value of 62,8 with 21 degrees of freedom exceeds the critical values at both the 0,05 and the 0,005 levels of probability and therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

OU 2 MIDDEN 2 LAYERS

Motif No.	0-20 cm	20 cm-Rubble	Rubble-Bedrock	Total
1-4	22	16	7	45
E	20	11	14	
5	27	10	9	46
E	20	12	14	
6	26	17	13	56
E	24	14	18	
8	43	28	46	117
E	51	29	37	
9	28	13	25	66
E	29	17	21	
11	32	15	30	77
E	33	19	24	
12	26	15	15	56
E	24	14	18	
14	20	15	17	52
E	23	13	16	
Total	224	129	162	515

The resulting chi-squared value of 21,8 with 14 degrees of freedom is less than the critical value at the 0,05 level of probability and therefore the difference between the layers is not significant.

The two latter tests are interesting for they show that statistically there is significantly less vertical than horizontal variation within Midden 2. This is the reverse of what might have been expected and, as mentioned in chapter 6, would seem to suggest the midden was a short term accumulation. But the first three tests all show that there are differences, significant in terms of chi-squared, between the contents of different quadrants of the same midden and between the different zones of the 00 1 settlement unit. Therefore it appears that such samples can not be regarded as random samples of a true statistical population. This conclusion is not unexpected in view of the myriad unknown factors which may have contributed to the accumulation of the deposits. But it is important that it should be realized, for it obviates the possibility of applying statistical comparisons based on the assumptions of random samples.

The chi-squared test is able to establish whether a difference is significant or not but it gives no idea of the order of this difference. The data was therefore examined in terms of standard deviations, for this

test shows more clearly which particular values are divergent and to what extent they diverge.

From a variety of the 00 1 samples including both minor and major subdivisions of the site it was possible to obtain some idea of the variability. For Midden 2, the most homogeneous of the middens, only three of the 28 calculated values fall beyond two standard deviations and only one beyond three. On the other hand seven of the 28 values from Midden 5 are beyond two standard deviations. And when Middens 2, 4 and 5 are compared 13 of the 21 values fall beyond two standard deviations.

When the major divisions of 00 1 - the zones, middens and trenches - are compared five of the 21 values fall beyond two standard deviations. The results in detail are as follows, underlined values are those outside the 95% confidence limits of two standard deviations.

Motif No.	Total Zones		Total Middens		Trenches	
	%	95% limits	%	95% limits	%	95% limits
1-4	<u>20</u>	24 \pm 1,9	<u>28</u>	24 \pm 1,7	24	24 \pm 17,4
5	15	14 \pm 1,5	14	14 \pm 1,4	4	14 \pm 14,2
6	10	9 \pm 1,3	9	9 \pm 1,1	17	9 \pm 11,7
7	17	17 \pm 1,7	17	17 \pm 1,5	12	17 \pm 15,3
8	<u>6</u>	8 \pm 1,2	9	8 \pm 1,1	0	8 \pm 11,1
9	<u>19</u>	16 \pm 1,6	<u>14</u>	16 \pm 1,5	8	16 \pm 15
12	7	6 \pm 1,1	5	6 \pm 1	0	6 \pm 9,7

It is of interest that the sample from the trenches does not seem to vary significantly, for it indicates that the pottery from this early period of the occupation is not appreciably different from that of the stone building period. But in general this test shows that even the large samples show considerably more than random variation.

Thus we are able to build up a picture of intra-site variability. We may conclude that using data of this nature, samples of broadly the same period of occupation from a single site are likely to be significantly different statistically from one another. Although a few of the observed values fall beyond three standard deviations, in most examples the great majority of values fall within two standard deviations. Therefore although the variability is greater than that expected of random samples from a homogeneous population it is not very much greater. We can thus empirically establish a picture of the order of variability which does not conform to a theoretical standard.

Having obtained some idea of variability within individual sites we

may now turn to comparisons between sites. The salient points of the ceramic assemblages have already been described and the reader is referred to the preceding chapters for the information on which this discussion is based. The decorated portion of each assemblage, divided into the 19 motifs, is shown in the bar diagram (fig. 95), with the exception of the virtually undecorated OFD 1 material. It is immediately apparent that the Type N sites are similar and that they differ from the others by their high incidence of the comb-stamped motifs 1, 2 and 4. Likewise the Type Z sites form a distinct pair with a high proportion of the grooved motifs 13 to 16, although OMB 1 has been shown less boldly than the others because of its very small sample. The Type V sites are apparent by their broad range of motifs. The Caledon Valley site, OND 3, consists of motifs common to Type V but there is a much narrower range and in particular the comb-stamped motifs are absent. Thus the subdivisions of the southern Highveld sites based on settlement patterns are confirmed by the typological subdivisions based on pottery decoration. This is to a large extent also true of the other ceramic characteristics and their combinations, including the various types of burnish and their relation to decoration, vessel shape and size and to some extent texture and firing. We may therefore extend the use of the typological terms for the settlements to the associated ceramic industries. Supporting evidence for doing so is not limited to the excavated sites, for the numerous other settlements visited during the course of fieldwork yielded in every instance surface pottery of the relevant types.

Apart from demonstrating the major clustering of sites, figure 95 shows some interesting details on close inspection. Several motifs, which normally form only a small proportion of an assemblage, were restricted to one of the assemblages. Examples are the comb-stamping in alternating diagonal panels (Motif No. 3) of OO 1, the cross-hatching (19) of OU 2 Midden 2 and the dragged wavy line (18) of OND 3, which suggest that there are some highly localised developments within the Type V tradition. There also seem to be some north-south trends within our area which will need to be more fully explored by future work. Examples here include the increasing proportions of motifs 5, 6 and 7, the notched and impressed decorations on the rims, in the more southerly sites. And conversely the increase in the applied band and finger impressions on body motifs 8 and 9 which takes place in the northern sites. Chronology as well as geographical distance may have played a part in such trends, but apart from the major change from Type N to Type V little can yet be said of developments in time.

There is considerable variation within the typological divisions, the

Comparison of Decorated Sherds

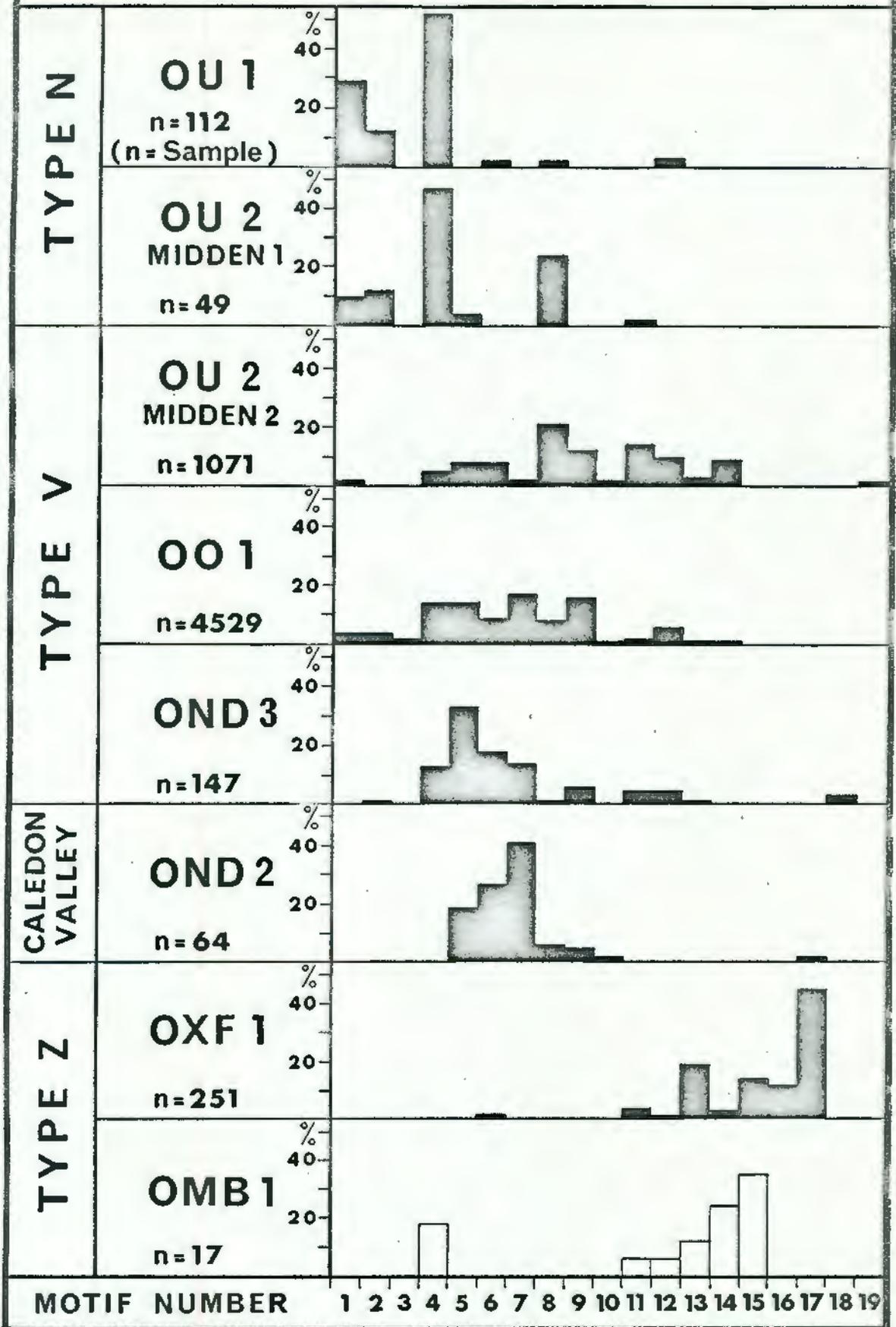


Fig. 95

three Type V samples for example show a difference of emphasis although they are largely made up of the same motifs. To examine the differences the three were compared in terms of standard deviations in the same way as was used above.

TYPE V SITES									
Motif No.	OO 1			OU 2 Midden 2		OND 3			
	%	95% limits		%	95% limits		%	95% limits	
1-4	<u>24</u>	20	$\pm 1,2$	<u>7</u>	20	$\pm 2,5$	14	20	$\pm 6,7$
5	14	14	± 1	<u>8</u>	14	± 2	<u>33</u>	14	$\pm 5,7$
6	9	9	$\pm 0,8$	8	9	$\pm 1,8$	<u>18</u>	9	$\pm 4,8$
7	<u>17</u>	14	± 1	<u>2</u>	14	± 2	14	14	$\pm 5,7$
8	<u>8</u>	10	$\pm 0,8$	<u>21</u>	10	$\pm 1,8$	<u>1</u>	10	$\pm 4,9$
9	16	15	$\pm 1,1$	<u>12</u>	15	$\pm 2,2$	<u>6</u>	15	$\pm 5,9$
12	6	7	$\pm 0,7$	<u>10</u>	7	$\pm 1,5$	5	7	$\pm 4,2$

Of the 21 values 13 fall beyond the 95% confidence limits of two standard deviations and 11 of these are beyond three standard deviations. The order of variability is considerably greater than even the maximum observed between samples from the OO 1 site. It is far too much for the samples to be regarded as representative of the same statistical population. The three sites may indeed cover most of the range within the Type V tradition in view of the fact that OU 2 and OND 3 are near the opposite limits of distribution and they represent local architectural developments, whereas OO 1 is typical of the vast majority of settlements in the central portions of the distribution. But despite the differences the three sites are sufficiently similar to be consigned to the same culture or industry in terms of conventional archaeological procedure.

The above example is clearly stretching this method of statistical comparison too far, for if the samples were representative of a homogeneous population the values should only exceed the 95% confidence limits in about one case in twenty. In order to obtain some sort of numerical expression for the difference between the different site samples a simple method based on the bar diagram (fig. 95) was used. The percentages for each pair of sites are compared by superimposing one on the other to determine the extent to which they coincide or overlap. These overlapping percentages do seem to be a useful indication of the similarity between sites, and they are objectively determined; but it must be emphasised that they are not a statistical test and therefore do not carry any of the mathematical force of such tests.

Looking first at the Type V assemblages we obtain the following overlapping percentages:

00 1	-	OU 2	Midden 2	56%
00 1	-	OND 3		66%
OND 3	-	OU 2	Midden 2	41%

The overlap is fairly high, but appreciably lower between OND 3 and OU 2 as would be expected in view of their other differences. The figures may be compared with those from samples within the same site, for example at 00 1 where overlaps varied from 61 to 88% with the majority between 70 and 80% or at OU 2 Midden 2 where they were between 76 and 80%. Thus inter-site variation seems to be appreciably but not radically greater than intra-site variation, within the Type V industry.

The Caledon Valley site, OND 2 shows a considerable degree of resemblance to the Type V sites, the overlaps being:

OND 2	-	OND 3		57%
OND 2	-	00 1		52%
OND 2	-	OU 2	Midden 2	31%

The similarity increases southwards and it is only a little less than that between the Type V sites themselves, but there is a narrower range of decorative motifs, as shown by figure 95.

The two Type N assemblages, OU 1 and OU 2 Midden 1, overlap to the extent of 71%. While they are distinct from other sites there is some resemblance to Type V, the results being as follows:

OU 1	-	00 1		29%
OU 1	-	OU 2	Midden 2	14%
OU 1	-	OND 3		20%
OU 2 Midden 1	-	00 1		36%
OU 2 Midden 1	-	OU 2	Midden 2	34%
OU 2 Midden 1	-	OND 3		21%

The order of similarity is certainly less than with the previous examples but some degree of relationship is still indicated.

The two Type Z sites, OXF 1 and OMB 1 overlap to the extent of 32%, but as the latter sample is so small the proportions are not necessarily representative and therefore serve only as a vague indication. The major difference between Type Z and the eastern Highveld settlements of Types V and N is also brought out by this comparison. The overlaps between OXF 1 and the eastern sites vary between 2% and 13% and the distinction is made greater by qualitative differences.

Although it is possible to distinguish the industries on the basis of decoration alone, it is necessary to include the other ceramic characteristics, settlement patterns, architectural details and other aspects of the material culture and economy in order to produce an adequate definition. A summary of the diagnostic characteristics of each industry is therefore set out as a preliminary to the comparison of the present results with those of other Iron Age researchers.

Nomenclatural procedures in African prehistory are at present in a state of flux. The Burgwartenstein recommendations (Bishop & Clark, 1967) have not been formally accepted by the Pan African Congress on Prehistory and Quaternary Studies. There is a widespread feeling that if archaeological entities are to be established they need far more rigorous definition than was previously the case. Under the circumstances it was decided here to continue using the terms originally applied to the different settlement patterns and extend these to include the other regularly associated characteristics. Thus the Types N, V, Z and R will be considered as industries broadly in the Burgwartensteinian sense, although the nomenclature does not fulfil all the recommendations of the symposium on Systematic Investigation of the African Later Tertiary and Quaternary, held at Burgwartenstein in 1965.

TYPE N INDUSTRY

Type site: OU 1, Ntsuanatsatsi.

Other excavated site: OU 2 Settlement Unit 1.

Previous descriptions: None.

Distribution: N.E. corner of the Orange Free State in the districts of Frankfort, Vrede and Harrismith. Similar settlements extend north of the Vaal to the districts of Standerton, Balfour and Heidelberg.

Chronology: 15th and 16th centuries according to radiocarbon dates and oral history; probably also earlier and somewhat later.

Settlement pattern: Type N (see chapter 3).

Diagnostic pottery characteristics: Decoration is predominantly comb-stamping in pendant triangles and horizontal bands just below the rim. It is found on pots and bowls often in combination with burnish or ochre burnish. Comb-stamping is relatively coarse, with 3-5 tooth impressions per cm, and rather crudely applied compared to the Type V Industry. Other motifs including rim notches, miscellaneous rim or body impressions and

applied bands may be present but in relatively small quantities. There is a much smaller proportion of decorated vessels than with the Type V Industry. Shapes include spherical or bag-shaped pots and open bowls, sometimes with short upright necks but on most vessels necks are absent or poorly developed. The ware is slightly gritty, predominantly brown to grey in colour and with a dark core. Many of the undecorated vessels show soot incrustation. Few undecorated vessels are burnished.

Burials: Infant pot burials; adult burials uncertain.

Economic status: Agriculture, herding and hunting, the latter probably of greater importance here than with Type V. Iron implements readily available by trade but ornaments mainly of bone and ostrich egg-shell.

TYPE V INDUSTRY

Type site: OO 1, Makgwareng.

Other excavated sites: OU 2 Settlement Unit 2, OND 3.

Previous descriptions: Name replaces the terms ST1 and ST2 used by Schofield (1948) for pottery from our area. Sites of this industry were described by Van Riet Lowe (1927), Laidler (1936), Daubenton (1938) and Pullen (1942).

Distribution: Highveld between the Drakensberg escarpment to the east and the 1 450 m (4 750 ft) contour to the west, as far north as Bethal and south to Ladybrand.

Chronology: 16th or 17th century to the 19th century, based on historical evidence, radiocarbon and imports.

Settlement pattern: Type V (see chapter 3); includes virtually all corbelled hut settlements but does not equate with this feature as many settlements have other types of hut.

Diagnostic pottery characteristics: Wide range of decoration including small but definite proportion (7-24% on the excavated sites) of comb-stamping in bands and pendant triangles combined with ochre burnish on spherical to sub-spherical pots and bowls with short upright rims. Rim notches or other rim impressions occur on their own or associated with other motifs. Finger impressed or pinched decoration occurs on rims, bodies or on bands of clay applied just below the rims of some of the coarser, unburnished vessels, many of which are however undecorated. Other motifs include parallel rows of stylus impressions, raised cusps and rare grooving. The coarser vessels include large bag-shaped and U-shaped pots sometimes with decorated rims and

small more or less spherical vessels which often have zones of finger impressions on their bodies, but there is considerable variation in shape. As with Type N, the ware is mainly buff or red-brown to grey with a dark core indicative of a relatively short and probably smoky firing. Some grit has usually been added to the clay which tends to be fairly coarse and sandy, but texture is not very gritty as with the Types Z and R Industries. Ochre burnish mainly limited to comb-stamped vessels; only about 10% or less of all sherds have any burnish. Necks tend to be absent or poorly developed. Flat bases are common as well as rounded ones and there are some pedestal cups. Barrel-shaped smoking pipes made of pottery or stone occur, the latter often decorated.

Burials: Infants were buried in middens, sometimes inside pots. Adults were buried in flexed positions in shallow graves usually marked by a small stone mound. They were sometimes inside primary enclosures, sometimes in middens and sometimes in open ground near the settlement. Grave goods were usually absent.

Associated physical type: South African Negro.

Economic status: Agriculture and herding with some hunting and gathering. No iron smelting but considerable trade in iron and copper implements and ornaments. Local remelting of copper and manufacture of wire for ornaments.

TYPE Z INDUSTRY

Type site: OXF 1.

Other excavated site: OMB 1, Mophate.

Previous description: None.

Distribution: From the middle Tikoë (Sand) River to the Ntha (Vals) River in Kroonstad and Bothaville districts of the north-western Orange Free State.

Chronology: 16th or 17th century to the earlier 19th century, based on radiocarbon dates and historical evidence.

Settlement pattern: Type Z. Strong links with southern Tswana settlement typology.

Diagnostic pottery characteristics: Decoration predominantly shallow parallel grooves arranged in horizontal bands, pendant triangles, chevrons or arcades usually combined with lines or areas of ochre burnish. Grooves are sometimes replaced by coil impressed lines at OMB 1 while ochre lines alone are a common motif on the more southern sites. Parallel horizontal

rows of stylus impressions also occur. The ware is well-fired, orange-buff in colour and contains a high proportion of crushed mudstone or shale temper. There is a relatively high incidence of burnish but ochre burnish is almost entirely limited to decorated vessels. Shapes are more standardised than with the other industries and consist mainly of spherical pots with short upright or everted necks with well defined points of inflection and open to sub-spherical bowls with similar necks. No flat or pedestal bases have been recorded.

Economic status: Herding, agriculture and some hunting. There is apparently a relative shift in emphasis from agriculture to herding when compared to Type V. Rather limited supply of metal items and a substitution of bone for some tools and perhaps ornaments as well.

TYPE R INDUSTRY

Type site: OFD 1.

Other excavated site: Khartoum (Humphreys, 1972).

Previous descriptions: Van Riet Lowe (1931), Du Toit (1964).

Distribution: Gumaap (Riet) River from Kalkfontein Dam to Plooyburg area.

Chronology: 16th or 17th century to 19th century, based on radiocarbon dates and historical evidence.

Settlement pattern: Type R (see chapter 3).

Diagnostic pottery characteristics: Very little decoration; rare comb-stamping appears to be the only significant motif. Ware is tempered with mudstone or shale grit and is predominantly an orange-buff to brown colour. There is a high incidence of burnishing but very little coloured burnish. Shapes are not very diagnostic but include open-mouthed bowls and pots with more or less vertical walls. Some vessels have necks with poorly defined points of inflection, some rims are accentuated by thickening. Although not very distinct, the pottery differs from other known industries both of the Stone Age and Iron Age.

Burials: Relatively elaborate with stones in grave shaft and forming mound on surface. Ornaments and other grave goods common. Graves grouped in burial areas.

Associated physical type: Probably Khoisanoid (Humphreys, 1970 & Wells, pers.comm.).

Economic status: Herding, hunting and gathering. Trade with Iron Age peoples but no local metallurgy. Use of flaked stone uncertain.

CALEDON VALLEY SITES

This is an informal name as insufficient is yet known to establish an industry.

Representative site: OND 2.

Previous descriptions: Walton (1953a & 1956b).

Distribution: Middle Caledon Valley, probably extending towards northern end and to south of Wepener.

Chronology: 18th and 19th century, probably earlier as well, based on radiocarbon and historical evidence.

Settlement pattern: Incompletely defined Caledon Valley type (see chapter 3), also known from walled caves.

Diagnostic pottery characteristics: Similar in many respects to Type V but lacking comb-stamping and having a great predominance of rim impressed decoration (motifs 5, 6 & 7). Rim notching and the finer rim impressions are often combined with burnish or ochre burnish. The coarser, finger impressed decoration occurs on unburnished vessels as do the applied bands. These vessels are usually bag-shaped or U-shaped while the more finely decorated vessels tend towards a spherical shape often with a short upright neck. Flat bases are again common.

Economic status: Agriculture, herding, hunting and gathering.

Although these five archaeological entities are in a sense end results of the present research, they are put forward not as final conclusions but rather as the beginnings of systematic classification in our area. It is hoped that they will provide a useful framework both for further typological studies and for broader historical reconstruction.

THE SOUTHERN HIGHVELD INDUSTRIES COMPARED TO IRON AGE SITES ELSEWHERE

There have been several critical reviews of the information on the South African Iron Age in recent years (Fagan, 1969; Inekeep, 1971; Summers, 1967) and therefore a general survey of the evidence is not needed. We must however examine some of the broader aspects of the evidence in so far as

they provide a context for our industries. And in particular we must re-examine in detail the evidence from other sites in and around our area which have a more direct relationship with the sites described above. The affinities of the Type R and Type Z sites have already been discussed in the relevant chapters and therefore we will mainly be concerned with the industries from the eastern half of our area.

It is still not possible to establish a definite framework with fixed points in time and space for the spread and development of the Iron Age south of the Limpopo. For Rhodesia such a scheme was proposed as much as two decades ago (Summers, 1950) and it has been steadily refined and augmented up to the present (e.g. Summers, 1967, Huffman, 1972). More recently in Zambia a similar process has taken place and, for the Southern Province at least, a detailed framework has been built up in about a decade (Inskeep, 1960; Fagan, 1967; Fagan et al, 1969). Lacking such a basis, the recent reviewers of the South African evidence (referred to above) have had to resort largely to the work of Schofield, summarised in his *Primitive Pottery* published in 1948. The situation is a tribute to this pioneer systematist of the Iron Age but it is nevertheless a reflection on the lack of real advancement in our knowledge. It was not until around the mid 1960's that the tempo of research began to build up, and it is still too soon to attempt a synthesis of the new information, most of which is as yet unpublished. The current projects are methodologically far more rigorous than in the past but the geographical coverage is uneven, most attention having been paid to Highveld areas and to the north-eastern Transvaal, with the result that large areas are still virtually terra incognita.

One of the most important effects of recent publications has been to establish that Iron Age settlement took place during the first millennium A.D. Mason's Broederstroom site in the Magaliesberg has evidence of hut floors, slag, early Iron Age pottery, cattle and small stock, associated with two radiocarbon dates in the fifth century A.D. (Rand Daily Mail, October 17, 1973). Metal workers were established at Phalaborwa by the eighth century (Stuiver & Van Der Merwe, 1968) and there is evidence, although not yet compelling, that Iron Age metallurgy and ceramics had reached Swaziland by the fifth century (Dart & Beaumont, 1969), Lydenburg by the fifth or sixth (Inskeep, 1971b), and Tongaland, Natal by the seventh (Dutton, 1970). Little can yet be said of this early period, but by the beginning of the second millennium developments had taken place which begin to give us some coherent picture of Iron Age settlement and exploitation. At Bambandyanalo people whose culture is related to the Léopards Koppie Industry had a thriving settlement. A different but perhaps related comb-stamped industry

- Uitkomst - may have reached the south-central Transvaal (Mason & Van Der Merwe, 1964). At Phalaborwa a cultural tradition was established which was to survive and develop in the area throughout the present millennium, and which can be linked with the present population (Van Der Merwe & Scully, 1971). At Blackburn, near Durban, huts apparently similar to those of the Zulu were in use, although the ceramic industry is quite different (Davies, 1971).

There are as yet no Iron Age occurrences dated as early from our area. This is not to suggest that such sites will not be found with more intensive work in the future. Certainly the fifteenth century dates from OU 1 and OU 2 can not be regarded as the earliest Iron Age occupation of our area. But, since evidence is lacking, nothing positive can be said about the nature of hypothetical earlier sites.

However, indirect evidence as to the possible earlier presence of Iron Age peoples is suggested by some of the Stone Age sites. Late Stone Age pottery first appears in Sampson's Phase 5 of the Orange River sequence, perhaps as early as the thirteenth century at Zaayfontein and certainly from the sixteenth century (Sampson, 1970, 169). Iron Age imports from this phase include a piece of sheet copper and an iron arrow head (Sampson, 1972, 199). A few glass beads were also found and they become more common in the succeeding Phase 6 when other European imports appear together with a change in pottery from Class B to Class A. The earliest date for pottery in our area is apparently from the ninth century at Rose Cottage, Ladybrand (Vogel, 1970). The pottery may relate to Sampson's Class A ware and it is from a Late Stone Age context. Even this is not a particularly early date, for a number of sites in the southern and western Cape Province have yielded earlier pottery, certainly from the fourth century in association with sheep remains at Die Kelders (Schweitzer, 1973) and probably slightly earlier from other sites (cf. Deacon, H.J., 1972, Fig. 2). Pastoralists with pottery were also established on the Keiskama River in the eastern Cape Province by the beginning of the second millennium (Derricourt, 1973a, 455). Pottery probably reached Eastern Lesotho between 360 and 920 A.D. and iron slightly earlier (Carter, 1973, 12), the context of both being essentially Late Stone Age.

Apart from occurrences of Late Stone Age pottery there are several cases of typologically Iron Age sherds recovered from apparent Late Stone Age contexts in our area. Harding (1951a & b) excavated two rock shelters in Bethlehem district, roughly 60 km south-west of OU 1, and established the sequence "Smithfield C" without pottery followed by "Smithfield C with Bantu pottery". The pottery extended to a depth of about 35 cm but unfortunately

the work was done before the time of radiocarbon dating. The attribution of the pottery to Bantu manufacture or at least influence is supported by the resemblance of the more diagnostic sherds to the OU 1 assemblage. Items in common include flat bases, vessel shapes and a few decorated sherds from Saulepoort, but the Bethlehem assemblages are too small to allow for close comparisons. From shelters in the Natal Drakensberg, Pager (1971) illustrates decorated sherds very similar to examples from OU 1, in particular those with coarse comb-stamping in pendant triangles associated with red ochre, but again no dates are available and collections are very small.

The evidence therefore establishes the presence of pottery at an earlier date than is yet known for the Iron Age of our area. It would not be surprising if future research were to extend the known Iron Age occupation of the southern Highveld back well into the first millennium A.D., and to establish the presence of Late Stone Age ceramics in the early millennium. There was clearly a long period during which Stone Age hunter-gatherer communities lived in contact with Iron Age farming peoples - more than the 500 years covered by the present project. The interrelationships were complex (some aspects will be discussed in the following chapters) and they involved cultural and economic flow in both directions.

We must now return to the specific task in hand, to compare our results with other sites, firstly from within our area and secondly from further afield. As we saw in chapter 1 Van Riet Lowe (1927) was the first to describe a Type V settlement. The settlement pattern, the architectural details including corbelled huts and what is mentioned of the material culture from Vegkop are completely in accord with this classification. Infant pot burials, sandstone crucibles, decorated stone pipes and characteristics of the pottery all point to a close similarity to OU 1, but the ceramics are so briefly described that one can only obtain a general impression of them.

Type V settlements abound in this area west and south of Heilbron town and the sites described by Laidler (1936) can mostly be regarded as of this type. His numerous subdivisions are not clearly defined but several would seem to fit into the Type V pattern, including some with corbelled huts and others with only the paved hut floors remaining as at OU 2 Settlement Unit 2. There may be a few structures of Type N, for Laidler (*op.cit.*, 36) mentions an 'outer ring-wall' and air photographs may show this feature as mentioned in chapter 3, but the identifications are not regarded as definite. His references to links with the Riet River sites are not supported by the present research. Like the architectural features, the

cultural remains are almost all compatible with the Type V Industry. This is true of the metalwork, ornaments, sandstone crucibles and the majority of the pottery. Laidler stresses differences between the pottery from the different settlement units he examined, but the samples (partly re-examined by the writer at the Department of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand) seem to be too small to sustain such conclusions.

Although most of Laidler's sherds are very characteristic of Type V sites there is a small group, decorated with multi-coloured burnished areas defined by grooves, which have not otherwise been reported from our area (op.cit., 45). These, however, were not recovered by Laidler himself but came from 'Site X' which he did not see and "concerning which a strange secrecy is maintained" (op.cit., 46). It is therefore possible that they were not of local provenance, and in any case their associations are unknown.

From Laidler's description it seems that there was considerable variation and development on some of the sites near Heilbron, but they can provisionally be regarded as falling within the Type V tradition.

The three sites around Steynerust very briefly described by Daubenton (1938) can again be identified as of Type V from the description and from the air photographs. He stresses the fact that many corbelled huts are separate from the central ring of structures and they often have a lelapa with central or side entrance as at 001. The few sherds illustrated are compatible with other Type V sites, but little else can be said of the pottery.

Although Daubenton does not mention it, one of his sites, Jaskraal, was the important Taung settlement of Matloang. In the shabby transaction of 1838 whereby Potgieter's group of the Voortrekkers "bought" most of the land between the Vet and Vaal Rivers from 'Makhoana the Taung chief for a few head of cattle (Walker, 1934), an old coat (jas) also changed hands. Hence the names Jaskraal and Jasspruit which remain today.

The final description of this early phase of Iron Age research in our area is that of Pullen (1942) from two sites near the town of Frankfort. Although the settlements themselves are not described, both can be identified from the air photographs as of Type V. Pullen devotes most of his attention to the pottery and burials from the sites, the latter being predominantly of South African Negro characteristics. As mentioned in chapter 1, his description and illustration of the pottery is by far the best of this period and, although brief, allows all the important motifs of the Type V sites to be identified with ease (namely our motif numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 & 12). Comb-stamped sherds are again associated with coloured burnish while flat bases, pipes and spoons were also found.

Most of the settlement units illustrated by Walton (1956, figs. 11B, 12, 13 & 14) from the Orange Free State show the Type V pattern which is also recognisable in the description of his Group A settlements - those with corbelled huts. An exception is the plan of a settlement from Sand Riviers Poort (op.cit., fig. 15) which, however, seems to represent two periods of construction. The corbelled huts are mainly lenticular and therefore secondary structures while the air photographs show the Type Z pattern for most sites in this area. It seems that a late occupation by corbelled hut builders took place on an abandoned Type Z settlement, partly obscuring the original pattern. This sequence was observed by the writer at Maphororong in the Willem Pretorius Game Reserve, a few kilometres to the east. The fact that Walton found a predominance of coloured bands among the decorated sherds (op.cit., 70) would seem to confirm the presence of a Type Z occupation.

From this review we may conclude that there are at present no adequately described Iron Age occurrences from the southern Highveld which fall outside the framework of the industries defined above. Most of the previously described sites can be assigned to Type V and its variations. It is perhaps worth repeating at this point that on many sites there are individual structures and even settlement units which do not conform to the general pattern of the site. The reasons for this include both subsequent alteration or damage to the structures and the fact that not all were built according to the pattern of the majority. Such exceptions do not seem to follow regular patterns and they are recorded as indeterminate rather than being assigned to separate categories which would probably be meaningless. From this it follows that the inspection at ground level of one or two settlement units of a site may be an insufficient basis for the correct classification of the settlement pattern characteristic of the site as a whole.

Turning to an examination of sites further afield we find that the situation is far more complex. No formal Iron Age cultures or industries have previously been proposed for our area itself but several such entities, particularly from the southern Transvaal have been considered as related to sites south of the Vaal. Much of the evidence can be examined under two broad groups based essentially on pottery decoration. The first group consists of assemblages dominated by comb-stamping which have been referred to by Schofield (1948) as Southern Transvaal 1 (ST1) and Mason (1951 & 1962) as the Uitkomst Culture. The second group of assemblages appear to be dominated by notched rims, but other motifs may also occur. Schofield (1948) referred to them as ST2 and Mason (1962) as the Buispoort Culture. Each of

these need careful re-examination.

Comb-stamping is an important and often dominant decorative technique of early Iron Age assemblages from Zambia southwards and therefore its presence south of the Limpopo can be regarded as a transmission, directly or indirectly, from the earliest yet known Iron Age cultural tradition of the sub-continent. We still do not know how it reached the Highveld but it is of interest that comb-stamped ware apparently similar to the Gokomere Industry of Rhodesia has been reported from the Soutpansberg of the northern Transvaal (De Vaal, 1943) and Tautswa (Toupye) in eastern Botswana (Lepionka, 1971), although Summers (1967, 697) considers the latter an Uitkomst site.

The Gokomere Industry and its various phases such as Malapati and perhaps even Zhizo Hill (Leopards Kopje 1) (Robinson, 1966; Cooke *et al.*, 1966; Huffman, 1971) appears to represent a continual development throughout most of the first millennium A.D. within Rhodesia. If we are looking for an origin for the comb-stamped and colour-burnished wares of the Highveld, Gokomere or Zhizo Hill would seem to be the most likely ultimate sources. The latter is fairly widespread over south-western Rhodesia and is sometimes associated with low stone walling (Robinson, 1966), which is interesting in view of the frequent use of stone further south.

The succeeding industry in south-western Rhodesia from about the end of the first millennium is Leopards Kopje 2 or the Mambo phase. Although comb-stamping is still present it becomes less common and is no longer associated with polychrome burnish (Robinson, 1966; Huffman, 1971. N.B. in the latter the relevant illustrations, figs. 3 & 4, are inadvertently transposed). Again crude stone walling is present on many sites and there is evidence that cattle had by now assumed an important socio-cultural role in society. The K2 site is clearly related to this industry (e.g. Robinson, *op.cit.*; Summers, 1967), but the closeness of the relationship is not yet established (Inskeep, 1971, 257, 272-4). Sites of this tradition are as yet unknown south of the Limpopo Valley, and indeed the virtual hiatus in our knowledge of the Iron Age from here southwards to the Magaliesberg (Summers, 1971, fig. 14) prevents any secure correlations between our area and the north.

Schofield's (1948) Class ST1 was the first formal name applied to comb-stamped ware from the southern Transvaal. It was based on small collections from several sites including Chwenyane (=Kaditshwene), Aasvogelkop (Laidler, 1938, 133) and Magaliesberg (Jones, 1935), but in the absence of a suitable type collection (Schofield, *op.cit.*, 143) and an adequate definition the term is of little value today. Schofield explained

the presence of a few comb-stamped and colour burnished sherds on the Orange Free State sites as "stray members of Class ST1" (op.cit., 146), an interpretation which is contradicted by the present evidence that such sherds are an integral part of the assemblages from Type V sites.

Mason (1952) has criticised Schofield's southern Transvaal classes and for a group of essentially comb-stamped assemblages he has applied the name Uitkomst Culture (Mason, 1962). The type assemblage is from three levels of the Uitkomst Cave, Beds 2-4, the middle of which yielded a mid-seventeenth century date (Y-1323B. 300 \pm 80). The assemblage is relatively small even when the levels are combined, there being only 24 decorated sherds, but it is sufficient to allow some comparison with our sites. Of the decorated sherds 18 have comb-stamping mainly in pendant triangles and single or multiple horizontal bands, and many have red or black burnish (op.cit., 391-3). The remainder include several with narrow horizontal grooves and one with a notched rim, the latter, Mason suggests, may be a Buispoort import. With the exception of the grooved sherds the decoration is similar to our Type N at OU 1 and OU 2 Midden 1, however, Mason stresses that there is no applique moulding. Thus one can posit a definite similarity but not an identity.

Assemblages from several other rock shelters and open sites are referred to the Uitkomst Culture, whose distribution is essentially the Witwatersrand northwards to the Magaliesberg (Mason, 1962, 386). Three of the shelters yielded red-burnished comb-stamped sherds but the illustrated examples are all horizontal bands and triangles appear to be absent (Mason, 1951). At two of the sites coil-impressed motifs occur as parallel horizontal or vertical lines. This difference plus the absence of notched rims, applied bands and finger-impressed decoration (except for one sherd from Glenferness) again indicates a significant difference from Ntsuanateatsi.

The stone-built settlement of Klipriviersberg is also an Uitkomst site and here we have an opportunity to compare settlement patterns. As mentioned above (chapter 3) the Klipriviersberg settlement units seem to resemble Type N fairly closely, the main difference being the predominantly scalloped nature of the surrounding walls (Walton, 1956, 49; Mason, 1962, 399). But chronologically there is a considerable gap for Klipriviersberg is dated to the latter eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries (Fagan, 1969b) whereas Type N appears to have been replaced by Type V well before this time.

The largest pottery assemblage is from Tafelkop (Mason, 1952) and although it is associated by Mason (1962, 385 & 397) with other Uitkomst sites the present writer is not certain if it is to be regarded as a typical

Uitkomst assemblage. Furthermore, as Mason admits, it is a surface site and therefore must be treated with the concomitant cautions. As an assemblage it does not closely resemble any from south of the Vaal. Many of the comb-stamped vessels could be compared with examples from Type V and N sites, but the grooved and coil-impressed decoration is out of place here and resembles examples from Type Z sites, in particular OMB 1. Therefore if the Tafelkop collection is in true association and not a mixed assemblage it would appear to cut across the major dichotomy between the eastern and western settlements of our area.

When compared with the southern Highveld industries, the 'Uitkomst Culture' (with the exception of Tafelkop) seems closest to Type N. But the typological differences are sufficient to necessitate separate classification and moreover there are chronological differences. Sites referred to as Uitkomst have given C14 dates from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries, but in view of the archaeological and historical evidence of fairly rapid change within this period one may be permitted to question the validity of so long a time span for a single Iron Age cultural entity unless there is firm evidence. Of the seven available C14 readings, six have conventional dates between A.D. 1650 and 1860 and only the sample from the earlier furnace at Melville Koppies gave a much earlier date, namely in the eleventh century (Derricourt, 1973b). The assignment of this occurrence to Uitkomst would seem to be based on only three fragmentary comb-stamped sherds (Mason, 1971, fig.15), hardly sufficient evidence for precise cultural classification. In conclusion then it seems that Type N and Uitkomst may well have had a similar origin, but that Uitkomst was essentially later and therefore a contemporary of Type V from which it differs quite distinctly.

The other southern Transvaal manifestation of the Iron Age which concerns us, was first described by Schofield (1948) as ST2. The main characteristic is the predominance of notched rims among the decoration. Within this term Schofield included several Transvaal sites such as Buispoort, as well as the Orange Free State sites described by Laidler, Daubenton and Pullen that we have assigned to Type V. He does, however, see some difference between the two groups of sites which he considers as different phases of ST2. Buispoort included some sub-carinated vessels as well as the more usual globular and bag-shaped examples. Schofield and subsequent authors have stressed the predominance of notched rims but it is clear from the original description (Van Hoepen & Hoffman, 1935, Plate 9) that other motifs including grooving and stylus impressions in rows are also present, sometimes in combination; unfortunately no detailed analysis has been undertaken.

Mason (1952, 71) has criticised the ST2 concept and pointed out that even on the evidence available at that time there were clear differences between the Transvaal and Orange Free State sites. He places the dividing line not on the Vaal River itself but a little further north in the area of Greylingstad, Heidelberg and Fochville. Significantly this line would agree tolerably well with the northern limits of the Types N and V settlement.

In place of ST2 Mason (1962, 412) has proposed the name 'Buispoort Culture' for the group of sites in the Transvaal including Olifantspoort. He regards the pottery decoration as essentially limited to notched rims and lacking the "rather florid decoration" of Uitkomst. Pot forms are similar to Uitkomst but conical pot covers occur. Three radiocarbon dates are available from Olifantspoort (Vogel in Mason, 1971) indicating an occupation between about A.D. 1695 and 1845.

Although it will be possible to make much more detailed comparisons with the 'Buispoort Culture' once the recent excavations at Olifantspoort have been published, we can already sketch in some important differences between it and the Orange Free State sites. The settlement patterns of Buispoort and Olifantspoort are quite unlike Type V. They have a general Tswana character and in this are more like Type Z, but appear to lack the diagnostic features such as bilobial dwellings. In terms of pottery, certain shapes are different, such as the conical pot covers and sub-carinated shapes of Buispoort and the flat bases of Type V. If rim notching is as predominant as the literature suggests then it too indicates a difference. Although this motif is common on Type V sites other motifs, especially comb-stamping in bands or triangles associated with ochre burnish, finger impressions on rims and bodies and applied bands with finger-pinching, are always present in significant quantities, whereas they are rare or absent from Buispoort. The distinctive Type V settlement pattern is not known from the Buispoort area.

Recent reviewers (Summers, 1967; Inskip, 1971) have tended to accept, with some reservations, Schofield's belief in the essential similarity between the southern Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Schofield saw the pottery of the latter as mainly ST2 with some 'stray sherds' of ST1. He goes so far as to say that "under the inhospitable conditions prevailing in the stone-hut settlements, the former (ST1) gradually ceased to be made, and Class ST2 with its various modifications became the standard ware". This statement reflects the distortions arising from the small and selectively collected samples available to Schofield, for in view of the evidence presented above it must be rejected. Comb-stamped and ochre burnished

pottery - Schofield's ST1 - occurs throughout the Type V settlements both in terms of geographic distribution and in time right down to the mid-nineteenth century. Clearly they are not 'stray sherds' but an integral part of their cultural tradition. We must therefore conclude that Schofield's ST1 and ST2 have no validity for the southern Highveld.

Mason's two cultures, Uitkomst and Buispoort, are still inadequately defined in terms of pottery and other material items. Their author claims that the associated settlement patterns are not significantly different but, as Inskip (1971, 265) has pointed out, the plans from Buispoort and Klipriviersberg are distinct. Our examination of air photographs suggests that in the Transvaal Bankenveld there is a greater complexity of settlement typology and distribution than is the case south of the Vaal. The bushy vegetation is a further complicating factor. The abundance of Iron Age remains is mirrored by the importance of this area in Sotho-Tswana history. It therefore seems inevitable that the present Buispoort-Uitkomst dichotomy and the present air photo classification (Mason, 1968) will be superseded by a more complex cultural model with further research. On present evidence both Buispoort and Uitkomst are sufficiently distinct from the industries south of the Vaal to preclude the use of these names here.

The south-eastern Transvaal and northern Natal remains as a large gap in our knowledge of the Iron Age, with the exception of the distribution of stone ruins (fig. 7). The spread of Type V sites northwards to around Bethal and Ermelo suggests that there might be a connection further in this direction. But what is known of the sites in the Carolina-Lydenburg area (Van Hoepen, 1939) does not support this idea.

For Natal comparable material is only available from the area covered by Schofield's Natal Coast series and Davies' recent work near Durban and Estcourt. The Natal Coast pottery classes, NC1-4, were described from a number of small selective samples from sites mainly near Durban (Schofield, 1935 & 1936). There was no controlled excavation and no good dating evidence. NC1 can be ignored in the present discussion as very little is known about it other than its apparent resemblance to Late Stone Age pottery from the coasts of the Cape Province. Likewise NC4 is described on the basis of a very few sherds which Schofield claims are similar to recent Nguni pottery.

NC2 and 3 are the best known Natal wares. NC3 is very distinct in terms of vessel shape and especially decoration, from the southern Highveld industries and the other known Natal pottery. The gracefully shaped pots characteristically have well developed necks which curve outwards. The upper portion of the neck is often thickened and there is rich decoration

on the neck, sometimes extending on to the shoulder. The main technique of decoration is bold, deep grooving or hatching. Horizontal grooves or rows of hatching, cross-hatching or herringbone are particularly common motifs.

NC3 is still undated in Natal although the results from recent excavations at Ntehekane near Muden are awaited. Schofield regarded it as being later than, but partly contemporary with, NC2 on the basis of slender stratigraphic evidence and his belief that it was made by the Lala people. However, there is growing evidence to the effect that NC3 is an early Iron Age tradition related to sites further north which have given fifth century radiocarbon dates. A typological comparison between two collections from near Durban and the pottery associated with terracotta heads from Lydenburg in the eastern Transvaal (Inskeep & Von Bezings, 1966; Inskeep, 1971b) has shown a close relationship. Charcoal collected from eroded deposits at the latter site gave a date of 1460 ± 50 Pta 328 (A.D. 490). Sherds of similar character came from Castle Cavern in Swaziland, also dated to around the fifth century (Dart & Beaumont, 1969). More recently the Broederstroom site near Hartbeespoort Dam in the central Transvaal has yielded similar pottery and two dates in the second half of the fifth century (Reports in Rand Daily Mail, October 16 & 17, 1973). Other finds of apparently related pottery have been made in the northern Transvaal. In Natal the distribution of NC3 seems to be fairly general below an altitude of 1 000 m. Coastal sites in the Transkei and Ciskei have yielded pottery with similar decoration which Derricourt (1973c) has described as Shixini ware.

Although the recent sites are still unpublished and therefore detailed comparisons are not possible, the evidence attaches new importance to the NC3 concept. There appears to have been an early Iron Age complex including NC3 and the occurrences further north and south. To speculate a little further one might suggest a comparison between this complex and the early Iron Age Nkope ware from Malawi (e.g. Robinson, 1973, Fig. 25c, 26 & 27) rather than the Rhodesian equivalent, Gokomere, with its greater emphasis on comb-stamping. But in both cases there are some important differences and therefore no close relationship is suggested. However, for the present study it must be admitted that no evidence of this tradition has yet been recovered from the southern Highveld. Even the grooved and cross-hatched sherds from OU 2 (chapter 6) are not of the same character.

The other element in Schofield's Natal Coast scheme, NC2, as it is at present known, has a much more restricted distribution than NC3. Sites are essentially limited to the coast of southern Natal and Pondoland from a little north of Durban to Umgazana, with isolated examples further inland.

In the original description Schofield recognised its similarity to his class ST2 from both the Orange Free State sites and Buispoort, but in view of our separation of Buispoort from Type V this relationship needs re-examination.

As with Type V the vessel forms are varied and not particularly distinctive, but globular and bag-shaped pots are common and they sometimes have short, poorly defined necks, in contrast to the well developed necks of NC3. Flat bases and colour burnish are another common feature. But it is in the decoration that the most striking similarity is visible between NC2 and Type V. We find that of the motifs used in the analysis of the southern Highveld assemblages, numbers 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 12 are definitely present and numbers 7 and 11 are probably also represented. Thus the combination of a wide variety of decoration including comb-stamping, notched and impressed rims, finger impressions, applied bands and cusps, so characteristic of Type V is repeated on the Natal Coast. By the same token NC2 differs from Buispoort in this wide range of decoration and in lacking such features as the pot covers and carinated vessel shapes. No doubt there are some differences between Type V pottery and NC2, but in order to appreciate the relationship fully it would be necessary to have larger and more rigorously excavated samples from which numerical data could be obtained.

Schofield also proposed a variant of NC2 initially known as NC2a (Schofield, 1936) but later as NC2d (Schofield, 1948). This is a far less satisfactory entity than either NC2 or 3 for it consists essentially of odd sherds found among examples of the other classes or in isolation. There are no representative assemblages and there seems to be a wide variety of decoration. Schofield considers that pots with a globular shape and flared neck are the characteristic feature, but to the writer some examples (e.g. Schofield, 1936, Fig. 2, 4 & 5) seem to have the shape and decoration characteristic of NC3. It is unlikely that the items referred to as NC2d are actually related to one another in any meaningful way. Furthermore Schofield's suggestion that they have clear affinities with Buispoort is not supported by the evidence. Of the illustrated sherds, none of NC2d have decorative motifs represented at Buispoort nor vice versa. The globular pot with flared neck is such a generalised shape that no interrelationship can be assumed on this basis. And the distance alone - some 700 km - would militate against there being any close relationship unless the typological evidence was compelling. Certainly the suggestion by Schofield (1948, 157) that "the people who made it may have been a branch of the Fokeng who emancipated themselves from their Hurutshe overlords - who appear to have been the ruling caste at Buispoort - and carved out a destiny for themselves,

far away, beyond the Drakensberg" is quite unwarranted.

The only excavated and dated coastal Iron Age site is Blackburn, about 15 km north of Durban (Beater & Maud, 1963; Davies, 1971). The remains of a village with circular huts made of poles and presumably thatch was dated to 900 ± 40 Pta 162 (A.D. 1050). The pottery is mainly undecorated; the vessels comprise mainly hemispherical bowls and bag-shaped pots without necks although some have flared out necks. The shapes are not very distinctive. Decoration is rather tentative and variable. Rows of notches or small impressions on rims seem to be the most common motif, the latter sometimes being a double row. Other motifs include comb-stamping, grooving, cusps and rows of stylus impressions on the body. Most of the motifs are found in Schofield's NC2, although finger impressions appear to be absent from Blackburn, and both descriptions mention a similarity to NC2. However, Davies (1971, 175) warns that Schofield's scheme will need drastic revision when more excavated material is available. In view of the small samples and the imprecise descriptions of NC2 material it is not really possible to make a close comparison and therefore for the moment we should treat Blackburn as an entity on its own while accepting that there is some similarity to NC2.

Recent excavations at Moor Park (Davies, in press) near Estcourt produced evidence of extensive, although crude, stone walling and the construction of huts of perishable material on cleared platforms, dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As at Blackburn the material culture seems to have been simple, the most important element for comparison being once again the pottery. Vessels are simple in shape and crudely finished. There is not much decoration and it is limited to a fairly narrow range of motifs. Most examples consist of rim notches or a single or double row of stylus impressions on or just below the rim. The pottery therefore represents a typological overlap with Blackburn although they are not identical. Moreover there are distinct architectural differences, although these would partly be influenced by local environmental conditions. The geographical and chronological separation of Moor Park and Blackburn would be sufficient to explain the differences and it therefore seems that they should be considered as parts of the same broad tradition.

It is still far too early to attempt to establish a scheme for the Iron Age industries in areas neighbouring on the southern Highveld. Most areas are still unknown or at best represented by one or two excavated and dated sites. Of the older assemblages little is known beyond a handful of selected sherds. Most other elements of the culture and economy have yet to be described; the would-be synthesist is therefore thrown back on pottery

typology alone. Despite this disadvantage it is now possible to bring some order to the subject, to correct some previous misconceptions and to propose some broad interrelationships between the southern Highveld and neighbouring areas.

We have seen that Schofield's ST1 and 2 are no longer valid terms in our area, and that the relevant sites have the characteristics of Type V. For the southern Transvaal Mason has already replaced them with Uitkomst and Buispoort. Although Types N and V have elements in common with Uitkomst and Buispoort there are too many differences both in ceramics and architecture for these industries to be amalgamated. On present evidence therefore there is no justification for the use of the names Uitkomst or Buispoort on the southern Highveld.

While it now appears that there is less similarity between sites north and south of the Vaal than Schofield and most subsequent authors believed, the opposite is the case with Natal. Type V pottery shows closer similarity to NC2 than either does to Buispoort. The predominantly notched and stylus-impressed rims of the Caledon Valley sites could indicate a link with Buispoort but again the Natal evidence is more compelling. These decorative motifs were present at Blackburn from the beginning of the second millennium and at Moor Park from the thirteenth century. The environment of the latter is fairly similar to that of the eastern Highveld, including the Caledon Valley, and it is much nearer in distance and on present evidence earlier than Buispoort. If we are looking for an ancestor for the notched rims and stylus-impressed motifs of the Caledon Valley and indeed of Type V, the tradition represented by Moor Park is the best candidate in terms of its spatial and chronological setting. Since NC2 itself is still undated it is not possible to say in which direction movement took place between it and Type V, but there may have been a fairly direct relationship.

Type N, which was unknown to the previous authors, shows more influence from the Transvaal. The settlement pattern can be traced some distance northwards and the pottery, at least in its predominance of comb-stamped decoration, indicates a connection with Uitkomst.

In the case of Type Z, as we have seen in chapter 11, it is possible to establish a much more definite pattern of relationship. Not only are there similarities to sites in the south-western Transvaal, but also close parallels with the Rolong and Tlhaping groups among the Tswana.

Southern Tswana pottery is sufficiently distinctive in shape and in its use of ochre and sometimes grooved decoration to allow a generic relationship to be established with Type Z pottery. Similarly it is possible

to compare the pottery and other cultural items from the eastern part of our area with those of the southern Sotho, although the latter people have undergone more rapid cultural change in the past 150 years than have many Tswana groups.

The refined comb-stamped ware of Type V is apparently no longer made by Sotho potters. The smaller, more carefully made and burnished pots of today tend to be biconical in shape rather than spherical, and decoration tends to be in a band around the broadest part of the pot instead of just below the rim. But a number of similar characteristics remain to suggest a descent from the Iron Age ware. In Herschel District Sotho potters still use ochre burnish in combination with a row of pendant triangles infilled by linear impressions (Plate 79). Although a wound bangle seems to be used now rather than a comb the decorative effect is very similar.

To a large extent the place of the more refined vessels has been taken by imported enamel, glass and glazed ceramic. An exception is the pedestal cup which is so much a feature of modern Sotho pottery (Plate 79). This is often burnished and may be decorated in a variety of ways including the impressed pendant triangles of the pots described above. Similar pedestals were found at several of the Iron Age sites but, apart from the chalice-shaped example from OND 3, none were sufficiently preserved to reveal the shape of the cup.

The larger Sotho pots of today still include bag- and barrel-shaped examples (e.g. Lawton, 1967, Nos. 87-106). In some cases the necks are more developed than on their Iron Age counterparts, and decoration where present tends to be in the form of a band around the shoulder, often painted in bright colours. But the generic relationship is still to be seen and there is one type of large vessel that seems to have altered little since Iron Age times. This is the large bag-shaped or U-shaped pot, unburnished, decorated with a row of finger impressions on its rim and evidently used for cooking to judge from the smoke-blackened exterior. Such vessels were found on all Type V sites and they are also characteristic of Caledon Valley sites. Examples are represented in ethnological collections (Plate 78) and they are still being produced today, as mentioned in chapter 8.

A number of other ethnological parallels between the Iron Age sites and the material culture of the Sotho have been pointed out in the preceding chapters. They include the hemispherical reed and daga hut, the lebeke - particularly the broken example from OND 3, the copper earring, the long-tanged spear head with short blade and the figurine shaped like a Sotho shield. There is indeed no doubt that the settlements of the eastern part of our area - the Type V and Caledon Valley sites - can broadly be equated



Plate 78. Large U-shaped pot of the nineteenth century from Maseru, Lesotho. Note fingertip impressions on rim. Blackened from cooking. Similar pots are found in the Iron Age and they are still being produced today. Natal Museum No. 1661.



Plate 79. Contemporary Sotho vessels. On left: small biconically shaped pot from Herschel District decorated with ochre burnish above and coil impressed pendant triangles. The effect is reminiscent of the finer, comb-stamped ware of Type V sites (cf. fig. 26). On right: typical pedestal cup, from Lesotho. Writer's coll.

with groups ancestral to the present Sotho population of Lesotho and the Orange Free State. However, before we begin a more detailed reconstruction using the archaeological and other sources of information, we must take a closer look at the available historical evidence.

APPENDIX 1 OF CHAPTER 13

Table of decorated sherds from the excavations

Motif	Motif No.	OU 1		OU 2 Midden 1		OU 2 Midden 2		OO 1		OND 3		OND 2		OXF 1		OMB 1	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Comb-stamping in pendant triangles	1	33	29	5	10	25	2	195	4								
" in horizontal band	2	14	12	6	12	5	-	168	4	2	1						
" in diagonal panels	3							92	2								
" sherd too small	4	58	52	23	47	55	5	614	14	19	13					3	18
Rim notches	5	2	2	2	4	85	8	653	14	48	33	12	19				
Misc. impressions on rim	6					91	8	426	9	26	18	17	27	4	2		
Finger impressions on rim	7					24	2	774	17	21	14	26	41				
Applied band	8	2	2	12	24	225	21	341	8	1	1	4	6				
Finger impressions on body	9					133	12	736	16	9	6	3	5				
Cusps	10					24	2	60	1			1	2				
Stylus impressions in horizontal rows	11			1	2	146	14	92	2	8	5			11	4	1	6
Misc. body impressions	12	3	3			108	10	278	6	8	5			3	1	1	6
Parallel grooves, sherd too small	13					33	3	33	1	1	1			48	19	2	12
" " in horizontal band	14					102	9	57	1					7	3	4	24
" " in pendant triangles	15					1	-	10	-					34	14		
" " in chevron or arcade	16													31	12	6	35
Ochre lines	17											1	2	113	45		
Dragged wavy lines	18									4	3						
Cross-hatching	19					14	1										
		112	100	49	99	1071	97	4529	99	147	100	64	102	251	100	17	101

SOUTHERN HIGHVELD HISTORY UP TO THE DIFAQANE

"The Basutus inhabited the country between the Orange River and Moshesh's present residence; the Mayani and Bakhuakhua, the sources of the Caledon adjoining, and part of the Harrismith district; the Bamonageng the part lately occupied by Sinkonyella, and Gert Taaibosch the upper part of Winburg district; the Bamokoteri (Moshesh's clan) the country of the east side of the Caledon to Thaba Bossiga; the Baramokheli, the country where Molitsani and Moroko now are, and part of the Modder River; the Bacouta the country from Bloemfontein to the junction of the Caledon and Orange Rivers. In all this country their 'Lithako' (or kraals) and the traces of their corn fields are still to be seen."

J.M. Orpen, 1857.

The settlements examined in this project fall essentially within the last five hundred years, a period which is covered by Sotho-Tswana oral history. There are therefore much richer possibilities for historical reconstruction from the archaeological evidence than is the case in a truly prehistorical period. Furthermore the results are of relevance not only to the archaeologist-prehistorian but to the historian as well. Until recently the lack of Iron Age research largely precluded the possibility of such reconstruction, but with our growing knowledge of this period, the need for more detailed and more reliable primary historical information is becoming apparent. Because of the different nature of the evidence gathered by the two disciplines it is necessary that the historian should be aware of the requirements of the archaeologist, as well as vice versa, if we are to achieve a reliable 'fit' between the two.

Recent critical re-examinations of the available historical evidence have focused attention on the preliterate sources, and reviews such as Legassick's (1969) for the Sotho-Tswana sources and Marks' (1969) for the Natal Nguni are of great value in pointing out the limitations as well as the potential of this information. The material requires careful handling because of inherent weakness both in the traditions themselves and in the way they were recorded and published. The historians have pointed out the great need for new scholarly syntheses, preferably combined with cross-checking and amplification in the field. But they also admit to the enormity of the task of producing a broad synthesis in a form acceptable to modern historiography. And as yet little has been done for our area before about 1820.

We are mainly interested in those aspects of the historical evidence which offer some hope for correlation with the archaeological data. These

include the broader socio-cultural population groupings, their time and direction of arrival in our area, the major developments and movements within the area, and the distribution of these groups. The evidence on material and economic life is also of value but is more incomplete.

For the period after 1820 - the Difaqane and later events - historical documentation is much fuller. It has also received critical attention from recent authors and there are syntheses on the Difaqane by Omer-Cooper (1966), Lye (1967) and Wilson & Thompson (1969). Since the Difaqane was radically to alter circumstances in our area, it forms a suitable cut-off point for the present discussion. We shall not examine it in any detail although we do need to review the situation immediately before it and also look briefly at some of its immediate effects.

In chapter 1 we examined some of the sources of Sotho oral history and looked in detail at the assumptions that have been built around the name Hoja, largely because the name has been applied indiscriminantly to both Taung and Kubung peoples. But we have yet to attempt an historical reconstruction. One of the unfortunate tendencies in previous attempts at reconstruction in our area has been to assume, on inadequate evidence, direct correlations between certain classes of Iron Age phenomena and certain tribal divisions. In the hope of avoiding this pitfall we will examine the historical evidence on its own, before passing on to attempts at correlation in the next chapter.

An added source of confusion in studying Sotho-Tswana history is the dichotomy between the concepts sechaba - nation and siboko - emblem or totem. Sechaba refers to the effective political organisation at a given moment of time. The people of such a group would often refer to themselves as the followers of their chief. Siboko refers to the emblem, usually an animal, by which a particular lineage or descent group swear and thus by which they identify themselves as related. The oral history, especially for earlier centuries, is concerned mainly with lineage or siboko, it tells us little about the history of the sechaba or nation as such.

The southern Highveld population at the beginning of the nineteenth century consisted of seven main groups each with its subdivisions. San hunter-gatherers, clients and sometimes herders, known to the Sotho as Baroa, lived mainly in the drier western and southern parts. Several Nguni groups from the Tugela Basin, the Phetla followed by the Phuti and Polane and later by the Tsueneng had crossed the Drakensberg and settled mainly in the Caledon Valley. The Fokeng had been established from an early date in small communities scattered throughout much of the region. Of the mainstream Sotho-Tswana the most important were various sections of the three lineage clusters, Kwena, Kgatla and Taung. The Kwena and Taung groups usually

retained their original siboko (crocodile and lion) but the Kgatla groups adopted new names and emblems giving rise to the Makholokoe, Maphuting, Tlokwa and Sia in our area. And finally the Kubung who were apparently an off-shoot from the Rolong. Each of these must be considered in detail.

Well into the nineteenth century San hunter-gatherers still occupied large areas of the southern Highveld. In the drier country west of the 600 mm isohyet bands were reported from many areas, and their way of life was extinguished only when white settlers became established in numbers following the Great Trek. As the Late Stone Age population, their presence on the Highveld extends back many millennia and their origins need not concern us here.

With the exception of Sampson's work on the Orange River, the Late Stone Age sequence is still poorly known and archaeology can supply relatively little information on the relations between the Stone and Iron Age populations. But on the Orange the period corresponding to the Iron Age settlement further north was also one of fairly rapid development. The Phase 5 lithic assemblage together with the first pottery appears about the thirteenth or fourteenth century (Sampson, 1972, 202). The abrupt change from Phase 5 to 6 may have taken place as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century (op.cit., 205). In the old terminology this corresponds roughly with a change from a developed Wilton to Smithfield B and C. The ceramic industry likewise shows a marked change at this time. Sampson suggests that this may represent a population movement, but it is unlikely that the people were of different stock than the Phase 5 people. The makers of Phase 6 can certainly be identified as the historical San and as the rock painters at several sites (op.cit., 210). The Phase 6 deposit at Ventershoek in the Caledon Valley near Wepener is probably related to the famous cattle raid rock painting on the wall of the shelter (Stow & Bleek, 1930, Plates 61 & 62). This is a very lively scene of San driving off a herd of cattle, with some of their party fighting a rearguard action against Negro pursuers. The latter are taller and painted in black, armed with shields and spears against the bows and arrows of the San.

North of the area covered by Sampson's Orange River project the Late Stone Age "cultures" conventionally known as Smithfield B and C and the Orange Free State Wilton were generally recognised as being the final expression of the Stone Age (Goodwin & Van Riet Lowe, 1929; Clark, 1959). This nomenclature is no longer acceptable and the Late Stone Age sequence is currently in the process of re-examination. But even the earlier evidence was sufficient to point out the immense richness of the southern Highveld from the point of view of Late Stone Age research. Alongside the material

remains are abundant works of Late Stone Age rock art - the engravings stretching towards the drier west and the painted rock shelters of the sandstone area to the east. This was essentially the work of San hunter-gatherers.

Little is yet known of the Iron Age in the lower Caledon Valley, with the exception of a few isolated and rather small sites in the neighbourhood of Wepener (fig. 7). But the paucity of Iron Age remains is not surprising and may be a corollary to the historical evidence of vigorous bands of San. The triangle formed by the Lower Caledon, Orange and the present southern boundary of Lesotho, together with neighbouring areas was a favourite home and later refuge of the San. Collin's expedition of 1809 (Moodie, 1838) came across bands that were already equipped with riding horses. Twenty-five years later Smith (1939) describes bands still holding out on the Sluk and Leeuw Rivers - tributaries of the lower Caledon, although others had been destroyed by commandos (Stow, 1905, chapter 12). The numerous rock paintings of stock raids and of battles between San and both Sotho and white settlers (Stow & Bleek, 1930, Plates 17, 18, 24, 28, 31, 35-38 & 60; Rosenthal & Goodwin, 1953, Plates 11, 16, 21, 23-26) also demonstrate the attractiveness of this area to the San and the resolution with which they held to it.

But the San were not all in autonomous hunter-gatherer bands. Many were in contact with neighbouring Iron Age communities and client relationships were common. While any Sotho group might have clients, who would normally act as herds or suppliers of game and pelts, those groups on the margins of Iron Age settlement had a particularly close and amicable relationship with their San neighbours. Two examples from the early nineteenth century will serve to illustrate this.

The Phuti, among the southernmost Bantu-speaking groups in our area, were living near the Orange River around the present southern boundary of Lesotho at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Moorosi, their famous leader, appears to have been a relatively short, light-skinned man and, according to Stow (1905, 229), was partly San on his mother's side.

Living on the edge of the Caledon-Orange triangle Moorosi's life was closely associated with the San and at times, during the vicissitudes of the Difaqane, his people were even subservient to San (Ellenberger, 1912). For long he seems to have acted as protector to the San of this region although at times he may have turned against particular bands.

The other example is the Taung who with the Kubung formed the western margin of Iron Age settlement in much of our area before the Difaqane. Like the Phuti and their fellow off-shoots from the Zizi, the Taung and Kubung had

a reputation for close and amicable relations with the San (Walton, 1965). As we saw in chapter 4, Moletsane as a baby was brought up by San clients of his parents because the deaths of their two previous children was attributed to witchcraft. These San under Kaabi were herds and they lived beyond the known western limits of Sotho speakers around the present Boesmanskop, north of Odendaalsrust (Webb, pers.comm.). This was in the monotonously flat country of pans through which Cornwallis Harris (1839) was to pass in 1837 and find populated by only a few San.

Years later when Moletsane and his followers settled in the Mequatling area San families were among their number. And when they were driven across the Caledon to Maboloka in southern Lesotho the San, some of whose names are recorded, accompanied them (Moletsane, 1967, 4).

On one occasion when discussing Moletsane, Moshweshwe is reported to have made the remark Moroahaabuse 'a Bushman cannot rule' on account of the former's lighter coloured skin. This was sufficiently significant for Moletsane to name one of his sons born at the time, Moroahaabuse (the father of the recent chronicler of Taung history, A.A. Moletsane (1967)).

Thus we see a number of similarities between these Sotho groups. Both were on the frontier of Sotho-San settlement. Both had close and generally amicable relations with San, some of whom were still virtually autonomous and some of whom were clients. Intermarriage with San was accepted and both chiefs are thought to have had some San blood. This tolerance seems to have been a feature of the more pioneering Sotho groups and was probably a feature of earlier Iron Age settlement throughout our area. More centrally situated groups may have had a less tolerant attitude as reflected in Moshweshwe's remark that "a Bushman cannot rule". Several centuries earlier the Kwena evidently held the same view for they refused to recognise the Fokeng chief with a San mother at Ntsuanatsatsi.

That a situation of tolerance should have been common on the frontier of Iron Age settlement suggests that a system of stable relationships had been evolved. It seems likely that Sotho and San had come to accept each others claims to land and resources and that neither was benefitting to the disadvantage of the other. The San would have been in a weaker position to bargain and this is reflected in the relatively inferior position they accepted in the client relationship. But any attempts at severe exploitation could be countered by the San simply melting away into the vast semi-arid lands to the south and west, lands which were the preserve of hunter-gatherers down to the nineteenth century. Indeed there seems to have been an appreciably higher San population in the frontier areas than further south-west. Bands were more commonly encountered in the Orange-Caledon triangle and in a belt

stretching north-east from here than elsewhere. Presumably the more intensive Iron Age subsistence base, with its relative abundance, rubbed off on those bands close enough to take advantage of it whether as herds, or as suppliers of game, pelts, feathers, ostrich egg-shell beads and possibly minerals such as salt, red ochre and specularite.

Some San were actually able to make the transition to herders in their own right, as we saw in chapter 12. Perhaps this development was only possible on the Riet because of its position of geographical remoteness from areas of Sotho-Tswana settlement. Here they were not competing for pasture with more powerful groups nor were their tempting flocks and herds within easy raiding distance of such groups.

The historical evidence then suggests that there was no active southward extension of Iron Age hegemony during the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries in our area but rather that a relatively stable frontier situation had grown up. Some groups may have made southward moves during this period but, like the Phuti who went down to the Orange, the newcomers usually found Iron Age groups already in the area, in this case Fokeng, Phetla, and Polane groups (Ellenberger, 1912, 29).

We must now turn to the Bantu-speaking groups of our area. Although by the nineteenth century all the major groups spoke Sesotho or closely related dialects, not all were Sotho in origin. The Phetla, who according to Ellenberger were the first Bantu-speakers in the Caledon Valley, were Nguni in origin. Like their relatives, the Polane and Phuti who followed on after them, the Phetla were a Zizi group from the upper Tugela Basin. Their crossing of the Drakensberg is estimated by Ellenberger to have been around 1600 A.D. and they came to settle in what is now south-eastern Lesotho, and there is considerable evidence of their intermarriage with San (Ellenberger, 1912, 22). The Polane and then the Phuti followed them, the latter residing for a time with the Maphuting living on the banks of the Namahali River (Wilge) where they adopted Sotho ways and language and also the duiker emblem. The three groups together with some Fokeng formed most of the population in the area of south-eastern Lesotho by the end of the eighteenth century but their influence does not seem to have spread much beyond and they seem to have been relatively small in numbers.

Another group related to these peoples from the Tugela Basin followed them on to the Highveld at a later date. These were the Tsueneng who passed through the Tlokwa and settled for a time on the left bank of the Namahali River (Wilge). From here they moved to Kurutlele and about the beginning of the nineteenth century to Mesoboera (fig. 96, in end pocket of volume 1). For a time they were tributary to the Monaheng branch of the Kiwena

(Ellenberger, 1912, 86-88).

Of much more importance to the early history of the southern Highveld are the Fokeng. Most evidence points to their being the first Bantu-speaking people of our area, or at least the earliest of whom traditions remain. According to Ellenberger (1912, 15) they reached our area from the central Transvaal where a split had taken place, some remaining behind and others moving southwards to cross the Vaal and spread out in small groups over most of the southern Highveld. The traditions of all the other tribes, with the exception of the Phetla, mention Fokeng already established when they arrived. These 'people of the dew' must surely be the key to the interpretation of much of the early Iron Age settlement of our area but unfortunately little is known about them. They were so fragmented and so easily allowed themselves to be dominated by later lineages that little specific information has survived to be recorded. Indeed in contrast with Ellenberger's description of southward movement, Macgregor (1905, 21) claims that they knew nothing of any country but the Caledon Valley.

Ellenberger regards the Fokeng as a Sotho group possibly of common origin with the Hurutshe or less likely with the Kwena. But it must be stressed that this link is much less definite than the putative links between the other Sotho-Tswana lineages. Indeed in his main lineage table (op.cit., 395) Ellenberger does not connect the Fokeng with the others.

There are other characteristics which set the Fokeng apart from the bulk of Sotho-Tswana peoples in addition to their supposed precedence and their doubtful lineal relationship. They were regarded with respect by the other groups because of their antiquity and also because of their reputation for cleverness, yet unlike others they did not use their intelligence for political advantage. Instead they were 'mild and amiable' and like the other Iron Age frontier people had in general easy relations with the San. Their variety of siboko - Vaal Rhebuck, hare and wild vine - is a little surprising but not unknown among other Sotho groups subdivided from a single lineage. But their degree of fragmentation and geographic scatter was unequalled in our area. There were elements from north of the Vaal, along the Wilge-Liebenbergsvlei, south of the Sand and throughout the Caledon Valley as far south as Mabula, between Ladybrand and Hobhouse west of the river and to the southern boundary of modern Lesotho on the east. They were also represented in the south-central Transvaal and in southern Natal-Transkei. Only a few of the larger groups are mentioned on the map (fig. 96).

These characteristics assume additional significance in view of Bryant's (1929, 356) remarks that the Fokeng were not Sotho at all but Nguni in origin. Unfortunately he gives no evidence to support this claim which

is quite contrary to Ellenberger's record. The latter account seems more likely but on present evidence it doesn't seem possible to resolve the contradiction. Indeed the question may not be as significant as it would seem. Bryant claims that the Fokeng were related to the Zizi; whether or not this was the case, these two peoples were the only two groups in our area that could be found in numbers both above and below the Drakensberg Escarpment.

It may be that the Fokeng do not fit into either category of a neat Sotho-Nguni dichotomy, and that an intermediate or third element was present at an earlier date. But whatever their origins, the Fokeng had considerable influence on the development of Sotho culture in our area. Ellenberger (op. cit., 69) says that their dialect, customs and dress were adopted by the peoples that followed after them, especially the Kwena. Their reputation for intelligence was perhaps in part a reflection of their greater experience in handling the environmental limitations and potentials of the southern Highveld.

The main stream of the Sotho entered our area from what might be called the Bankenveld axis of the south-central Transvaal. This consists of a series of east-west ridges including the Magaliesberg, named after Mogale of the Kwena lineage (Wilson, 1969, 132), and the Marico, into the south-eastern corner of Botswana. It forms a belt of broken country which marks the northern boundary of the Highveld and the southern edge of the Bushveld, stretching from about Kanye to Pretoria and further east (King, 1951, fig. 70). As might be expected from the oral history, this is a very dense area of Iron Age settlement, as Mason's research is demonstrating.

The concentration of population in the Bankenveld axis seems to be the result of particularly favourable environmental conditions. The Highveld to the south would have been less attractive and would have required cultural and economic adaptations. It seems likely that southward movement was delayed for these reasons and only took place when political or population pressures became great enough to produce southward off-shoots. Perhaps experience in the new environment had first to be gained by pioneering groups, such as the Fokeng, before others would follow and adapt to the new conditions. Some of the environmental problems included lack of timber for building, lack of ores and charcoal for smelting, more sour grazing and a colder climate.

With the possible exception of the Taung, the groups which remain to be considered all trace their lineages back to putative common ancestors. According to Ellenberger (1912, 394) the order of seniority was Morolong, followed several generations later by Mohurutsho, Kwena and Mokhatla, each

of whom gave his name to a major division of the Sotho-Tswana. The geographical origins of each of these groups, as far back in time as we can trace them with any degree of probability, are in or very close to the Bankenveld axis (Legassick, 1969). From here the dispersal took place in almost every direction, but here we are only concerned with the groups that moved south of the Vaal.

The Kwena entered our area after a break between Napo and his elder brother Mochuli which apparently took place in or near the Bankenveld axis, although the details are controversial (e.g. Ellenberger, 1912; Legassick, 1969). It seems that Napo was the founding ancestor of the Kwena lineage cluster south of the Vaal, and that he settled at Ntsuanatsatsi among Fokeng, as we saw in chapter 5. It was from here during the next two or three generations (if the genealogy has not become telescoped) that the Kwena radiation took place (Ellenberger, 1912). Some moved north of the Vaal again to settle for two to three generations in which is now the country around Heidelberg, while others remained in the Namahali Valley. By the time of Monaheng and Tsotelo, four generations after Napo, we are on safer grounds. These two led respectively the returning Monaheng and Molibeli branches of the Kwena back again across the Vaal and southwards up the Wilge-Liebenbergsvlei Valleys. Monaheng settled at Futhane (fig. 96 in end pocket) and during his lifetime established a hegemony over the other peoples of the area who included San and Fokeng at the time of his arrival and other Kwena who followed. This appears to have been about the second half of the seventeenth century. The other three main Kwena branches, the Hlakoana, Makhoakhoa and Molibeli settled in the area around Maboletla, in the present Bethlehem district, and around the Lithane (Molenspruit), respectively. One of the Molibeli villages, Litsikela (fig. 96), was visited by Arbousset (1846, 92) in 1836 after it had been destroyed in the Difaqane. The travellers saw only heaps of human bones, rubbish, old sheep pens and other ruins.

Around the time of Monaheng's death, according to Ellenberger, internecine squabbles broke out leading to a further Kwena radiation from Futhane in the region of the upper-middle Caledon Valley. Monaheng's sons and grandsons formed five new branches of the Kwena. The Monaheng proper who moved westwards to Mokoahlane near modern Ficksburg, the Ntsane lineage who moved by stages across the Caledon and southwards to Qiloane near Thaba Bosiu, the Mokoteli - Moshweshwe's lineage - around Leribe, the Sekake under the Mokoteli and the Maiyane around Mautse west of Fouriesburg. This gives us the broad distribution of the Kwena during the eighteenth century (fig. 96 in end pocket of volume 1). For although they were even more fragmented

than this description of the lineage cluster would suggest, they remained essentially within the middle and upper Caledon Valley with extensions to the west.

From the time of Monaheng down until the rise of Moshweshwe during the Difaqane there was no leader of sufficient calibre to maintain any degree of unity among the Kwena lineages. Late in the eighteenth century Mohlomi of the Monaheng branch became very influential but it seems that his character as a mystic meant that his influence was more moral than political. Thus, although the Kwena were the largest population element in the northern Caledon Valley by the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was nothing to indicate that they, nor the Mokoteli in particular, were soon to become the dominant Sotho group of the southern Highveld.

At broadly the same time and also in the Bankenveld axis another Sotho-Tswana radiation was taking place - that of the Kgatla lineage cluster. Most authors link the Kgatla lineage cluster ultimately with the Kwena (e.g. Ellenberger, 1912; Wilson, 1969, 134) although Legassick suggests that they were not related. There are however several points of similarity between the Kgatla and Kwena dispersions. Both had an early and fundamental split leaving western and eastern sections whose representatives from the time of the first written records had considerable differences in material culture, dialect and economic and social organisation, although remaining within the broad Sotho-Tswana grouping.

Of the Kgatla who moved eastwards, Tabane appears to have been the common ancestor of the various lineages which were later to become established as independent groups. According to Ellenberger (1912) five of Tabane's sons formed the tribes of Pedi, Makhlokoe, Maphuthing, Tlokwa and Sia, the initial stages of the dispersion taking place in the latter sixteenth century north of the Vaal and further east than the Kwena, near the Drakensberg Escarpment. The Maphuthing dropped the monkey (Kgatla) emblem and adopted the duiker while living near the Swazi. They later moved to the Tugela Valley and then to the upper Namahali (Wilge) Valley before returning north of the Vaal to the present Heidelberg district. The Makhlokoe and Sia adopted the porcupine emblem and settled respectively just north of the Vaal around modern Standerton and in the southern part of the Wilge Valley near modern Harrismith (fig. 96). The Tlokwa initially occupied the country just above the escarpment around modern Wakkerstroom but moved southward to occupy most of the Wilge Valley by the eighteenth century.

Among the Tlokwa a major split occurred when Motonosi broke away from the rule of his cousin Tsotetsi of the Mokhalong to form the Mokotleng branch. According to Ellenberger (1912, 394) this occurred about the first

half of the eighteenth century and was the cause of the Tlokwa movement southwards. However, elsewhere (*op.cit.*, 48) he asserts that eight generations of Tlokwa chiefs were buried at Nkoe (fig. 96), yet Motonesi was only three generations before Sekonyela, so it seems that the move to the Wilge Valley was earlier, perhaps in the seventeenth century. The Mokhalong settled somewhat further north, Peme being one of their settlements (Webb, *pers.comm.*). Living near the edge of the Highland sourveld zone of the Drakensberg Escarpment, the Tlokwa were the most easterly people of our area and therefore the first to feel the impact of the Difaqane when they were attacked by the Hlubi of Mpangazitha. Prior to this the Tlokwa had both economic and political relations with people of the upper Tugela Basin.

The only peoples of importance that remain to be considered are the Taung and Kubung who, as we saw in chapter 1, have erroneously been linked by several authors under the name Hoja. Of the two, the Taung seem to have become more numerous and were certainly more powerful, for they largely absorbed the Kubung during the early nineteenth century.

The Taung are apparently of Sotho-Tswana origin, and although their lineage does not link up exactly with the other groups, they seem to be descended from the Hurutshe. At an early stage, about the mid-seventeenth century, according to Ellenberger (1912, 394) the two brothers Thuloane and Tsukulu broke apart to form two branches, the first the Taung of Thuloane and the second which later became the Ramokhele. They had moved south from the Thuloane River, a tributary of the Merico in the Bankenveld axis, crossing the Lekoa (Vaal) above its confluence with the Koakoatsi (Renoster) to settle in this area and further south. The Taung of Thuloane again split in two, the senior branch remaining in the country just east of the Koakoatsi which is now in the Heilbron district, the junior branch - later led by 'Makhoana and Moletsane - moving southwards to the Ntha (Vals) and Tikoe (Sand). Important settlements of the latter were at Matloang, Nthikhuoa and Maphororong (fig. 96). The exact locations of several of 'Makhoana's sites are known in the area around modern Steynsrus and Lindley (Webb, 1950). The Motlomo settlement evidently marked their western boundary.

The Ramokhele Taung moved further south and after a number of vicissitudes in their relationships with the Kwena and others, settled mainly around Mequatling where they were at the outbreak of the Difaqane. They earned the reputation of being difficult neighbours and cattle raiders.

The Kubung claim to be an off-shoot of the Rolong. At first their emblem was iron, later fire and then on separation they adopted the Kubu (Hippopotamus) (Moletsane, 1967, 27). They also claim to be senior to the Taung of Thuloane and to have moved southwards before them. Webb (*pers.*

comm.) indicates that they were not so much a 'tribe' as a peaceful association of people who joined together and moved away from an area in the Marico where they were troubled by feuds and cattle raids.

Initially the Kubung formed a large group and they moved southwards, east of the Harts to cross the middle Vaal, whence they spread out widely over the north-western portions of our area (Moletsane, 1967, 27-29). Although they are not a descent group, the chiefly lineage can be traced back four generations before the Difaqane to Serame the founding ancestor who broke away from the Rolong. The separation may therefore only go back to about the mid-seventeenth century. The origin of the name Lihoja is probably later, for the popular and successful chief Mabula of the latter eighteenth century was given the derisive nickname Sehoja, and it was common for Sotho-Tswana to adopt the names of important rulers. It may however go back to the time of separation, but even so it is not of great antiquity (Webb, pers.comm.). The Kubung can therefore not be regarded as among the first in our area as Stow and Walton (1965, 1 & 19) have claimed. However, in the sense that they moved into drier country west of the other groups they may have been locally the first Iron Age settlers.

As we saw in chapter 1, the problems of reconstructing Kubung and Taung history are very much complicated because of the application of the name Hoja to both groups. There are similarities in the two histories as well as an overlap in distribution, but there are clear differences. The Kubung seem to have avoided armed confrontation where possible while the Taung often took the initiative. There is a praise poem among the Kubung which draws a contrast between the size and strength of the Hippopotamus (Kubu) as against the little lions in allusion to the Taung (Moletsane, 1967, 28).

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Kubung were spread out over a large area from the Koakoatsi southwards to the Matsaripe (Doorn) (fig. 96). They were neighbours of and probably in some cases living intermingled with Taung and Fokeng towards the east and San to the west. Their herds of cattle and lack of political cohesion drew attacks during the Difaqane but even before this the Taung, and Moletsane in particular, were starting to amalgamate them into a larger unit (Ellenberger, 1912, 60).

The Difaqane was certainly the most disruptive and disastrous event in the history of the southern Highveld. Its magnitude was such as to transform every Iron Age community and to eliminate some entirely. It also set the scene for later revolutionary developments, in particular the advent of white settlement and the establishment of the Basotho nation.

The origin is to be sought in the struggles between Natal Nguni groups leading to the triumph of the Zulu empire under Shaka and the resulting displacement of several powerful groups, particularly the Hlubi, Ngwane and Ndebele, on to the Highveld.

The starting point was the Hlubi attack on the Tlokwa, after which events followed each other in rapid succession. This occurred, according to Ellenberger (1912, 119), in the winter of 1822, but there is some doubt about the date, for example Bryant (1929, 139 & 150) puts it as early as 1818. Fortunately an astronomical event of the time helps to fix the date with more precision. Arbousset (1846, 294), who estimated the date as late 1821 or early 1822 also recorded that there was a solar eclipse a short time before the outbreak, which was regarded as an omen. Gray (1965, fig. 5) shows that a total solar eclipse occurred shortly after sunrise on the 4th March 1821, the centre of which passed across the southern half of modern Lesotho. This would have been an impressive phenomenon throughout the Caledon Valley and it is not surprising that it gave rise to fears for the future. It therefore seems that the Hlubi attack, which occurred just before harvest time, was in the early winter of 1821.

The events of the Difaqane have already been discussed in so far as they affected the sites in the Caledon Valley (chapter 8). The events themselves would scarcely be evident in the archaeological record, with the possible exception of signs of destruction and flight such as were described for 00 1. But the results of this period of havoc are clearly visible in the vast number of deserted Iron Age settlements. The relevant historical evidence must therefore be examined, and in this we are fortunate in having eye witness accounts for the first time (Arbousset, 1846; Backhouse, 1844; Bennie, 1956; Casalis, 1861 & 1889; Harris, 1839; Sanderson, 1860; Smit, 1972; Smith, 1939; etc.).

In the 1830's there was a considerable Sotho population in the Caledon Valley concentrated in the realms of Moshweshwe based on Thaba Bosiu and Sekonyela of the Tlokwa based on Marabeng. Scattered about were remnants of the former population and refugees from further north. These smaller groups mostly owed allegiance to either Moshweshwe or Sekonyela and clung to a precarious existence by living on inaccessible hilltops and ravines; one such group being the Ramokhele Taung under Moseme on Thaba Nchu (Casalis, 1889, 166).

Historians have recently focused their attention on events within the Caledon Valley and in particular on the factors leading to Moshweshwe's rise to paramountcy. Lye (1969) has drawn attention to the extent to which many Sotho from our area became refugees beyond the Orange in the Cape Colony or

or west of the Vaal among the Griqua, in addition to those who attached themselves to the Caledon Valley powers. But what of the country further north which was so densely settled before the Difaqane? The devastation here was even worse than around the Caledon, particularly after Mzilikazi had established himself further north, but also because the flatter topography did not provide the natural defences of Qhobosheane which enabled Sekonyela, Moshwehwe and others to survive and regroup. Moletsane was successful for a time in the area straddling the middle Vaal but he could not withstand Mzilikazi's impis and was forced to retreat southwards. The Tlokwa too had been forced to move southwards from the Namahali (Wilge) to Marabeng despite their notoriety as the Mantatee raiders, a reputation which was indeed only partly deserved (e.g. Lye, 1967).

Early travellers in the northern part of our area all mention the numerous stone-built settlements that had recently been abandoned. Even allowing for some exaggeration in reports of the quantity of human bones lying around these ruins there had clearly been an enormous loss of life as well as movement of refugees. But in spite of this there was a remnant population - the idea that the Difaqane had completely swept the country of its population is erroneous. In 1836 Arbousset and Daumas (1846) met a number of small shy groups in their journey northwards from Sekonyela's territory, down the Nketjoane (Liebenbergsvlei), westwards to the Koakoatsi (Renooster) and southwards through Matloang, Nthikhuoa, Mapororong etc. They refer to most such groups as Hoja but some were definitely Taung. Perhaps Arbousset was careless in his identification but it is equally likely that these groups use the name as a defence. By this time it was probably safer to identify yourself to strangers as Hoja - known as amiable, defenceless and perhaps impoverished people - rather than as Taung who had been powerful and aggressive under Moletsane only a few years earlier.

The greatest concentration of population that Arbousset (op.cit., chapter 21) came across was the remains of the Taung of 'Makhoana centred on the Nthikhuoa I settlement (fig. 96) and with a number of villages in surrounding areas, between the Ntha (Vale) and Tikoe (Sand) rivers. He estimated that 'Makhoana still had 10-12 000 subjects but that they were scattered and partly under the control of lesser chiefs. Their stock had been extensively plundered and they had been reduced to living on sorghum and hunting. Arbousset's journey provides us with two north-south transects through our area. On the northward leg they met few people between Motlomo, a Taung settlement, and the Vaal near its confluence with the Namahali (Wilge), but travelling southwards by a roughly parallel route some 50 km further west they came upon an occupied village almost every day's travel.

Between the Tikoane (Vet) and Thaba Nchu a number of San and refugee Taung/Kubung were encountered.

It is possible to reconstruct the route of Arbouset and Daumas with some precision thanks to the Gazetteer for Basutoland (Webb, 1950). Cornwallis Harris' (1839) account provides us with a third transect through the western part of our area at the same time (1836-37), but his route cannot be plotted with the same precision because he was not aware of the place names and he confuses some river names. But his observations are of sufficient importance to warrant detailed attention. An attempt has been made in Appendix 1 of this chapter to reconstruct his route which must have passed from the Vaal just downstream of the Mooi and Renoster confluences, to the Vale-Vaal confluence, to the Sand and Vet Rivers some distance above their confluence and then to the Modder and Kaal Rivers near modern Bloemfontein. He claims that there was no permanent population in this area except for San and a few remnants of pastoral tribes (op.cit., 255). He met several bands of San between the Vals and Sand in the area of the present Orange Free State goldfields and further south around the Modder, where one group stole his oxen. The only Sotho he met were a party "of both sexes, who proved to be members of the remnant of a tribe called Lihoya, and were engaged in eating up a blesbok that had been caught in one of their pitfalls" (op.cit., 246). This was in the area just north of the Sand and west of the Type Z sites.

The situation as described by Harris is very much what one would have expected from the distribution of Iron Age settlements. He journeyed through the semi-arid western part of our area west of the distribution of settlements except for the cluster around OMB 1 which he would not have seen as he was unable to cross the Vals in this area. His and the other early accounts certainly confirm the distribution pattern as reconstructed from air photographs.

The party of Hoja - probably Kubung rather than Taung in this area - are of interest for their method of subsistence represents another strategy which some Sotho adopted because of the hard times. Groups that had lost their stock had to rely on hunting and collecting as well as agriculture. In some cases their crops had been destroyed or stolen or they had been pushed into country too dry for cultivation. Such people would have had to spread out much more thinly than was the case in more prosperous times. Similar adaptations were noted by Andrew Smith (1939, 145-6) who came upon a village west of Lishuane whose stock was reduced to a small flock of goats. By November their grain was finished and they were out harvesting wild grass. And further west on the way to Thaba Nchu he passed a village with no stock,

which subsisted on the produce of their stream-side gardens - maize, sorgum and melons. Casalis (1889, 164) described Sotho refugees surviving on what they could catch in pitfall traps, and no doubt by collecting veldkos as well. While these cases were presumably the result of exceptional circumstances during the Difaqane they do show an interesting progression away from the pastoral and agricultural Iron Age subsistence base towards a hunter-gatherer existence with movement westwards. Similar adaptations may have been made by impoverished Iron Age people in response to earlier misfortunes such as famines.

The drier lands to the west were sometimes used as extra grazing during drought. Ellenberger (1912, 88) records the case when Tsueneng herds were moved from Mesoboea to the Modder River around the turn of the eighteenth century. The herders attempted to establish their independence when recalled, but failed to achieve this. No doubt there were numerous unrecorded cases where stock were grazed beyond the normal limits of Iron Age settlement.

Travelling up the Sand River the diarist with Retief's party of Voortrekkers, Smit (1972), recorded extensive ruins in the area around Maphororong and also further east probably around Liebenbergvlei. He does not mention meeting Sotho until they reached the fringes of Sekonyela's realm, but a party of this size would very likely have frightened the smaller groups away.

The land soon passed to Voortrekker control. A few locations were left for the remnant Sotho population but even these were whittled away. 'Makhoana and his successor Thulo held out for a while but in 1845 the remaining Taung moved down to join Moletsane at Mequatling (Moletsane, 1967, 28). Other small remnant groups would have been absorbed as herds and farm labourers. Thus in 1843 Bennie (1956, 13) who saw numerous stone ruins on hills from the Sand northwards records that "no native chief seems inclined to take up his abode at any of them. The remnants of the former populous tribes have left their fastnesses, and reside in the glens under the protection of the emigrants" (i.e. Voortrekkers). That there is considerable continuity from the pre-Difaqane population to the present Sotho of the Orange Free State is demonstrated by the experience of several authors (e.g. Stow, 1905; Van Riet Lowe, 1927; Moletsane, 1967) including the present writer. There is marked continuity in place names, traditions and in the general distribution of groups - for example Tlokwa in the Wilge Valley and Kubung to the west; although there are now many, especially among the younger people, who do not retain such knowledge and also many who have moved in recent years.

APPENDIX 1 OF CHAPTER 14

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ROUTE TAKEN BY CORNWALLIS HARRIS
IN 1836-37 FROM THE VAAL TO PHILIPPOLIS

The map in Harris' (1839) Wild Sports of Southern Africa is very inaccurate. His description of the route and of the country in the northern Orange Free State shows clearly that he was nowhere near the Noka Namahali (Wilge) as he claims, but much further west. To reconstruct his course we may go through the following steps.

1. He travelled south-west by compass from the Vaal to Philippolis without major correction, although he was deflected by various river crossings and adventures.
2. Given a magnetic variation of about 18° west of true north he would have been travelling almost south-south-west on a course of south 27° west.
3. The only fixed point we have is Philippolis.
4. A backbearing on south 27° west from Philippolis would cut the Vaal River about 25 km east of its confluence with the Mooi River.
5. From his description of following the Chonapas River southward from the Cashan (Magaliesberg) range to the Lekoa (Vaal) it is probable that this was the Mooi River.
6. If he crossed the Vaal several kilometres below the Mooi confluence he would have missed the Renoeter River. He would therefore have had to cross three considerable rivers before reaching the Modder - the Vals, Sand and Vet. He did cross three rivers but calls them the Nama Hari, Sand and Vet.
7. Following his south-west magnetic course he re-encountered an easterly loop of the Vaal at which point it was joined by a considerable river. This configuration agrees with the confluence of the Vals but not the Namahali (Wilge). His description of the country as endless arid plains with brack and calcareous waterholes fits with the Vals but not with the rolling, well grassed and watered country of the Wilge. He would have had to cross the Vals before reaching the Sand if travelling on any sort of southerly course. We may therefore conclude that his 'Nama Hari' was in fact the Ntha (Vals). The mistake is understandable since he had nobody

with him who was familiar with this area.

8. His eastward shift of perhaps 20-25 km to find a place to cross the Vals would account for the fact that the projection of the bearing from Philippolis passed 25 km east of the Mooi-Vaal confluence and also for his crossing the Sand above its confluence with the Vet.
9. The numerous salt pans in the area where he got lost correspond with the area between the Vals and Sand around the Orange Free State goldfields, but not with the country farther east.
10. His Calf River where he met a party of Voortrekkere would be the Kaal River, a tributary of the Modder just west of Bloemfontein.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Current research is revealing that the Iron Age occupation of parts of South Africa, as in Rhodesia and Zambia, extends back nearly two thousand years, at least to the early centuries of the Christian Era. This gives us a greatly expanded time scale in which to interpret developments within the southern African sub-continent. And it necessitates the complete reassessment of all earlier archaeological and non-archaeological hypotheses as to the peopling of South Africa.

Most of the research is so recent that at best only preliminary results have yet been published. The geographic coverage is very incomplete and even in the best known areas there are chronological gaps. Despite the rapidly growing number of radiocarbon dates there are still several important Iron Age entities which remain undated and at the time of writing it is still true to say that not a single site of the first millennium has been described in any detail.

In the present context we are looking at only a small part of the total area concerned. The southern Highveld represents the southernmost penetration of effective Iron Age settlement in the interior regions. And we are directly concerned with only the last few centuries of the total time span during which the complex of characteristics we know as the Iron Age were present in South Africa. We can safely assume that the ultimate origin of these characteristics - agriculture, domestic stock, metallurgy and the settled life they afforded as well as the Negro physical type and the Bantu language family - are far to the north of our area. The links in ceramic and architectural typology and between the southern Highveld and the lands north of the Vaal and east of the Drakensberg offer some clues as to the more immediate origins. Influences from the north-west, north and east were each important, and a combination of them together with the particular character of the area led to the development of a series of unique Iron Age communities.

Because of the large area to be covered - about the size of England and Wales - the project had to be designed around an extensive strategy. The use of air photography made this possible and it was fortunate that conditions on the southern Highveld are among the most favourable in the whole sub-continent. The four major typological subdivisions of settlement patterns as determined from the air photographs - Types N, V, Z and R - thus became the basic framework for the project. The fieldwork confirmed these categories and provided a variety of additional information on each. We therefore now have an outline sketch of the industries, based on limited excavations of one

or two sites of each type. But much research remains to be done and a stage is only now being reached where more specific archaeological problems can be formulated.

The possibility remains open that an Iron Age substratum appreciably earlier than the Type N settlements of the fifteenth century may yet be found. But present evidence indicates that it was only about the seventeenth century that Iron Age communities reached the limits of their distribution and became established as a relatively dense population. While these dates may seem late when compared with occurrences of the Early Iron Age to the north and east they do extend the time scale of the Iron Age south of the Vaal beyond previous archaeological and historical estimates.

There have been several attempts to synthesise the information on the South African Iron Age and establish series of cultural entities. The earlier schemes of this sort were based on an intuitive ordering of, for the most part, inadequately described material from unsuitable samples. The most successful and best known scheme, that of Schofield (1948), has been of great value in the 25 years of its existence, but it too is being replaced by the more intensive recent work. As in other branches of archaeology quantitative descriptive methods are now increasingly being used. However, we have still to reach agreement on suitable statistical methods for making comparisons between samples. Indeed it seems likely that statistics will play a smaller part in taxonomy than has been predicted by some workers, although numerical descriptive and interpretative techniques will continue to see wider applications. In the present project we have seen that conventional statistics are not necessarily of much help, but that simple numerical parameters may be useful indicators of similarity. Another important trend is the increasing use of aspects of the settlements themselves for typological and interpretative studies. Here we have used larger scale aspects of the settlement patterns as well as more detailed architectural details to help define archaeological entities and to make comparisons.

Previous syntheses in our area have developed along essentially dichotomous lines from the early work of Laidler to Schofield, Walton and De Jager. They have been discussed in chapter 1 above but we must now re-examine them in the light of the evidence produced in the course of this project. Laidler (1938) in his pioneering description of Iron Age pottery mentions a variety of pottery from our area which can broadly be seen as two groups, finer burnished ware which he claims is associated with the earlier settlements, and later more coarsely made and decorated ware in which he saw San influence. While his categories are not sufficiently clearly defined for modern requirements it is possible that in this division

he had observed something of the change in pottery that we have identified as the difference between Types N and V. Schofield (1948) may well have been influenced by Laidler when he defined his ST1 and ST2 classes thus continuing the dichotomy. His description is better than Laidler's and he accepted that the two classes were in concurrent use. But on the other hand he suggested that ST2 was the work of Fokeng, thereby giving the impression that the two classes were separate cultural entities. However, the present project has shown that pottery of both classes are consistently found in combination on Type V sites and therefore the separation is not justified. It has also shown that the southern Transvaal and Orange Free State samples are not as similar as Schofield thought.

Walton (1956) largely follows Schofield with regard to pottery but is more definite in linking types of pottery with particular Sotho-Tswana groups. He agrees with the attribution of ST2 to the Fokeng and argues that ST1 was made by the Hoja-Taung. He suggests that the presence of both classes at some sites may be the result of dual occupation (op.cit., 69). His statement that "from many other sites only one type of pottery has been found" is however contradicted by all excavated samples from Type V sites. It seems probable that he was misled by small surface collections which would seldom cover the full range of decoration present.

Walton's main contribution to knowledge of the Iron Age was his comparative study of settlement plans and methods of construction. For our area he describes two main types of settlement - those with stone kraals and corbelled huts which he claims were built by Hoja and Taung, and linked stone kraals of irregular shape with paved huts made of wattle and thatch which are claimed to be Fokeng. Thus Walton's hypothesis is in essence that two Sotho-Tswana groups are responsible for the stone settlements of our area. The Hoja and later the Taung built the corbelled hut sites and made comb-stamped and colour burnished pottery. The Fokeng built irregular linked structures of stone with perishable materials for the huts and they made unburnished, rim-decorated pottery. De Jager's (no date) synthesis is essentially similar to Walton's for his corbelled hut sites are associated with Type A pottery - undecorated except for a few simple geometric designs - and his stone kraal sites have rim-impressed pottery - his Type B - and are thought to be the work of Fokeng.

The dichotomous synthesis requires extensive modification in terms of the present results. While corbelled huts are in the great majority of cases associated with the Type V settlement pattern we have seen that there are many Type V sites which have huts of more perishable materials over paved floors. The presence or absence of corbelled huts is therefore of much less

typological significance than the actual settlement pattern. The pottery from Type V sites, whether or not they include corbelled huts, consistently shows a combination of the motifs that previous authors regarded as separate entities. As the previous ideas on pottery were based on small collections from the surface and from inadequate excavations carried out in the 1930's they are clearly superseded by the present results.

The claims of association between settlement type and particular Sotho-Tswana groups, however, requires more detailed consideration. Walton's claim that the Hoja built the corbelled huts is complicated by the fact that he was largely reliant on sources (Arbousset & Stow) which confused the Kubung and Taung peoples under the name Hoja, as we saw in chapter 1. We therefore need to review his statement substituting Kubung and/or Taung for Hoja. Doing this we find that Walton's (1965, fig. 2) distribution of Hoja settlement largely corresponds with that of the Kubung and Taung together (fig. 96) but it extends somewhat further west. If, however, we look at the distribution of corbelled huts, which coincides largely with the distribution of Type V sites north of the Caledon Valley, we find that there is less to support the idea. The area of Kubung settlement is essentially west of corbelled hut sites, and while the Taung occur in areas of Type V sites there are many such sites further west in the Wilge Basin. While the Taung undoubtedly build many Type V settlements with corbelled huts, present evidence is that no single Sotho group built them all.

It is not so easy to refute the claim that the linked kraals of irregular shape were built by the Fokeng, for the definition is vague and the Fokeng were widely scattered in our area. The sites of this kind that Walton (1956, 48) mentions are, however, essentially in the Caledon Valley extending northwards to Bethlehem. Two of the sites in Lesotho are historically associated with the Fokeng and Hlakwana (Kwena), and we saw in chapter 8 that they are similar to OND 3 and other Caledon Valley sites where the comb-stamped pottery is indeed absent or rare. Thus if we look only at the south-eastern areas there is confirmation of Walton's claim that rim decorated pottery and irregularly built stone settlements are associated. No doubt many were built by Fokeng but it is equally likely that many were Kwena and also some of the other Sotho groups living in the valley.

The earliest Iron Age communities of which there is yet archaeological evidence from the southern Highveld are the builders of Type N settlements. They lived in relatively large settlements some of which contained in the region of 100 settlement units which would have accommodated more than 1 000 people. Their distribution is concentrated along the Vaal and Klip Rivers

extending north and southwards to areas of prominent hills. The settlement pattern is well developed with a surrounding wall and an inner ring of primary enclosures linked by secondary walling. Huts in the intervening area were built of reeds and thatch, at least partly plastered and probably hemispherical in shape, with paved floors.

Economically the inhabitants were dependent on cultivation and herding like the other Iron Age peoples, but there is evidence from the two relatively small excavated samples that hunting may have been of greater importance than it was at later sites. The architecture and the lack of charcoal in the middens shows that the environment was then, as now, rolling treeless grassland with occasional small patches of bush on hillsides. Iron could not be smelted locally but was obtained by trade, which implies a surplus of some exchangeable commodity. However, the surplus does not seem to have been great - sufficient to purchase the necessary tools and weapons of Iron Age life but apparently not enough for metal ornaments. Life was relatively austere and ornaments were limited in the main to ostrich egg-shell beads, perhaps obtained from the San, and bone items, some of which were probably amulets. The pottery has elements in common with other Highveld industries but is sufficiently distinct, in its predominance of rather coarse comb-stamping with a few rim-decorated types, to be regarded as a separate industry.

The northward extension of Type N and similar sites into the southern Transvaal suggests an origin in the central part of the Bankenveld axis or just to the south of it. Little can yet be said of the origin of comb-stamped pottery in this region for Uitkomst seems to be essentially a younger sibling of Type N. The isolated eleventh century date from Melville with its three associated comb-stamped sherds must await confirmation, but it does indicate the possibility of an earlier comb-stamped industry here. However, the thirteenth and fourteenth century occurrence of a stone-walled settlement with rim-impressed pottery at Moor Park in the Tugela Basin underlines the possibility of important influences from east of the Drakensberg.

The two Type N excavations yielded dates within the fifteenth century but undoubtedly the time span of this settlement type is greater than is yet known and perhaps covers a century or two earlier and later. The evidence from DU 2 suggests that by the seventeenth century Type V had replaced Type N.

There can be no simple and definite statement as to the identity of the people who built the Type N settlements. The distribution is strategically placed for expansion southwards up the Wilge-Liebenbergvlei Valleys, and there is historical evidence that several Sotho groups did this.

The positions of sites such as Ntsuanatsatsi, Peme and the southernmost of Type N on the Cornelis stream give the impression of being advance posts, selected from among a wide choice of locations. Historically it was this region of the middle-upper Vaal and some of its tributaries that was so important in the radiations of the Kwena and Kgatla lineage clusters and also for at least some of the Fokeng. At Ntsuanatsatsi the Fokeng were in occupation several generations before the Kwena arrived. The latter remained for about two generations before splitting into a number of lineages which continued living in the area and further north in the country around modern Heidelberg, where there are also Type N settlements. Peme, according to a local informant, was associated with the Fokeng, and the senior branch of the Tlokwa also lived here according to Webb (pers.comm.). The Type N sites on the Cornelis stream correspond very closely with the location of Sefate a later Tlokwa settlement. Further north on the upper Vaal and Klip there is less precise information but this area was particularly associated with some of the Kgatla lineages - the Tlokwa before they moved southwards, the Makhlokoe and Maphuting.

There is therefore fairly good evidence to link the Fokeng and Kwena with Type N, and to indicate the likelihood of a link with some of the Kgatla lineages as well. We may conclude that Type N is associated with a relatively early stage of the radiation of these Sotho lineages which were later to form so large a part of the southern Highveld population. It appears to have been a local development in the area indicated on figure 7 or perhaps a little further north, and it seems to represent a culture already adapting or adapted to the Highveld environment.

Type V settlements replaced Type N spreading a little to the north and east and far to the south-west. Most of the previous sites were reoccupied and in many cases their settlement units were converted. The surrounding walls - no longer required - were robbed, and sometimes corbelled huts were built. But the transformation was not complete. The ring of primary enclosures around a central secondary enclosure was a feature of both settlement patterns, which demonstrates an important continuity. The reoccupation of sites also represents cultural continuity for, although the Type V communities occupied many more sites, it is clear that they had much the same preferences in terms of site location. The funnel-shaped entrances of Elongated Type V settlement units may be a relic of the Type N surrounding wall whose ends could be brought together similarly to form a cattle crush. But the elongated form never spread further south than Type N itself, which may suggest a local conservatism in the area close to the Vaal where groups

such as the Makhlokoe remained for many generations.

Apart from these features there is considerable other evidence that Type V developed from and replaced Type N. In many cases the small round paved hut floors with a superstructure of reeds and daga remained the hut type, as at OU 2 Settlement Unit 2. Radiocarbon dates confirm that the excavated Type V occupations are indeed later, as shown by the sequences of wall robbing at many sites.

The ceramic evidence provides further confirmation. The general character of the assemblage, the texture, the predominantly grey-brown colours with dark cores and the vessel shapes suggest a fairly close relationship. Shapes are not very diagnostic in either industry, most vessels being approximately spherical to bag-shaped, with some open bowls. Common features include flat as well as round bases, the absence of necks from most vessels and the rather weakly developed necks with poorly defined points of inflection where they are present. Burnish is relatively rare but is frequently associated with comb-stamped decoration, especially the red ochre burnish. The main differences are to be found in the decorated component of the assemblages. Type V has a higher proportion of decoration and a much wider variety of motifs. The proportion of comb-stamping declines sharply and the decoration becomes more refined. The rim impressions and applied bands which appear as minor elements in Type N become of much greater importance, and new motifs or variations develop, especially among the finger-impressed decoration. The ceramic change is important but not really radical. Some of the minor cultural elements such as pottery spoons and small, crudely made cattle figurines also suggest continuity.

The way of life represented by the Type V industry affected a large area of the southern Highveld from the 1 450 m (4 750 foot) contour in the west to the Highland Sourveld of the Drakensberg Escarpment. Not only was a larger area involved but the occupation density also showed a marked increase. Population was not evenly spread but concentrated in parts of the main river basins, although not beside the rivers themselves. The density within these large clusters must have been approaching the maximum possible for an Iron Age subsistence base. Too large an area and too great a population was involved for the Type V settlements to have been the work of any single Sotho group. It is therefore necessary to examine the area in detail to establish the identity of at least some of the builders.

The Taung of 'Makhoana and Moletsane were living in the area between the Vals and Sand Rivers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Important settlements were at Matloang, Nthikhua I and II and Maphororong

(fig. 96 in end pocket of volume 1). All of these, with the exception of Nthikhuoa I which has yet to be identified by archaeologists, have Type V settlements with the typical range of pottery. Nthikhuoa II is on the farm Makkawaanstad, the ruins, now heavily robbed, are close to the farmhouse. 'Makhoana (Makkawaan) is also remembered in the names Makkawaansbank at Nthikhuoa I, 'Makhoana (around S.28°08' E.27°25') at the sources of the Koolepruit (Qethu) and at Makkawanskop 13 km south of Lindley (Webb, 1950). The Taung seem to have reached eastward as far as Motlomo, again a Type V settlement and Makhoabane (Doornkop - S.28°31' E.27°36') south of Senekal. Northwards the Hlalele Taung were settled around the Renoster River and were almost certainly the builders of the cluster of Type V sites here. The historical evidence suggests this was the area from which the Taung dispersed although detailed information on the identity of particular settlements is lacking. Van Riet Lowe (1927) met a Motaung whose grandfather had lived on a corbelled hut settlement in this area.

Settlements along the Vals such as Makgwareng fall rather between the known areas of Hlalele and Thuloane Taung. It seems most likely that they were of the latter group but there is insufficient evidence for a firm decision. Arbousset records mainly Taung settlements on his journey as far east as the Liebenbergavlei and lower Wilge but he also mentions Tlokwa and one or two other small groups. But between the Renoster and the Sand he came upon only Taung villages. Therefore the Taung can with confidence be identified as the builders of most of the more western Type V settlements, especially those of the Renoster, Vals and Sand basins. As was suggested in chapter 8, it may well have been Taung refugees from the Difaqane, or perhaps the Ramokhele Taung, who carried the Type V tradition southwards to Mequatling.

Along the valley of the Wilge and to the north and east there are large clusters of Type V settlement beyond the known limits of Taung distribution. This is essentially the area in which the radiation of Kgatla lineages took place, while part of it was also important in the earlier stages of the Kwena radiation. During the later centuries of our period the Kgatla lineages certainly formed the majority of the population and they continued in occupation down to the Difaqane. The largest of these groups, the Tlokwa, settled initially between the headwaters of the Vaal and Klip in an area close to both Type N and V ruins. From here they moved south-westwards to occupy most of the Wilge Valley, an area of dense Type V settlement. Important settlements for the southern branch, the Mokotleng, include Nkoe, Sefate and Poqong whose positions correspond closely with Type V sites, although they have yet to be identified in the field by archaeologists. Tlokwa still claim that their ancestors built the stone

ruins in the area around Ntsuanatsatsi, where the later structures are of Type V.

Other Kgatla lineages may also have contributed to the wide distribution of Type V, indeed it is unlikely that there would have been any significant differences in the material culture of the various groups that remained in this region. The Sia were further up the Wilge Valley than the Tlokwa, where there are still settlements of this type but not in such concentrations. The Makhlokoe were north of the Vaal in the area of its confluence with the Klip, again an area of Type V settlement including elongated examples. But the specific localities inhabited by this group, notably Thaba Kholokoe, have yet to be identified.

In addition to the larger political groups like the Taung and Tlokwa there were a variety of smaller groups scattered about and interspersed among the others. The identity of many of these has been lost as a result of the Difaqane but there were for example Fokeng groups between the Wilge and Liebenbergsvlei and also around Kurutlele. Both are areas of Type V settlement but again it is uncertain which sites were built by which peoples.

Moving southward from the headwaters of the main north-flowing rivers we find a rapid reduction in the incidence of Type V sites on reaching the basin of the Caledon River. Along the watershed there remain quite a few but even here Caledon Valley sites become more common. As we saw in chapter 8 and from Walton's (1953a, 1956b) work, there is good evidence for linking some of the Caledon Valley sites with the various branches of Kwena and Fokeng who formed a large part of the population in the middle and upper parts of the Valley. But there were other groups here as well, and although we do not yet have specific archaeological information on their settlements it is likely that they too were responsible for some of the Caledon Valley sites.

The Mbo Nguni off-shoots from the Tugela Basin, the Phetla, Phuti and Polane, were an important population element further south in the Valley. These groups have yet to be identified in the archaeological record, but their presence invites speculation about the extent to which Nguni material culture may have been incorporated into that of the Sotho. This is particularly important if Bryant is correct in identifying the Fokeng as originally of Nguni extraction, for the Fokeng seem to have influenced many of the later arrivals among the Sotho. The Caledon Valley settlements and their associated pottery could well show some effects from such migrations over the Drakensberg. The relatively loose arrangement of structures could be one element and the high proportion of rim notching and rim impressions another. The pottery could be derived from a Natal tradition represented by

Blackburn and Moor Park, the latter site being in the area from which the Mbo groups moved to the Highveld. On the other hand there are differences between Moor Park and Caledon Valley pottery, particularly the variety of decoration and the better finish including burnish of the Highveld material, which argue against too close a relationship. Moreover there is clearly much in common between the Caledon Valley sites and Type V. It seems probable that these sites developed from Type V but perhaps with some influence from the Tugela Basin. This interpretation would be in accord with known population movements into the Caledon Valley.

In chapter 11 it was possible to show that the Type Z industry was the work of people closely related to the Rolong and Tlhaping, the southernmost of the Tswana. The Rolong are, with the Hurutshe, the most senior Sotho-Tswana lineage. Before the subdivisions, which made them so disunited during the Difaqane, had become established, they were powerful and large in numbers, and they held sway over a larger area than that indicated in figure 81. The Tlhaping and others were tributary to them at one time or another.

The area of Rolong settlement just north of the Vaal is contiguous with the Type Z distribution, yet there seems to be no mention of the Rolong living south of the river before the 1820's when the Seleka moved to Platberg and then Thaba Nchu with their missionaries. But there is an important off-shoot of the Rolong who did cross the Vaal and settle in our area, namely the Kubung.

We have seen that the Kubung were living generally to the west of the Taung and of the Type V sites. Fortunately, from the writings of F. Serame Ramakabane (Moletsane, 1967), more is known about the precise location of Kubung settlement than is the case with most other groups. Around the end of the eighteenth century the senior branch under Molebatsi was in the area between Masilo and Maphororong, their southern boundary being the Liphokojoaneng watershed east of modern Theunissen (compare figs. 8 & 96 in end pocket of volume 1). Although few sites have yet been located in the southern part of this territory, the Type Z sites along the Tikoe (Sand) to Maphororong would have fallen within it. A nineteenth century Kubung informant told C.S. Orpen (Walton, 1965, 31) that as a boy he lived at Mariba on the Tikoe, this being a hill with a Type Z settlement at Sandrivierspoort. The concentration of sites northwards from the Tikoe to OXF 1 are immediately adjacent and were very likely under the same people; but without more detailed chronological information from the settlements this cannot be established.

Sephiri, a brother of Molebatsi, lived in an area spanning the middle

Koakoatsi (Renoster), close to the only cluster of Type Z sites on this river. Serogo, another brother, lived at Mefahleng on the Nthikhuoa, the probable locality of which corresponds with a Type Z settlement. Bolibeng-ba-Likubu (Kroonstad) was of importance to the Kubung, apparently because of the presence of Hippopotami, their emblem. A little further down the Ntha (Vale) is a cluster of Type Z sites. Still further down at Mophathe lived 'Maghaagha of the Kubung. The location and date of OMB 1 accord well with the history, which makes it probable that this was a Kubung settlement. Thus for almost every cluster of Type Z sites there is evidence that the Kubung lived in the neighbourhood if not at the exact locality. The conclusion seems inescapable that the Kubung were the builders of Type Z. This conclusion could be put forward on the typological evidence alone, for the Kubung are the only known off-shoot of the Rolong to have settled in our area, and the Type Z industry was clearly the work of a group related to the Rolong.

One possible exception to the geographic fit between Kubung and Type Z is the statement that "Motanyane collected the people, and began to rule in Motloantloang...and at Nthikhuoa" (Moletsane, 1967, 27). This could be taken to mean that Motanyane chose exactly the same localities as the Taung were to occupy shortly afterwards, which seems most unlikely. However, Nthikhuoa refers also to the river (Bloemspruit) on which both Types V and Z settlements are found. Motloantloang is even more ambiguous for it could be confused with the Matloang settlement near modern Steynsrust (Arbousset, 1846) but it really refers to the plains which stretch westwards from this locality (Webb, 1950). These plains would include the OXF 1 site and its vicinity which also go by the name of Matloang. Motanyane may therefore have been living in a Type Z area after all.

The Maphororong vicinity is the only area in which the distribution of Types V and Z are known to overlap. Significantly it is also known to have been settled by both Kubung and Taung. But the Taung occupation seems to have been relatively late and may only date from the period of expansion under Moletsane, when Kubung and other groups were brought under Taung control, shortly before the Difaqane (Ellenberger, 1912, 60). The archaeological evidence again seems to support the historical, for at least one of the Type Z sites on Maphororong has a later Type V occupation, probably of short duration, superimposed upon it. Likewise the settlement unit described by Walton (1956, 45) from Sandrivierspoort appears to be of Type Z with a subsequent phase of corbelled hut building. Further and more intensive fieldwork in the area is needed to examine this framework.

We have attempted to fit the historical and archaeological evidence together to identify the builders of different types of settlement. To some extent, as with the Kubung and Type Z and with the Taung, Tlokwa and Type V, there is a fairly good match, but there are also exceptions, especially among the smaller groups. It appears that in some cases the archaeological boundaries follow environmental changes which do not always coincide with the distribution of different groups. There is little or nothing in the history to indicate whether the different lineages and political subdivisions correspond with cultural changes. One would not expect there to be a close coincidence and such is evidently the case. Type V would seem to represent the way of life generally of the Sotho groups living within the area concerned, whether they were of the major Taung and Tlokwa divisions or whether they belonged to one of the smaller divisions such as the Fokeng and Kwena off-shoots. Conversely those groups in the Caledon Valley seem to have adopted the characteristics of local settlement. The only major cultural unconformity in our area is represented by the interface between Types V and Z. Fortunately this is relatively well documented in terms of Taung and Kubung distributions for there is again nothing in the history to suggest a radical cultural difference between these two groups. The delineation of this division is one of the more important conclusions of the present project for it replaces the views of previous authors that the 'Hoja' were the builders of corbelled hut settlements. Instead, it was the Taung and more easterly peoples who built the Type V settlements - sometimes with corbelled huts - while the Kubung, who are the only people who can correctly be called Hoja, built quite distinct settlements. But the division is of more than local archaeological significance for it appears to represent a major cleavage within the Sotho-Tswana as a whole.

While the origins of the names Sotho and Tswana have recently been re-examined (Legassick, 1969) by historians, insufficient attention has been paid to the changes in usage that have taken place since the beginning of the literate period early in the nineteenth century. This is not the place for a detailed review of the subject but there is an important change of which we must take note. Most writers of the nineteenth century used the term Tswana as a broad definition to cover most of the Sotho-Tswana, while the Sotho were a specific subdivision being essentially the nation created by Moshweshwe. In time the definition of Sotho has been extended, with the addition of geographical prefixes - Northern, Southern, etc. - to include the whole Sotho-Tswana family (e.g. Van Warmelo, 1937). The present research suggests that this usage ignores an important cultural division

which has been established for many centuries.

In any reconsideration of the possibility of a fundamental division which might correspond approximately with the names Sotho and Tswana the disciplines of social anthropology, linguistics and ethnology would have to be consulted. It is very likely that divisions established on the basis of individual disciplines would not correspond with each other. And furthermore there would be numerous gradations and intermediate examples. But at the ends of the spectrum there are considerable differences. The typological differences between the eastern settlements and those of Type Z have already been discussed in detail. It may be worth while to briefly point out a few other differences between the Sotho of our area and the Tswana. The latter live in much larger and more compact settlements, usually of several thousand inhabitants whereas the Sotho tend to live in small, loosely arranged villages of a few dozen to a hundred or so people. Settlement in both cases is organised in units which have been called wards, but if we compare the parallel studies of Schapera (1935) and Ashton (1946) on Tswana and Southern Sotho wards there are some very interesting differences. While the Tswana ward is a compact residential unit, usually forming part of a larger settlement, and with its lands, pastures etc. some distance away, the Sotho ward is a defined area of land, under a headman, in which several small villages together with their lands and pasture are scattered about. The 'villages' are often no more than one or two households with several huts and stock pens. The order of size and the relatively dispersed nature of these household groups are reminiscent of Type V settlement units and their arrangement, although the typological details are different. The pottery manufactured by the two peoples shows a number of differences in addition to those of shape, decoration and use of ochre already mentioned. According to Lawton (1967, 130 & 150) the Sotho usually make pots by the ring technique or moulding from the lump which they fire in a rudimentary kiln built of stones. By contrast the Tswana "build all their pottery from the widest diameter up to the mouth with roughly flattened pieces of clay, completing the base after the upper section has dried slightly". Vessels are fired in a hole dug in the ground. Methods as different as these would suggest a long period of separation of the two traditions. These features could be valuable topics for future research.

A great deal more information will have to be gathered, particularly from locally intensive research projects, before a detailed picture of the Iron Age economy can be painted. But we are already in a position to make

some general remarks about the agriculture, herding, hunting, trading and metal working patterns of the southern Highveld communities, as well as to discuss briefly their adaptation to the local environment.

Assuming for the moment that Type N represents the earliest considerable Iron Age occupation of our area, we may well ask why there was such a long time lag from the early Iron Age sites of the fifth century, which are not so far distant to the north and east? Did the Highveld environment pose such problems to Iron Age subsistence that settlement was delayed by several centuries? For stock keepers the relatively sour grazing would have been a deterrent, yet with the exception of the Highland Sourveld, close to the Drakensberg Escarpment, the veld is sufficiently nutritious to maintain stock throughout the year. The soils and climate are suitable for agriculture, although the cold winters might have discouraged peoples used to lower altitudes. But if we consider the total distribution of Bantu-speaking peoples from the equator southwards, the Highveld would seem to have presented for the first time the problem of a region virtually devoid of timber. For people who built in wood, daga and thatch, who may have made palisades to pen their stock, who smelted iron and who may even have surrounded their gardens with rough brushwood fences, the absence of trees could have been a major deterrent.

The known Iron Age groups of the southern Highveld all adopted stone to a greater or lesser extent for building, presumably because of the lack of timber. This was taken to an extreme on many of the Type V sites where the huts too were built of stone; there is little doubt that the corbelled hut was developed in response to a shortage of other materials. Even the rather small huts of reed and daga at many eastern sites probably represent an adaptation. The builders of Type Z settlements substituted stone as far as they could but it seems they were not prepared to forego their cone-on-cylinder huts with verandas, and this may have checked their expansion into the main treeless areas. But availability of timber was probably not the only determinant for other, as yet unknown, factors may well have contributed.

Agriculture must have been the staple for all settlement types excepting Type R. Direct evidence for this is from the carbonised seeds and seed impressions of sorghum and cucurbit from OO 1, OU 2 and OND 3. By the 1830's maize was widely cultivated (Arbousset, 1846; Casalis, 1889, 167; Smit, 1972, 50) but it seems that before the Difaqane it was unknown to many groups. In earlier times the staples included sorghum of several species including the basic S.caffrorum and the sweet reed S.dochna as well as a variety of pumpkins, melons and legumes (Arbousset, 1846; Casalis, 1861; Ellenberger, 1912).

The method of agriculture would have been the ubiquitous hoe cultivation by women in small gardens. The hoe blades are the largest iron implement and they must have been of considerable value as is suggested by the small hoard behind Hut 1 at OO 1. But of the gardens themselves nothing has been found in the archaeological record, not even from the examination of air photographs. A farmer at Salmone near Heilbron in a densely settled Type V area mentioned small stone heaps in a valley bottom which were thought to have been cleared from former fields, but no definite examples were seen by the writer. The field walling and incipient terracing of the Carolina to Lydenburg area, near the Eastern Transvaal escarpment, certainly stops short of our area. Indeed the transition may approximately coincide with the northern limit of Type V around Bethal and Ermelo. The change in settlement pattern seems to correspond to an environmental change, but more work is needed to explain the settlement patterns in this area.

The importance of livestock is attested by the central position of pens in all settlement patterns, as well by the care with which the pens were constructed. Domestic animals appear to have been the predominant source of meat at all sites except for OU 2 Midden 1 where wild ungulates are particularly common. In terms of quantity of meat cattle were more important than small stock, and they outnumber by far the small stock in the larger samples, from OO 1 and OU 2 Midden 2. Stock was often slaughtered when juvenile which presumably reflects the killing of young male animals. But even the slaughtered adults were seldom approaching old age, a pattern suggesting that sufficient stock was available to provide prime quality meat as well as for breeding purposes.

It has not been possible to estimate the relative importance of herding and cultivation to the diet, but there is some evidence for a change in proportions between OXF 1 and OG 1, which may reflect a different economic emphasis between Types Z and V. The shortage of well worn lower grindstones at OXF 1 has already been commented on. The climate in the Type Z area is appreciably drier than further east and droughts are more common, therefore agricultural production would be less reliable. While agriculture may therefore have been of less importance the stock pens are particularly large and well built. An attempt was made to measure the relative importance of livestock by calculating the average amount of space available in the livestock pens for the stock owned by the inhabitants of each hut. This calculation makes the assumption that the size of stock pens bears some relation to the total number of stock owned, and also that the number of people per hut was not radically different at the two sites. The figures are based on the 25 settlement units examined at OO 1 (Appendix 1 of chapter 4)

and the surveyed area of OXF 1 (fig. 67), the latter being rather a small sample. The total interior space of the larger primary enclosures was calculated for each sample and then divided by the number of huts.

	OO 1	OXF 1
Total area of stock pens	1 711 sq.m.	3 017 sq.m.
Number of huts	147	29
Stock space per hut	11,6 sq.m.	104 sq.m.

At 104 square metres per hut there was almost ten times as much space for stock at OXF 1 as at OO 1, which certainly suggests a greater emphasis on herding in the economy.

Provisional Lists of Faunal Remains

	OU 1	OU 2 Midden 1	OU 2 Midden 2	OO 1	OND 2	OND 3	OXF 1	OMB 1
Cattle - adult	1	1	6	43	4	2	11	3
Cattle - juvenile	1		5	25		1	2	2
Sheep/Goat - adult	1	2	1	13	2	3	7	1
Sheep/Goat - juvenile	1	2	2	4		3	5	
Alcelaphine antelope								
cf. Wildebeest	1	4			1			
cf. Hartebeest	1	2		1			5	
cf. Elands		1	1	1			2	
Total Alcelaphine	2	7	1	6	1		7	2
Springbuck				3				1
Indeterminate bovid		2		2			1	1
Equid				1			1	
Canid cf. domestic				3				
Aardwolf	1							
Viverrid - medium				1				
Viverrid - small	2	2	1	2		1		
Dassie				1				
Springhare		1		3			2	
Rodents - small	1	8	12	30		4		4
Shrew		3	1	2	1			
Bird		1		1				
Frog	1	1	4	3				
Fish			1	3				
Crab			3	34			1	
Freshwater mussel	10	21	28	929	4	2	16	3
Ostrich egg		1	1	1	1		2	1
<u>Achatina</u>	1	2	2					

More can be said about the pattern of Iron Age hunting on the southern Highveld. From the list of faunal remains it is evident that at most sites the only wild species that made any significant contribution to the diet were the medium and larger sized ungulates. The antelope, including Springbuck and

especially the Alcelaphine species - Wildebeest, Hartebeest and Blesbuck, as well as wild equids were all common during the first half of the nineteenth century. From early reports (e.g. Smith, 1939, 157; Backhouse, 1844, 395; Casalis, 1861; Harris, 1839, 235 & 241 etc.) it is clear that by the end of Iron Age times these species made up a considerable proportion of the biomass. However, the remains do not represent a cross-section of the fauna, for the smaller, more solitary and non-migratory antelope such as Rhebuck, Oribi, Mountain Reedbuck and Steenbuck are absent, although they too were mentioned by early travellers (e.g. Casalis, 1889, 141; Smith, 1940, 135). Other edible mammals which would have been available but whose remains are rare or absent include hare, dassie, porcupine and Aardvark, while there would also have been a large variety of birds. By contrast, the Alcelaphines and Springbuck normally occurred in large aggregations and they were migratory, apparently following seasonal patterns of movement, often over large distances (Dorst & Dandelot, 1970; Von Richter, 1971). They were par excellence the herd animals of the grassy Highveld plains. And in the open, virtually treeless grassveld of the north-eastern Orange Free State in particular, it would have been extremely difficult for individual hunters or small parties to approach within spear range of such animals; for the spear was evidently the basic Iron Age weapon in our area.

The Alcelaphines in their large aggregations were characteristically associated with other species notably the ostrich and quagga (Dorst & Dandelot, 1970, 232; Von Richter, 1971, 2). The effect of this would have been to bring together a complementary array of well developed warning senses, making it even more difficult for the hunter to approach within range.

Yet the Iron Age hunters did not exploit the smaller game, which was so often the source of protein for Late Stone Age groups, but instead concentrated on the larger herd animals where conventional methods of stalking and killing by short range missiles would probably have yielded little in return for a great deal of effort. The denser population and the technological advances associated with the Iron Age would, however, have opened up new possibilities as well as placing hunting in a different socio-economic setting. In order to see what forms this hunting may have taken we must turn to the early written evidence.

The historical literature on southern Africa abounds with references to pitfall traps. In our area Backhouse (1844, 410) records pitfalls along the margins of streams near Thaba Nchu, some of which had sharpened stakes at the bottom. In the north-western Orange Free State, Cornwallis Harris actually fell into one which was six feet deep but fortunately it was half full of muddy water and had no stake. This was one of a chain placed around

a pool and Harris (1839, 246) subsequently met a party of "Bechuana... remnants of a tribe called Lihoya (who) were engaged in eating up a blesbok that had been caught in one of their pit-falls".

The most detailed description from our area is that of Bennie (1956, 13-14) who recorded that:

"Where there are pools or streamlets at the junction of grassy ridges there pits were dug near the edge of the water, so near that they must have in many instances been filled with water to the level of the stream. They were formed at short distances, say 12 or 15 feet each from the other. The earth dug out of the pit was thrown into the streamlet or pool thus forming an opening among the rushes, flags or coarse grass, and sloping path into the water inviting the approach of a thirsty animal."

Most occurrences were beside streams or pools but Bennie also describes a complex arrangement situated away from water in the area between the Sand and Vals Rivers. The description is not entirely clear but evidently the pits covered a larger arcuate area which was divided into a number of beds separated from each other by thorn bush on the intervening low ridges. Within each bed the pits were arranged in rows - an estimated 90 pits in six rows per bed, although he admits that the estimate was made at a subsequent date.

By the time of Bennie's journey (1843) the traps were no longer in use but in 1836 Arbousset and Daumas (1846, 98) found villages of Taung a few kilometres east of modern Senekal, where they were still being dug.

"These holes, measuring from five to six feet in depth by three in diameter, are shaped like a tumbler, in order that the animal falling into it may be bent together, and so rendered unable to extricate itself. The native name for these holes is mamena or twistinge. By working hard, a man may make eight of these holes in a day; it is a work to which the Lihoya is trained from his youth. Armed with the cheketse, which he clenches firmly with both hands, he kneels down, and digs away with the sweat on his brow, knowing that his existence depends in a great measure upon his exertions. His mamenas finished, he covers them carefully in with reed and brushwood, and retires. They are situated near pools of water, and consequently in the way of the gnus and quaggas that come to graze there."

The cheketse is described as a digger somewhat resembling a pike; the name and description suggesting that it was a tool specifically for this purpose and not just the usual Iron Age digging implement, the hoe.

The use of pitfalls was widespread and well developed on the southern Highveld while there is also a respectable antiquity for organised game

drives. The latter were held at a time and place appointed by the chief, particularly during droughts as they were considered to induce rain (Casalis, 1861, 171). Ritual preparations were carried out and the people assembled beforehand, not only to receive instructions for the hunt but also for announcements on matters of state (Smith, 1939, 156). It seems that such occasions were used to promote the unity of the group and the authority of the chief.

Andrew Smith (op.cit., 157) was present at a Rolong game drive at Thaba Nchu in 1834 and has left us a vivid description. The party moved off in two directions to form a ring about three miles in diameter with the greatest number of people on the windward side. The ring was gradually contracted until the game within started to take fright. Large animals were killed with spears and springbuck with knob kerries. Young animals were brought down by dogs.

"There was contained within the circle this day an immense number of gnus, a number of quaggas, one hartebeast (and) a great many springboks. The slaughter was pretty considerable and many pack oxen were loaded with the spoils."

The game was distributed according to an established pattern, certain portions going to the chief, and it was cut up before being carried back to the settlement by oxen (Casalis, op.cit., 172).

The large arcuate arrangement of pits described by Bennie may well have been used in combination with game drives to concentrate the animals.

A variety of southern African peoples were using both pitfalls and game drives in early historical times and neither is unique to the Iron Age of the Highveld. Yet in the open grassy plains of the Orange Free State these methods would have been particularly successful, perhaps the only ones available by which any quantity of game could have been caught. The drives in particular required the co-operation of a considerable number of people - the scale of Iron Age political organisation being appropriate for this - and the use of such tactics enabled the short range missiles - spears and clubs - to be used effectively. While the advent of iron implements would have greatly facilitated the digging of pits.

The excavated faunal remains and the historical reports of hunting methods combine to demonstrate a pattern of hunting that seems to have been prevalent throughout the period covered by the sites described. It is significant that the historical accounts mention the same species as are found in the Iron Age middens. These forms of hunting were evidently of

considerable importance to most of the Iron Age communities.

Metal goods, particularly the more essential tools and weapons must have been of great importance to our communities, yet there is virtually no evidence of smelting from the whole area. Slag is very persistent in archaeological deposits and therefore its absence from all the sites examined is good evidence for the lack of local smelting on any scale. Laidler (1936) claims to have found slag on one of the Heilbron sites but the identification seems a little doubtful for the piece analysed yielded only 2% of iron in combination and no metallic iron. It is possible that what he took for slag was vitrified daga from a burnt hut. But finds of tuyères and sandstone crucibles show that there was some metal working here.

At Mequatling two features which were at first thought to be furnaces turned out to be burnt down huts; slag-like nodules were vitrified earthenware and carbonised sorgum seeds. But surface finds of tuyères and half forged hoes again suggest local smithing.

The increased tree growth in the Caledon Valley would make this potentially more favourable for iron working than most of the northern Orange Free State. There are indeed descriptions of both smithing and smelting, apparently by the bloomery process, from Moshweshwe's realm in the 1830's (Casalis, 1861, 131-133; Backhouse, 1844, 378). Copper was also being worked here and, if the sandstone crucibles from Type V sites were used for remelting copper as is suggested by the evidence from OO 1, it seems that the reworking of copper into ornaments such as earrings was fairly common over much of our area. But the source of the copper as well as of much of the ironwork on the southern Highveld sites must have been by trade from other areas.

The quantity and variety of metal ornaments and implements at OO 1 shows that a considerable volume of trade was being carried on in some areas. Other sites such as OXF 1 with its paucity of metal goods would seem to have been unable to sustain anything more than a trade in bare essentials. But the Iron Age societies were linked by a more extensive trading network than most historical sources would suggest. Metals, particularly copper, would presumably have been obtained from north of the Vaal, and there is historical evidence of a well developed trade from Natal. Iron goods from the Zizi of the Tugela Basin were brought over the Drakensberg to the Tlokwa and others, who in turn traded them to the peoples further west (Ellenberger, 1912, 26 & 124). Cattle and probably other items such as karosses were obtained in exchange. In later years the trade in glass beads must have reached considerable proportions. Other ornamental items that moved long distances

include marine shells, specularite, and perhaps red ochre and carved stone pipes.

More essential commodities also formed part of a regular network in our area, a network that was severely disrupted by the Difaqane. When Casalis (1889, 167) arrived at Thaba Nchu the Ramokhele Taung of Moseme had been without salt for some time as a result of the disturbance. The same year (1833) when Archbell and Edwards with a deputation of Rolong made the request for permission to settle at Thaba Nchu, Moseme is recorded as replying, "The Barolongs I know; they always come to buy our corn" (Mears, no date, 18). This slender evidence hints that there may have been a regular trade in surplus grain from the better watered areas around the Caledon Valley, in exchange for cattle, salt and perhaps other commodities from the drier regions to the north-west. Even the relatively isolated Type R settlements were able to obtain marine shells from the east, specularite from the west and Iron Age metal work, presumably from Tswana to the north. Little can yet be said about the exact source of trade items or the network of routes they followed, but the present examples suffice to show that a considerable system had become established.

The results of the present project have, for the first time, provided a framework for the Iron Age of the southern Highveld, based on archaeological methodology. Previous syntheses were based on inadequate and sometimes incorrect archaeological and historical information, therefore they have had to be rejected. The extensive scope of the project has necessitated that it is no more than a general survey of the topic. The detailed work at specific sites has been designed to illustrate the character of the different settlement types defined from air photographs.

Much more work remains to be done and there is a wealth of archaeological resources still to be tapped. But archaeology must proceed alongside other disciplines, and it must make use of historical material, both oral and written, ethnology and social anthropology. Cartography is also important for we need to know the vernacular place names and the identity of the former inhabitants of the ruined settlements.

Hundreds of ruined and abandoned villages were seen by travellers on the Highveld from the 1830's onwards. Today, especially when seen from the air, they are still a prominent feature on hills and ridges in many areas. As recently as the early years of the nineteenth century many were inhabited by thriving Iron Age communities. Their highly developed patterns of social interaction are to an extent still preserved in fossil form as represented by the settlement patterns that have survived.

Relatively large, orderly settlements were already established by the time of the major voyages of discovery, sent out by the maritime European powers, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By about the seventeenth century it seems that Iron Age expansion was reaching the limits of suitable areas for settlement on the Highveld. A variety of well developed communities became established, each with its own cultural and economic character but with a basic Iron Age heritage in common.

The Difaqane from 1821 destroyed many communities and drove others southward, altering the balance of population in favour of the Caledon Valley. The rise of the Basotho nation under Moshweshwe and the advent of white settlement completely changed the political structure of the southern Highveld. But despite the sweeping changes of the past century and a half there is some continuity too. The present Sotho population of the Orange Free State and Lesotho are the descendants of the communities whose settlements we have been studying.

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