

An archaeological investigation of the Bakgatla
Baga Kgafela at Mabeleapodi, Pilanesberg
National Park, North West Province.

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DECLARATION

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I declare that *An archaeological investigation of the Bakgatla Baga Kgafela at Mabeleapodi, Pilanesberg National Park, North West Province* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation, a collections-based study, applies a microscale approach to the study of the unanalysed material excavated from five midden features from three (*Kgosing*, *Morêma*, and *Tshukudu*) of the five sections that make up the 19th-century Bakgatla Baga Kgafela capital settlement, Mabeleapodi, situated in the Pilanesberg National Park, North West. Current ethnographic evidence suggests that *Kgosi* Pilane lived in the capital, Mabeleapodi, from AD 1830 until his death in AD 1850. As a result, it is believed that Mabeleapodi was probably abandoned in the mid-19th century soon after the death of *Kgosi* Pilane. However, the archaeological material indicates that Mabeleapodi was occupied from the early 1800s up until the 1860s/1870s, suggesting that the site was occupied long after the death of *Kgosi* Pilane, and that it may be one of the few sites in the Pilanesberg region that was occupied during and after the *Difaqane* period.

Keywords: *Sotho-Tswana; Tswana; Kgatla; Bakgatla Baga Kgafela; Kgafela Kgatla; Microscale; Gender; Labour; Difaqane; Mfecane; Macroscale; Central Cattle Pattern; CCP; Pilanesberg; Households.*

TSHOBOKANYO

Tlhotlhomisi eno ke thutopatlisiso e e theilweng mo kokoanyong, e dirisa molebo wa sekale sa maekero (microscale) mo patlisisong ya matheriale o o sa lokololwang o o epilweng go tswa mo dithothobolong tse tlhano go tswa mo dikarolong tse tharo (*Kgosing, Morêma, le Tshukudu*) tsa tse tlhano tse e leng karolo ya bonno jwa ngwagakgolo wa bo19 jwa Bakgatla Ba ga Kgafela e leng Mabeleapodi, e e fitlhelwang mo Phakeng ya Bosetšhaba ya Pilanesberg, Bokonebophirima. Bosupi jwa ga jaana jwa etenokerafi bo bontsha gore Kgosi Pilane o ne a nna mo motsemogolong wa Mabeleapodi, go tloga ka AD1830 go fitlha a tlhokafala ka AD1850. Ka ntlha ya seo, go dumelwa gore Mabeleapodi e ne ya phuaganngwa mo bogareng jwa ngwagakgolo wa bo19 morago fela ga loso la ga Kgosi Pilane. Fela matheriale wa akheoloji o supa fa go ne go na le batho ba ba neng ba nna kwa Mabeleapodi go tloga kwa tshimologong ya bo1800 go fitlha ka bo1860/1870, e leng se se ka supang fa lefelo leo le ne le na le batho sebaka se seleele morago ga loso la ga Kgosi Pilane, le gore e ka ne e le lengwe la mafelo a se kae a a mo Pilanesberg a a neng a nna batho ka paka ya *Difaqane* le morago ga moo.

Mafoko a botlhokwa: *Sotho-Tswana; Tswana; Kgatla; Bakgatla Baga Kgafela; Kgafela Kgatla; Sekale sa maekero (Microscale); Bong; Badiri; Difaqane; Mfecane; Sekale sa makero (Macroscale); Central Cattle Pattern; CCP; Pilanesberg; Magae.*

OPSOMMING

Hierdie verhandeling is 'n versameling-gebaseerde studie. 'n Mikroskaal-benadering is toegepas op die studie van die onontlede materiaal wat opgegrawe is van vyf puinvoorwerpe van drie (*Kgosing*, *Morêma*, en *Tshukudu*) van die vyf dele van die 19de-eeuse Bakgatla Baga Kgafela-hoofnedersetting, Mabeleapodi, geleë in die Pilanesberg Nasionale Park in Noordwes. Huidige etnografiese bewyse dui daarop dat *Kgosi* Pilane in die hoofstad, Mabeleapodi, gewoon het van 1830 nC tot sy dood in 1850 nC. Gevolglik word daar geglo dat Mabeleapodi waarskynlik midde-in die 19de eeu verlaat is, kort nadat *Kgosi* Pilane oorlede is. Die argaeologiese materiaal dui egter aan dat Mabeleapodi bewoon is van die vroeë 1800's tot die 1860's/1870's. Dit kan beteken dat die plek lank ná die dood van *Kgosi* Pilane bewoon is, en dat dit een van die min plekke in die Pilanesberg-streek is wat gedurende en na afloop van die *Difaqane*-tydperk beset is.

Sleutelwoorde: *Sotho-Tswana; Tswana; Kgatla; Bakgatla Baga Kgafela; Kgafela Kgatla; Mikroskaal; Gender; Arbeid; Difaqane; Mfecane; Makroskaal; Sentrale Veepatroon; CCP; Pilanesberg; Huishoudings.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCP:	Central Cattle Pattern
Cf.:	<i>Confer/compare</i>
IA:	Iron Age
EIA:	Early Iron Age
LIA:	Late Iron Age
MIA:	Middle Iron Age
SA:	South Africa
SWS:	Stone-walled settlements
ZAR:	<i>Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek/South African Republic</i>
ZP:	Zimbabwe Pattern

GLOSSARY

<i>Difaqane/Mfecane:</i>	Period in the early nineteenth century marked by wars and the movement of people (see chapters in Hamilton 1995).
<i>Kgoro (dikgoro):</i>	ward(s); residential units.
<i>Kgosi (diKgosi):</i>	chief(s).
<i>Kgotla</i>	
<i>(kgotla/dikgotla/makgotla):</i>	assembly area(s) for men.
Ward:	“a settlement containing households belonging to the segments of one or more agnatic lineages whose constituent families are either closely related to the headman or otherwise related through the male line to one common male ancestor” (Frescura 1988: 160).

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C HAPTER 1

1 THE AIM, NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

In southern Africa, the so-called 'Late Iron Age' (LIA) agropastoral groups, such as the Sotho-Tswana-speaking groups, left behind archaeological traces. Their archaeological traces have been, and continue to be, useful for archaeologists as they enable us to study the history of these groups. In addition, we can compare their material record to the documented historical accounts and oral traditions. The most apparent archaeological traces left behind by agropastoral Tswana groups are their stone-walled settlements (SWS). The traditional SWS were built by communities who intended to utilise these sites for extended periods. SWS can often be linked to agropastoral communities that used the area around their settlements for various agricultural activities, such as the cultivation of various plant foods, which would mean that they would have to settle in a specific area for some time. As such, most 'LIA' farmer/agropastoralist settlements contrast with the temporary encampments used by pastoralists and hunter-gatherers and, as attested to by the archaeology, contain a number of features associated with such permanent settlements. These features include houses, raised grain bins, storage pits and animal kraals/byres (Huffman 2007:3).

In the archaeological literature, the SWS of the 19th century, particularly those of Tswana groups, are frequently referred to as 'mega-sites' (for example, Anderson 2009; Boeyens 2003; Morton 2008; 2013; 2018; Plug & Badenhorst 2006; Sadr & Rodier 2012). These 'mega-sites' often accommodated large populations. Numerous SWS in southern Africa have been linked to a variety of Sotho-Tswana groups, for example, the Tlokwa, Kgatla, Kwena, and the Hurutshe (Anderson 2009; Boeyens 2000, 2003; Maggs 1993; Pistorius 1992). Anderson (2009: 1) remarks that prior to the downfall of some of the former Tswana

chiefdoms, the density and large scale of these 'mega-sites' attest to the significant changes that were taking place in the Tswana world.

Over the last few decades, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, various approaches have been formulated in hopes of understanding the spatial/settlement patterns of the 'Iron Age (IA)' of southern Africa. Nevertheless, many of these approaches are continuously debated, specifically because they tend to produce models that apply to the macroscale - for example, Thomas Huffman's (2001; 2007) Central Cattle Pattern (CCP). Consequently, they cannot accommodate microscale variation at the level of the household/homestead in the understandings that are generated. Briefly, the microscale approach discussed and utilised in this dissertation is a theoretical perspective that focuses on behavioural aspects such as gender, day-to-day activities, domestic space, change, variability and possible continuity of a society/settlement (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015). I argue that archaeologists should attempt to understand a site/community/settlement on both the macro-and microscale. Both scales are important, but depending on one's research questions, a researcher may start with the micro and work to the macro or vice versa.

The archaeological research discussed in this dissertation is a collections-based research project that focusses on the analysis of cultural material from a 19th-century southern African agropastoral Sotho-Tswana stone-walled settlement situated in the Pilanesberg National Park, North West Province, namely Mabeleapodi. This settlement was home to the Bakgatla Baga Kgafela (also referred to as the Kgafela Kgatla), a Sotho-Tswana chiefdom (Schapera 1994). The principal aim of this study is to demonstrate the importance of microscale approaches in the study of SWS and the usefulness of the combination of different source materials such as ethnography, historical and archaeological data, as well as oral tradition to interpret Sotho-Tswana settlements of the early 19th century. Mabeleapodi, among other stone-walled

sites, can be used to explore the value of a microscale approach in the archaeology of Sotho-Tswana and other agropastoral/farming community sites.

1.2 The research questions and aim of the research

This research was initially prompted by the controversy about the occupation dates of the 19th-century Kgafela Kgatla capital city, Mabeleapodi, in the Pilanesberg National Park, North West Province. Isaac Schapera, a well-known anthropologist, believed that the Kgafela Kgatla lived at Mabeleapodi (often referred to as Mmasebedule) from c. AD 1830s until approximately AD 1850 (Schapera 1994). It is believed that soon after the death of *Kgosi* (chief) Pilane, in the mid-19th century, Mabeleapodi was abandoned when his successor and son, *Kgosi* Kgamanyane, migrated to Moruleng (Saulspoort) and later to Mochudi (Botswana) after increasing conflicts with administrators of the ZAR (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek/South African Republic*) (see Chapter 3). However, recent archaeological research (Fairhurst 2019), ethnographic evidence, and oral traditions suggest that the site of Mabeleapodi was occupied until c. AD 1860s and AD 1870s during the reign of *Kgosi* Kgamanyane. In 2018, as part of my BA honours research project, I analysed archaeological material from one of the royal wives' house structures in the *Kgosing* section (the chief, his wives, and his paternal relatives generally belonged to the *Kgosing* section [Schapera 1938: 73]). The archaeological material suggested that Mabeleapodi was occupied during and after the *Difaqane* period (Fairhurst 2019). However, in an effort to substantiate this interpretation, further analysis of the archaeological material recovered from Mabeleapodi is required. Hence, the current research.

This dissertation examines the material from five midden features that were excavated during the annual UNISA field school in 2006. I take a microscale approach, seeking insights into themes such as, but not limited to, daily activities, gender, and affluence. These middens are situated in the *Kgosing* section, the *Morêma* section and the *Tshukudu* section. My research questions are as follows:

- Is it possible to obtain an insight into the household and homestead-level activities (i.e. microscale) from the archaeological material retrieved from the middens?
- Are there indications of a differentiation of male/female activities within the section? If so, what sort of activities (gendered and non-gendered) were performed?
- Can I archaeologically discern the outsiders (*badintlha*) from the custodians (Schapera 1938: 25) at Mabeleapodi's excavated midden features, the affluence of the latter, and inter-marriage between the Kgatla and other communities?
- Does the archaeological evidence, ethnographic evidence, and/or oral history substantiate the original interpretation that Mabeleapodi was occupied during and after the *Difaqane*?

With regard to the second-last question, the Kgatla were traditionally divided into *bakgosing* (people belonging to the wards of the royal section) and *badintlha* (people belonging to the wards of sections made up primarily of immigrant communities) (Schapera 1994). Schapera (1938: 25) remarks that custodians and outsiders (*badintlha*) resided in the *Morêma*, *Manamakgôtê*, *Tshukudu* and *Mabodisa* wards, consequently giving rise to the investigation of whether the custodians and the *badintlha* are visible in the archaeological record.

The question about the affluence of the *badintlha* and custodians arises out of the original interpretation that *Kgosi* Kgamanyane, (and, by implication, his father, *Kgosi* Pilane) and his wives were considered wealthy by historical standards (Morton 2010). Previous research on the house structure at Mabeleapodi attested to this interpretation (Fairhurst 2019). If the custodians of the *Morêma*, and *Tshukudu* sections are indeed linked to the *Kgosing* section, then theoretically, the archaeological material should have some similarities to the material recovered in the *Kgosing*. Therefore, in the attempt to identify the affluence of these occupants in the various sections, I looked for evidence of this in the material culture remains (for example, comb-stamped motifs present on potsherds as well as the number/variety of glass beads).

The material from each midden and section are compared to one another, and to the cultural material recovered from the *Kgosing* (Midden 3 and Hut 2). Furthermore, as a means to determine whether the previous interpretation (Fairhurst 2019) - that Mabeleapodi was occupied during and after the *Difaqane* period - is viable, I look at some of the glass beads (Wood 2008: 184) and whether the dates correspond with those excavated and analysed in the *Kgosing*, and whether they too date to the post-*Difaqane*.

In order to develop a comparison between a number of middens, data was collected through a multifaceted approach which included:

- background research into the relevant historical documentation and oral history,
- documenting the excavated features and material from the archaeological assemblages excavated in 2006,
- analysis of the archaeological material, and
- the drawing up of detailed site maps to indicate where each midden feature is situated.

The baseline research involved preliminary research into the ethnography, history and origins of the Kgafela Kgatla. In 2018, as part of my BA Honours project, I visited the Mphebotho Cultural Museum and Moruleng Cultural Precinct, where I documented the oral accounts that have been passed on from generation to generation of the Kgafela Kgatla of the North West Province, which are used and referred to throughout the research.

The study of Mabeleapodi forms part of a larger project directed by Mr Francois Coetzee, who is investigating past settlement patterns and land use in the Pilanesberg National Park. In addition, this study aims to contribute to the study of the agropastoral societies of the Pilanesberg and Magaliesberg region and the study of 19th-century Sotho-Tswana towns. Unfortunately, there is a limited amount of information regarding the exact origins of the Kgafela Kgatla, and therefore, the history of this group of people cannot be documented with certainty up to the 19th century. Nevertheless, I hope that this study

may provide a better representation of the Bakgatla бага Kgafela of the Pilanesberg and that it may aid in establishing a precedent for the importance of microscale approaches to, and household studies of, stone-walled settlements in southern Africa.

1.3 Theoretical framework

The period during which indigenous farming communities spread through and occupied southern Africa has been termed the 'Iron Age', a term borrowed from European prehistory. The term has been used by various academics such as, but not limited to, Boeyens (2003), Huffman (1989, 2007), Maggs (1993), Mason (1981), and Sadr (2018). This period was termed the 'Iron Age' mainly due to the emphasis on technology and iron working. In southern Africa, however, the so-called 'Iron Age' people were mixed farmers/agropastoralists who settled in areas with suitable soil for cultivation and enough water for domestic use (Huffman 2007: 3). Their daily lifestyle, in short, included agricultural activities such as hoe cultivation, the herding of domestic animals, as well as salt production, various metal-working activities, the manufacture and use of beads and ceramics, and the utilisation of natural resources such as wild fauna and flora (Hall 1987: 1). Population growth is believed to have been fuelled by farming and the presumed advantages of iron tools for landscape clearance and cultivation (Mitchell 2002: 259).

For several decades numerous early European travellers (*inter alia* Barrow 1806; Borchers 1861; Broadbent 1865; Burchell 1824; Campbell 1815; 1822; Kay 1834; Lichtenstein 1928), and various ethnographers, archaeologists and historians (for instance, Boeyens 2000; Breutz 1953; Daubenton 1938; Huffman 1980; 1986; 2001; 2007; Jones 1935; Kuper 1980; 1982; 1994; 1999; 2003; 2005; 2015; 2016; 2018; Laidler 1935; Maggs 1976; Mason 1962; 1965; 1968; Pistorious 1992; Pullen 1942; Schapera 1935; Seddon 1968; Van Riet Lowe 1927; Walton 1953; Wells 1933 etc.) have studied and documented Sotho-Tswana agropastoral settlements throughout southern Africa. Furthermore, several approaches and models have been used and formulated in order to characterise the spatial/settlement patterns of the 'IA'

of southern Africa. These include simple site descriptions, typological approaches (for example, classification systems), establishing identities, cognitive and normative models, direct historical approaches and so forth (the approaches are discussed in Chapter 2).

I should note that this research is neither aimed at disregarding nor discouraging the use of any of the approaches and models; after all, many of these contributed and paved the way for our understanding of agropastoral societies and have proven to be valid. However, most research focusing on SWS for the last two to three decades has utilised cognitive and normative approaches that work on a general scale. These approaches have remained somewhat unchanged since the 1980s. Unfortunately, cognitive structuralist and normative approaches to 'Iron Age' agropastoral societies tempt archaeologists to become complacent regarding further research and the discovery of new settlements. The latter notion results from the mindset that "if you have seen one, you have seen them all". Sotho-Tswana sites often yield a variety of differences; therefore, a "one size fits all approach" is not suitable when working with southern African agropastoral settlements (Pikirayi and Chirikure 2011: 228). If we are to continue with this "avenue of enquiry" (Anderson 2009: 3), nothing new will be contributed. I would, thus, challenge the idea that "if you have seen one" Tswana town "you have seen them all".

A theoretical shift is required, one that may enable us to explore localised context-specific insights, which inform on continuity, change, gender roles and variability (Anderson 2009; Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015). As a result, archaeologists have recently been attempting to utilise microscale approaches and develop interdisciplinary approaches. For example, the Five Hundred Years Initiative (FYI) collaborative research group promotes collaboration between researchers from different disciplines and the utilisation of synergistic research frameworks in the hopes of producing a more accurate understanding of the last 500 years of South African history (Behrens 2007; Swanepoel et al. 2008).

Examples of this theoretical shift, and the advantages of this, can be seen in the recent research on the Bokoni sites in Mpumalanga. The Bakoni or Koni are believed to be a Nguni ethnic group, however, there have been some disagreements on their exact origin (see Delius & Schoeman 2008: 143). The research at these sites revealed a dynamic past and demonstrated that the Bokoni sites were not “homogenous and static”. For instance, the utilisation of a ‘microscale lens’, such as the study of house forms at Koni sites, has aided researchers in identifying that their house forms are indicative of identity¹ rather than just being an adaptation to the local environment. In other words, the Koni were in contrast to their Ndzundza neighbours (Delius & Schoeman 2008).

The theoretical framework in this research is aimed at combining archaeology, ethnography and oral traditions through a microscale lens. This study and the use of microscale approaches and interdisciplinary research frameworks were initially founded on the groundwork of Fredriksen and Chirikure (2015) and the Five Hundred Years Initiative (FYI). Microscale approaches may enable us as archaeologists to better understand gendered roles in society, intra-site and inter-cultural variation, economic specialisation and the organisation of production, as well as human contributions and responses to climatic changes (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015). According to Fredriksen & Chirikure (2015), a shift from the macroscale to the microscale would change the perspective on social life. In other words, the understanding of small-scale dynamics within households needs researchers to engage with how people interacted in and used those spaces on an everyday basis. In this way, different kinds of knowledge can be produced about the past (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015: 4), especially since numerous changes took place throughout the southern African ‘Iron Age’ (Lane 1998: 192). There are often significant differences between the worldview of Sotho-Tswana communities. Cultural changes are also apparent among many of these communities. Various factors, such as internal conflicts and periods of fission played a role in these

¹ The Bakoni adopted a regional identity, and did not build their homes in the same architectural style as the Nguni (Delius & Schoeman 2008).

communities' formation, separation and merging. While many communities have similar worldviews, their reactions to the numerous changes that were underway in the Tswana world at this time could have differed. This has implications for settlement organisation as well as how past communities interacted with their surroundings (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015). Hence, great caution is necessary when approaching Sotho-Tswana sites.

Countless Sotho-Tswana and Tswana settlements/towns have been identified in the Pilanesberg/Magaliesberg and Zeerust/Pilanesberg/Rustenburg (ZPR) regions of South Africa. Archaeological studies have demonstrated that this region contains several aggregated stone-walled sites (Jordaan 2016). Figure 1.2 indicates some of the documented settlements in the region, such as Mabeleapodi, Kaditshwene, Marothodi, Boitsemegano, Molokwane, and Olifantspoort. Unfortunately, the majority of the research and documentation of the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region only focuses on a few groups. Of the various groups in the region, the Bakgatla, Bafokeng and Batlokwa have received ample attention over the past few years. Thus, little to no effort has been made to distinguish between the long-standing inhabitants of this region and historically account for them as “next-door neighbours” (Morton 2008: 3).

An example as to why I challenge the idea that if “you have seen one, you have seen them all” is that Sotho-Tswana sites such as Mabeleapodi may not have been directly affected during the *Difaqane* period in the same way as sites of other Tswana groups in the wider region were (see discussion in Chapter 3). I highlight this period of conflict because the common assumption about the *Difaqane*, Mzilikazi and his Ndebele warriors is that many settlements were destroyed and abandoned and that all communities were subjected to conflict. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that even though many groups did come into contact with Mzilikazi and were affected during this tumultuous period, not all were necessarily equally impacted. This, again, points to a much-needed change in attempting to understand

Sotho-Tswana agropastoral societies. Paying more individual attention to different groups, and using multiple strands of evidence will result in more nuanced understandings of the historical dynamics specific to the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region (Morton 2008). Each settlement should be examined as a unique expression of the people who built and occupied it. Using a microscale lens shifts focus from the macroscale, enabling archaeologists to understand how different households and communities organised themselves within broader settlement patterns and how these groups played a role in the surrounding landscape.

Even though I am researching a previously studied group, I believe that the diligent study of oral traditions, historical accounts and archaeological evidence shows great promise in reconstructing the history of one of the groups in the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg area, and overall, aid in understanding the history of the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg area as a whole. Through investigating and analysing the different features such as middens, households and structures in the different sections, we may be able to establish either similarities or differences between the sections. A further comparative study of Mabeleapodi and the other Kgatla groups that branched off, or other Sotho-Tswana sites located in or around the Pilanesberg and the larger North West Province, could one day also yield valuable insights. While an investigation of this scale is beyond the scope of this study, it can aid in understanding Tswana communities and the Kgafela Kgatla from a macroscale perspective.



Figure 1.1 Map of southern Africa indicating the location of the Pilanesberg/Magaliesberg region (Image: S. Fairhurst).

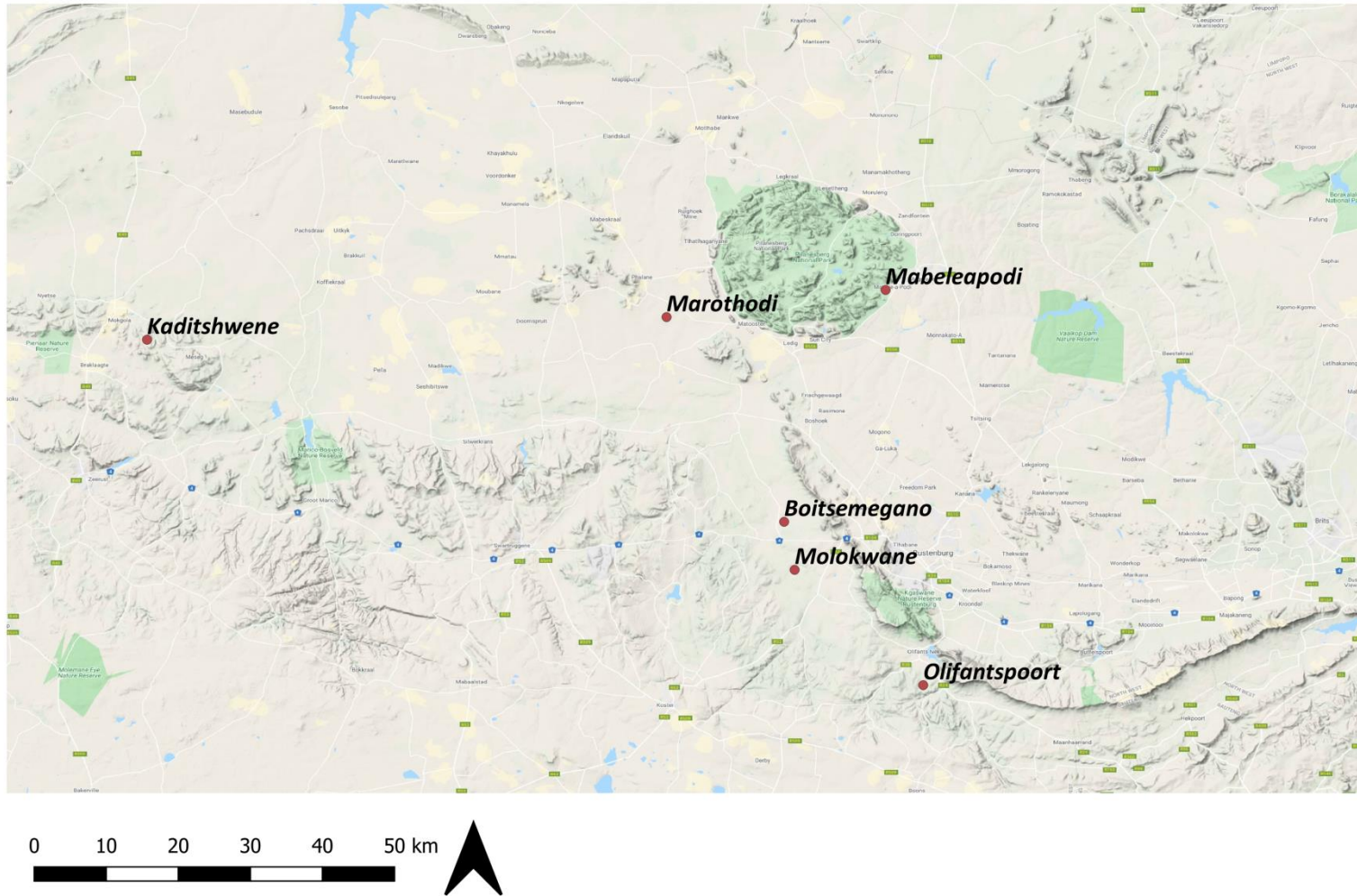


Figure 1.2 Map of the Pilanesberg region, indicating several of the agropastoral Tswana towns in the region (Image: S. Fairhurst).

1.4 Dissertation overview

In Chapter 1, a general introduction to the field of research is provided. This chapter looks at the research objectives, aims and questions. It briefly outlines the theoretical framework and the importance of the theoretical shift that is required. Chapter 2 defines the academic background of the current research by looking at the development and advancement of southern African ‘Late Iron Age’ archaeological research and the study of ‘LIA’ stone-walled settlements. Chapter 2 also looks at some of the critiques of cognitive models and provides a more comprehensive explanation as to why a theoretical shift is required and how we can combine historical, archaeological evidence and oral tradition, along with microscale approaches.

Chapter 3 provides a brief history of the Kgatla, such as their origins and the formation of the Kgatla, and how they were affected during the *Difaqane* period as well as their relationship with the Boers. Chapter 4 discusses the geological setting of the Pilanesberg region and includes a site description of Mabeleapodi.

Chapter 5 discusses the midden features, the methods of fieldwork and the analysis used in this research (i.e. the approaches and techniques used in the field and laboratory). Chapter 6 presents the results of the archaeological excavations conducted at Mabeleapodi, which were primarily directed around the midden features. Spatial and material evidence was recorded and analysed to maximise the comparative study of each midden and to facilitate comparison with the previously documented house structure in the *Kgosing*. Chapter 7 looks at the research results and provides interpretations and a discussion.

C HAPTER 2

2 THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF STONE-WALLED SITES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

From the 1960s onward, the archaeology of the 'Iron Age (IA)' and stone-walled settlements (SWS) has considerably advanced from an initial focus on simple site descriptions, establishing identity, and classification systems, to the analysis of settlement organisation through increasing utilisation and integration of oral and ethnographic data, as well as the implementation of ethnographically orientated normative models. Typological models and cognitive structuralist models have been some of the dominant interpretive frameworks for research carried out since the 1960s and 1980s, respectively. Recently, however, archaeologists have been attempting to find alternative approaches. More specifically, approaches that do not simply focus on a general macroscale but that instead focus on the "mundane" (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015: 1), the smaller-scale variations on the microscale. Archaeologists have also endeavoured to combine interdisciplinary research frameworks by integrating and incorporating archaeological material, ethnographic and historical literature, and oral traditions to understand the 'LIA' and Sotho-Tswana communities better.

In these efforts, the SWS of the agropastoral Sotho-Tswana communities have received much attention and have been intensively studied over the years in order to answer questions related to settlement patterns and spatial organisation (*inter alia* Huffman 2001; 2007, 2012; Maggs 1972, 1976; Mason 1968, 1986; Pistorius 1992; Taylor 1979; Van Hoepen 1939; Van Riet Lowe 1927; Walton 1953).

This chapter will look at the appropriateness of the term 'Iron Age'. In addition, it will briefly look at some of the approaches and methods that have been formulated and utilised in attempts to understand

agropastoral communities and their stone-walled settlements and structures. The scope of this literature review includes the large body of research that has been completed on the 'IA' and SWS of South Africa and agropastoral Tswana and Sotho-Tswana communities in conjunction with an overview of how microscale research and combining research frameworks can aid us as archaeologists in attempts to understand agropastoral societies and their SWS.

2.2 An appropriate label?

Before I delve into the discussion of the approaches toward SWS, it is essential to highlight the issues revolving around the term 'Iron Age'. The term 'Iron Age' was first applied to the local sequence in 1933 (Wells 1933), but it did not catch on until later. The so-called 'Iron Age' was initially referred to as the 'Bantu Period' with connotations of a short and late chronology, and was therefore regarded as being of little interest to archaeologists (Maggs 1993: 70). One of the first archaeologists to take up a systematic study of these sites was Prof Revil Mason, successor to Prof Van Riet Lowe at the University of Witwatersrand. Prof Mason conducted archaeological investigations at sites north of the Vaal and made numerous significant contributions to the field. He was the first to publish a definition for the South African archaeological term 'Iron Age' (see Mason 1952).

The term 'Iron Age' designates a block of time in which iron utilisation became widespread (Huffman 2007: 331). The southern African 'Iron Age' has been divided into three periods. However, some researchers, such as Van der Ryst and Meyer (1999), have suggested that there are only two phases within the 'IA', the 'Early Iron Age' (EIA) 200 – 1000 AD and the 'Late Iron Age' (LIA) 1000 – 1850 AD as the Middle Iron Age is confined to one geographic area. The more widely accepted dates in the field of archaeology are the 'Early Iron Age' (EIA) 250 – 900 AD, 'Middle Iron Age' (MIA) 900 – 1300 AD, and the 'Late Iron Age' (LIA) 1300 – 1840 AD. Thomas Huffman, one of the main proponents of the MIA, believed that the MIA should be included in southern Africa's Iron Age period. However, its geographic restriction to the

Shashe/Limpopo region (Huffman 2007; Warren 2013) is one of the primary reasons disagreements have arisen about whether the MIA should be included in the South African Iron Age sequence.

The term 'Iron Age' has been widely used for decades in southern Africa. However, with the growing sensitivity among archaeologists toward the communities they study, it would appear that this term is neither suitable nor desirable. Ironworking was a principal aspect of the agriculturalists' activities. However, they also worked with other metals such as copper, tin and gold (see Anderson 2009; Boeyens 2000; Greener & Ben-Yosef 2016; Huffman 2007; Mitchell 2002). Evidence has further suggested that the care, cultivation and breeding of crops and animals were crucial in their subsistence economy. In other words, ironworking was not their only advancement, as implied by the term 'Iron Age'. The term, therefore, becomes less useful when exploring their complex economic, linguistic, technological and social interactions.

Within popular and academic writing, the usage of the label 'Iron Age' could be taken as a term of 'abuse', as it downgrades and dehumanises past communities and their place within history. Furthermore, there are other hesitations about using the term 'Iron Age' in the southern African context. Because the term was imported from the European sequence and, as a consequence, has different connotations, it is often regarded as a "misnomer" (Maggs 1992). Due to the emphasis on one significant technological aspect, it falls short of being an ideal label, as the contemporary introduction of crop cultivation is ignored by the term. Researchers have put forward several alternative terms. These alternative terms include farmers, farming communities, agropastoralists, agriculturalists, as well as early and late farming communities (Maggs 1992: 131; Mitchell 2002: 259). These terms are more accurate for describing complex societies, particularly since they emphasise herding, cultivation and gathering of crops (Maggs 1992: 131; Mitchell 2002: 259).

Not all of the groups in South Africa during the 'Iron Age' period were agropastoralists, however. Hunter-gatherers and pastoralist groups also resided in South Africa at the time, many of which persisted into the 20th century (Kusimba 2005: 346). The Stone Age hunter-gatherers' descendants continued their foraging practices and could have shared their territories with their farmer/agropastoral neighbours (Kent 2002: 48; Kusimba 2005: 346). It is possible they modified and adapted their food-gathering practices and social interactions to improve trade and complementarity (Kusimba 2002: 346). Therefore, there is no one-to-one equivalency between the archaeology of farming communities and the 'Iron Age'. While the term 'Iron Age' does not entirely describe this time period in South African history, it is still broadly accepted as designating that period of time during which the South African landscape was occupied by communities practising an agropastoral way of life, likely interacting with hunter-gatherers and pastoralists and at the more recent end of the scale, European colonists (Huffman 2007: 331). I make use of the term 'Iron Age' or 'Late Iron Age' throughout this dissertation, because it is currently the only term we have that "separates" this period from the Stone Age and Historical/colonial period. I regard the settlements/communities/groups themselves as agropastoralists/farmers or early farmers.

2.3 A brief history of the early records of SWS in southern Africa

2.3.1 Early observations of SWS (the 1800s)

The earliest documentary sources about southern Africa become available from the mid-15th century onwards as a result of shipwrecks and the landing of sea-bound explorers. The quantity and quality of this data starts to increase in the mid-17th century with the establishment of permanent European settlements in Cape Town but descriptions of local people remained somewhat restricted to the Khoe-San and, later, to the amaXhosa for many years (Frescura 1985: 3). In the early 19th century, travellers started venturing into the southern African interior, documenting Sotho-Tswana and Tswana communities/sites. Among these travellers were explorers, missionaries, naturalists, early 'ethnographers' and anthropologists.

Their accounts and journals often consist of descriptions and astonishing illustrations (for instance, Figure 2.1.) of the groups of people they encountered, their architecture, settlements, their beliefs, as well as the locations of these groups (*inter alia* Barrow 1806; Borchers 1861; Burchell 1824; Campbell 1815; 1822; Kay 1834). The travellers' journals and accounts narrate how they traversed the harsh African landscape and their interactions with the 'natives'. These early historical documents provide vibrant descriptions of what appear to have been prosperous and well-established agropastoral Tswana societies.

Unfortunately, at the time, the early European travellers who came to southern Africa were not trained ethnographers. Only a handful of travellers, such as William Burchell (a naturalist and early 'ethnographer') and Heinrich Lichtenstein (a German doctor and naturalist), had scientific training (Burchell 1824; Lichtenstein 1812). Many, if not all, of the early travellers were burdened with Eurocentric prejudice and religious zeal. Their Eurocentric mindset frequently "lent itself to misinterpretation, patronising condescension, or outright disdain" (Anderson 2009: 5). Upon reading their journals, it becomes clear that a large portion of the travellers were Christians, Christian missionaries (for example, John Campbell, Petrus Borchers, and Petrus Truter, among many others) and agents of the London missionary society (LMS) (such as John Campbell, Samuel Broadbent and Robert Moffat). Their accounts often portray their Christianity and religious zeal (for example, Borchers 1861; Campbell 1815; 1822, Broadbent 1865).

Because of their religious and Eurocentric mindset, many of the early travellers regarded the 'native' communities they came in contact with and their neighbouring communities as "heathens" and claimed that these "heathens" performed "heathen ceremonies" (for instance, Mackenzie 1871). Thus, their religious zeal frequently led to misunderstandings of local cultural values and distorted ethnographic insights gained from attempting to understand the "unclean" characteristics of "heathenism" they observed among African people (Anderson 2009: 6). Unfortunately, these colonial outsiders could not

fully grasp the cultural complexities and nuances of the southern African indigenous cultures they encountered. These travellers were also not aware that the enormous settlements of the communities they came in contact with were a relatively recent phenomenon that started developing 200 years prior to the arrival of the Europeans (i.e. a Tswana response to various unprecedented political and economic changes that shook the region).

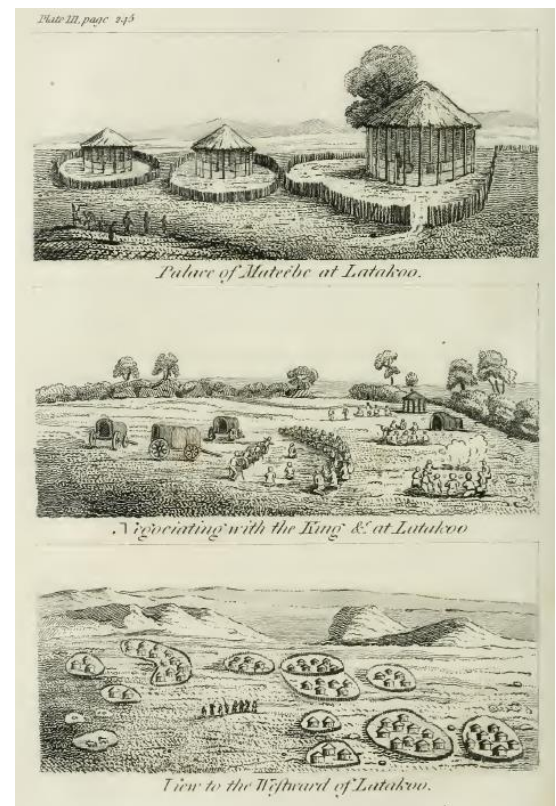


Figure 2.1 i) The king's district (Campbell 1822); ii) Booshwana village in Borched's autobiography (initially drawn by Samuel Daniel in 1801 at Dithakong) (Borcherds 1861); iii) the palace of Mateebe; negotiations with the Kgosi at Dithakong; and a view (westward) of Dithakong as illustrated in Campbell's journal (Campbell 1915).

Countless detailed records exist of the European journeys into the interior of southern Africa to Tswana settlements². Some travellers merely wanted to explore the unknown parts of Africa, acquaint themselves with its inhabitants, and increase their knowledge³. Other travellers' interests in the interior of southern Africa were, at times, more of an economic nature. They sought to establish new trade relations in order to obtain cattle from communities far beyond the Cape colony's northern boundaries⁴.

Even though they have their shortcomings and limitations (which should be taken into consideration by archaeologists seeking to use their journals and descriptions), these early accounts are an imperative body of literature as their observations captured first-hand the 'living Tswana communities' and 'ethnographic present'. Whether the travellers' objectives were for missionary work, curiosity or trade, their journals present detailed accounts and illustrative images of the Tswana towns and the house structures they encountered (Figures 2.1. and 2.2.).

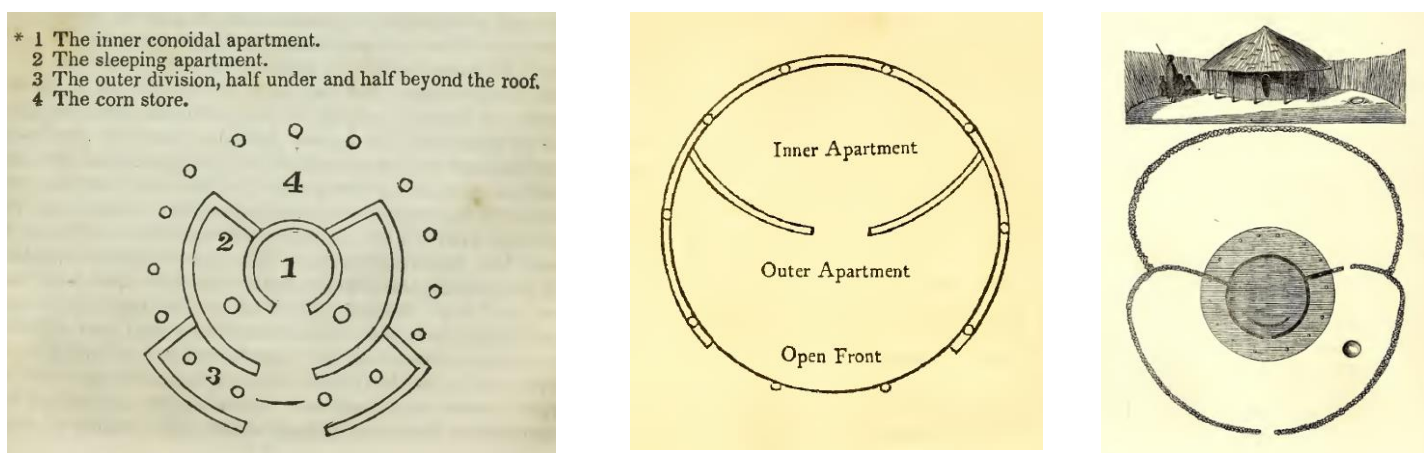


Figure 2.2 Examples of house structures the travellers encountered: i) a plan of a Bochuana building as indicated by Kay (1834); ii) Barrow's plan of a Bochuana structure (Barrow 1806); iii) Burchell's plan of a Thlaping structure (Burchell 1824).

² Many travelled to Dithakong (referred to in the early literature as Letako [Borcherds 1861], Litakun [Burchell 1824], Litakoo [Lichtenstein 1812], and Leetakoo [Barrow 1806]) and Kadistwene (Kurreechane [Campbell 1822] and Kurreshane [Kay 1834]).

³ For instance, the early 'ethnographer' (Stewart & Warner 2012: 7) William Burchell's four-year expedition into the southern African interior was for the "purpose of acquiring knowledge" (Burchell 1822: v).

⁴ Such expeditions were undertaken in 1801 and 1805 (Borcherds 1861; Somerville, in Bradlow & Bradlow 1979).

2.4 Archaeological approaches used to understand Sotho-Tswana SWS in southern Africa.

When looking at the early European records, it becomes clear that many of them only grasped the most basic and general forms of Tswana settlements. In addition, these sources are not the product of dedicated study – the authors were not self-critical or applying an established methodology. Nevertheless, they did record the ‘ethnographic present’ of their time and contain a valuable collection of data. Unfortunately, apart from a few exceptions (in particular, Campbell 1822), these travellers did not attempt to combine historical knowledge, ethnographic insights, and archaeological observations. However, from the 20th century onwards, we start seeing approaches and methods being formulated with an increase in the use of the above-mentioned research frameworks in attempts to understand and reconstruct SWS and agropastoral societies.

2.4.1 Early archaeological research and approaches toward stone-walled sites (the 1900s)

The earlier years of southern African archaeology focused largely on the Stone Age (Maggs 1993: 70). A few isolated archaeological excavations were done by members of the Anatomy department at Witwatersrand University. Up until the 1940s, most of the research on African societies in the pre-colonial and early contact period was conducted by “amateurs”⁵, government servants involved in native affairs or missionaries (Bonner et al. 2008:1-2; Maggs 1993: 70). The researchers who studied southern African ‘Iron Age’ archaeology eventually started developing several rudimentary models and approaches to help understand agropastoralists’ settlements and their lifeways. The models/approaches later advanced, adapted and changed into the approaches we know and use today.

⁵ There were hardly a handful of experts in the country at this time.

Several bodies of work exist from the early- to mid-1900s focusing on SWS in southern Africa (for example, Jones 1935; Laidler 1935; Van Riet Lowe 1927; Wells 1933). At the time, there were no detailed scientific records (Van Riet Lowe 1927: 217) of the structures. The first peer-reviewed publication attempted to “elucidate the mystery” and “reconstruct and repopulate the settlement” at an SWS near Heilbron, Free State (Van Riet Lowe 1927: 217). This publication opened the way for other researchers, thus, to some extent, increasing the interest in the study of SWS and agropastoral societies. Unfortunately, at this early stage in the archaeology of SWS and agropastoral societies, the early-1900s literature on SWS provides brief and ‘hasty’ descriptions of the sites and structures, frequently incorporating and drawing attention to the publications of their peers/predecessors. They often provide simple comparisons with previously excavated sites/structures. Van Riet Lowe’s (1927), among others such as Wells’ (1933), Laidler’s (1935), Jones’ (1935) and Walton’s (1953) research and publications, were descriptive with barely any serious attempts at suggesting historical identity or context. Only a few of these works provide relatively detailed plans and illustrations.

The researchers would admit that more “extensive archaeological” (Wells 1933: 584) research and “extensive stud[ies] of native tradition” (Jones 1935: 536) were required and that they should incorporate historical, linguistic and other studies (Wells 1933: 584). Nevertheless, their early studies and research contributed significantly to the state of contemporary archaeological knowledge. At the time, early attempts at explaining the chronological progression of structures and sites and classifications of the local settlement style began to emerge (Laidler 1935: 51-52).

It would appear that researchers and archaeologists started taking to heart that they should do more detailed studies of the sites and the communities under study. From about the 1950s onward, researchers started to incorporate ethnographic data, thus approaching the archaeology of Sotho-Tswana speakers from a historical and ethnographic perspective. They incorporated and utilised the existing Sotho-Tswana

and Tswana ethnography⁶ for archaeological interpretation and used the historical background. Unfortunately, during the mid-1900s, their historical sources were still limited to the work of their peers and predecessors.

Some notable figures during this time in archaeological and ethnographic progression are Paul-Lenert Breutz, Isaac Schapera, Nicolaas Van Warmelo and Eileen and Jacob Krige. The work of Breutz and Schapera, among others, added a vast amount of detail and information to our knowledge of past Sotho-Tswana societies (Legassick 1969: 94), thus, contributing significantly to the history of Sotho-Tswana and Tswana communities and pre-colonial Africa. However, just as previous travellers and observers had their shortcomings and limitations, so did they. Their work generally had to fit into “segregationist/apartheid schemas” (Bonner et al. 2008: 3). In addition to this, social anthropological studies during this period were dominated by the prevailing structural functionalist paradigm. This paradigm often perceived African societies as mostly static and excluded politics and power from the theoretical context/analytical frame, instead substituting culture and custom in its place (Bonner et al. 2008: 3).

Although their work is ethnographic in nature, their publications about the Tswana-speaking people of South Africa have served generations of archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists as one of the most important sources in reconstructing the Tswana colonial past. The work of Breutz and Schapera, among others, derived from Tswana and Sotho-Tswana informants, recorders and from acknowledged written and published sources. They often provide detailed geographical locations of Tswana settlements (specifically Breutz’s publications of the historical and genealogical contexts of the large SWS associated with specific Tswana groups in the North West Province), which are valuable to archaeologists. Schapera’s work is helpful with regard to my research as much of his work focuses on the Bakgatla бага Kgafela. He recorded many of their oral traditions, going into detail about the chiefs’ and regents’ genealogies, even

⁶ For example, Walton [1953] obtained local tradition from a local Fokeng informant.

that of *Kgosi* Pilane, and his son Kgamanyane. During the 1930s, researchers and historians, such as Schapera, started looking at and attempting to define the Tswana homestead and wards/sections, documenting the 'ward system' (Schapera 1953: 35-36; 203-224), which is apparent at many Tswana settlements, such as Mabeleapodi. Looking at it in more detail, this might be an early attempt at a very rudimentary 'microscale' approach, seeing as he attempted to distinguish between the 'wards'.

Nevertheless, their work is not without flaws. For example, Paul Lennert Breutz's work is contradictory in nature⁷ (Hall 2007: 165). However, these researchers accumulated a vast and remarkable collection of pre-colonial African history, much of which is still unpublished and which continues to be tapped (Bonner et al. 2008: 3). Their research will likely continue to be used by academics. We should, however, use it judiciously and with careful consideration.

2.4.2 Typological approaches

During the 1960s and 1970s, aerial surveys played an essential role in developing settlement pattern studies, allowing archaeologists to discover numerous SWS in southern Africa (for example, Maggs 1972; Mason 1968; Seddon 1968; Taylor 1979). Archaeologists could now attempt to fill the knowledge gap regarding the extent of SWS distributions.

In the mid-1960s, some of the earliest systematic typological work on SWS was conducted (Maggs 1993: 71). Mason (1968) created a five-class classification system. However, after more extensive archaeological research, he eventually withdrew his 1968 classification and redefined and expanded it to 11 classes in 1986 (Appendix A). Mason's 1968 approach opened a new avenue for archaeologists. In the 1960s,

⁷ Breutz rejected most of the oral evidence he collected from the Tswana he interviewed with regard to the builders of the SWS (Hall 2007: 165).

archaeologists such as Seddon expanded Mason's original study area, intending to define the distribution of Mason's classes outside the original study area⁸.

The research at the time, has been characterised as a "common sense approach" (Anderson 2009: 27). The SWS were generally attributed to Tswana-speakers and made very little use of ethnographic data or oral tradition to identify settlements or in the analysis of spatial organisation, mainly taking into consideration selected early historical accounts and archaeological evidence. Mason, for instance, based his early interpretations of settlement organisation on function (i.e. the functions of the structures/settlements). The variation of settlement styles and settlement concentrations throughout the landscape is viewed by Mason (1968: 175) as characteristic of distinct 'Iron Age' behaviour associated with differences in the environments, or simply as different behavioural changes brought about by geographic isolation.

From the 1970s, other typological and classification approaches started to appear (for example, Maggs 1976; Taylor 1979). Tim Maggs's work is critical for our understanding of the chronology of stone-walled settlements. By using historical perspectives and Sotho oral traditions and history, Maggs (1976) was able to link specific historical groups in the landscape to different site types. Maggs' typological approach was different from, but nevertheless overlapped with, Mason's (1968) approach. Maggs' approach has four main classes of SWS types, Type N, V, Z and R (Maggs 1976) (Appendix A).

Taylor (1979) examined aerial photographs from the Vredefort Dome area (specifically Buffelshoek) to classify SWS. This area fell between the regions targeted by Maggs and Mason in their respective studies. The hope was that the region might provide insights into the relationship between sites and settlement patterns in the north as opposed to the south (Taylor 1979: 1). The data he collected through the aerial

⁸ Variability in settlement style was noted, and linked by Seddon, albeit tentatively, to chronological development (Seddon 1968). Mason (1968: 175) drew on his spatial data in order to interpret space in individual sites, he also started exploring a "possible relationship between structure and function".

survey enabled him to develop his typology for the region. Taylor (1979) identified three groups (see Appendix A) and linked Groups I and II to Maggs' Type N and Type Z sites.

2.4.3 Cognitive models

In the 1980s, investigations were done on late 19th-century Nguni settlement organisation by well-known anthropologist, Adam Kuper (1980; 1982; 1994; 1999; 2003; 2005; 2015; 2016; 2018). He observed what he termed the southern African Bantu Cattle Pattern. He conducted a comparative study of southern Bantu-speakers' settlements, primarily using a structural analysis approach. Kuper developed an ethnographic model that enabled him to identify certain aspects of the worldview shared by both Sotho-Tswana and Nguni-speaking communities in the ethnographic present.

Kuper observed "that all over southern Africa these settlement patterns were variations on a kind of structural theme" (Gibb & Mills 2001:213). Archaeologists now "had a model" to work with, Kuper comments further that "once they found the structure going back a thousand years, they could begin to argue about the cognitive elements in the same sort of way as ethnographers do" (Gibb & Mills 2001:213). This model was an essential step in the development of southern African 'Iron Age' archaeology. Kuper's model was later adapted and renamed by Thomas Huffman as the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP). Thomas Huffman further differentiated the CCP from the Zimbabwe Pattern (ZP) (Fredriksen 2015: 156; Huffman 2001; 2007: 25). Over the past few years, the CCP model has been adopted by various southern African archaeologists as a model with which to interpret 'IA' period sites (such as Evers 1984; Huffman 1986; Pistorious 1992).

2.4.3.1 The Central Cattle Pattern and the direct historical approach

At the core of the discussions about the introduction and understanding of SWS and associated pottery is the application of the CCP as a "normative model" for understanding South African agropastoral

communities' settlement space (Huffman 1986; 2001). The CCP and elements of the CCP have been noted on various archaeological sites of different periods across southern Africa⁹.

It is believed that settlement organisation is linked to worldview, thus, the CCP is also closely associated with worldview. Worldview is seen, in this instance, as a system of beliefs about society, the natural world, and people. In other words, a set of values to guide choice, rules that aid in governing behaviour, and gives meaning and expression to social organisation. Groups who share the same worldview would in turn use the same principles in settlement organisation (Huffman 2001: 21; 2007: 23). Although Huffman (2001; 2007) did note that it is possible that one worldview may produce numerous social and settlement organisations, among pre-colonial societies different worldviews do not typically generate the same settlement organisation.

The CCP is closely associated with the ideas believed to be embodied in the worldview of Eastern Bantu-speaking groups (Sotho-Tswana and Nguni-speakers). Consequently, the model is not confined to any particular group or environment (Huffman 2001: 21). In Huffman's view, this settlement pattern "is a cultural package" restricted to eastern Bantu speakers and ranked-based societies. They share a similar worldview (in terms of the model) about certain cultural norms such as patrilineality, cattle being the preference for bridewealth (*lobola*), hereditary male leadership, as well as certain positive beliefs about the ancestors' roles in daily life. The relationships between these characteristics are all interconnected (Fredriksen 2015: 158; Huffman 2001: 21; 2007: 25; 2009: 39). The CCP model is based around the idea of worldview, but similar worldviews may be expressed differently. Thus, not all settlement patterns are necessarily the same and a number of variations are recognised. While the CCP is partly analogical,

⁹ Among these are several first millennium groups, 15th- to 17th- century SWS associated with proto-Sotho-Tswana and Proto-Nguni groups and 18th- and 19th- century Tswana settlements (Lane 2004: 274, 2005: 31).

Huffman (2001: 21) argues that it is also derived from a direct historical approach as there is a direct cultural connection between the ethnographic templates and the archaeology.

It has been argued that the CCP model is rooted in structuralist thought¹⁰. Briefly, the model is used to interpret settlement space associated with mixed farming communities in southern Africa. On the grounds of the importance of cattle within Sotho-Tswana and Nguni societies as both symbolic and economic resources (Lane 1998: 182), the typical organisation of the CCP, thereby, consists of an arc of houses situated around a central cattle kraal/byre (Huffman 2007: 25; 2012: 124). Cattle kraals/byres are situated at the centre of a settlement or settlement subsection such as a ward (Badenhorst 2009: 149, 151; Huffman 2007: 25; 2012: 124; Lane 1998: 182). Gender plays a vital role among Sotho-Tswana and Tswana communities. Thus, gender is considered to be a significant aspect of the CCP model and is a prominent structuring principle. Men were customarily associated with the central area, whereas women had restricted access to this area. Space within a settlement is organised according to opposing values of male/female, left/right, public/domestic, and top/bottom. Other oppositions which are also represented spatially, either concentric or diametric, are commonly pastoralism/agriculture, ancestors/descendants, rulers/subjects and cool/hot (Badenhorst 2009 148-149; Fredriksen 2012: 11).

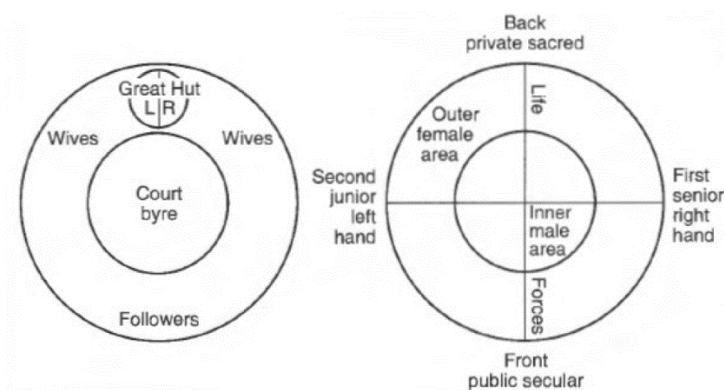


Figure 2.3 The organisational structure of the CCP (Huffman 2007: 25).

¹⁰ The CCP has strong connotations to structural theory (see, for example, Claude Levi Strauss' [1963] discussion on social organisation).

2.4.3.2 Critiques of cognitive structuralism

It is undeniable that the CCP model advanced our understanding of earlier prehistoric social formations connected to the emergence and development of settled agropastoralism as well as the nature of historic and proto-historic Nguni and Sotho-Tswana societies (Lane 2004: 274). As an interpretive model, this cognitive structuralist approach was a significant turning point in understanding spatial patterning among the 'IA' period communities in southern Africa. Nevertheless, this model is continuously under debate (Fredriksen 2007; Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015; Lane 1994/5, 2004, 2005). The CCP as a model for archaeological explanation has been critiqued by various researchers from different standpoints, such as ethnographic/historical (source-side) and archaeological (subject-side) perspectives (see Lane 2005: 33).

Problems may arise when attempting to apply the CCP model to sites from the last two thousand years. Regardless of the fact that Huffman does offer a characterisation of space, culture and language, it has been argued that this characterisation is oversimplified, and that Huffman does not offer an adequate explanation as to why southern African agricultural communities have been able to maintain these basic structures over a period of nearly two thousand years (Lane 1994/5: 56). This needs to be interrogated otherwise there is a risk that a focus on continuity rather than change will be taken to imply that African societies are unchanging (Lane 1994/5: 56). Consequently, critiques arose noting that structuralist approaches represent people as mechanistically obeying norms and structures, implying that people's social and spatial practices were predetermined and unchanging through time and space (Fredriksen 2012: 12). Structuralist models tend to distance people from social action, which, in turn, becomes a subroutine within which people obstinately live, thus leaving us with ahistoric and static ethnographic models of Tswana societies (Hall 1998: 235). If we combine and infer the meaning of the source side (ethnographic/historical) and the subject side (archaeological) onto a general (macroscale) level, as Fredriksen and Chirikure (2015: 7) argue, we then transmit context-specific meanings from selected sites to sites with similar spatial and material features. This, in turn, invites "timelessness" and embeds

“abstract, appropriated space into the models’ temporal circularity” (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015: 7). The CCP has centred attention on the cattle/court/male head triad (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015). Although this is important, we should keep in mind that the adoption of stonewalling and changes to the internal and external layout of the house could have been influenced by or related to changes in the balance of power between men and women as the broader socio-political context of proto-historic Tswana societies changed and shifted (Lane 1998). We omit significant synchronic and diachronic differences by making broad generalisations (Fredriksen and Chirikure 2015: 7).

The CCP model focuses more on structures than explaining and clarifying a society’s behavioural rules and customs (Whitelaw 2012). Another critique is that the cognitive structuralist approach to agropastoral sites tempts archaeologists to refrain from further research and the discovery of new settlements (Pikirayi & Chirikure 2011). The latter notion results from the mindset that they are all identical (Pikirayi & Chirikure 2011: 229). Agropastoral sites often yield various differences; therefore, a “one size fits all approach” is inappropriate when working with southern African ‘IA’ settlements (Pikirayi & Chirikure 2011: 228).

Thomas Huffman (2001) maintains that the CCP is a generalised, normative model, and it is not designed to investigate the aspects or detail of the daily life of past societies (Huffman 2001: 24), it is, by definition, ahistoric (Hall 1998). As such, normative models are not designed to investigate change and variability, or individual sites (Fredriksen 2015: 165). When considering past social dynamics of change, minimal emphasis is given to subjectivity, individual creativity and intentionality (Fredriksen 2007: 127, 2012: 20). These models tend to have archaeologists viewing Tswana towns and their preference for living “as an inherent cultural norm”, overlooking the historical circumstances and processes that contributed to their development from the 18th century onward (Anderson 2009: 3).

The cultures and human behaviours of the archaeological past were (during the 19th and 20th centuries) essentially thought to be identical to those observed and documented ethnographically (Lyman and

O'Brien 2001). According to Lyman and O'Brien (2001), they could be studied by anyone with little to no archaeological experience. This viewpoint resulted in the regular use of what became officially known as the direct historical approach in the 1930s. As noted earlier in this Chapter, Thomas Huffman acknowledges that the CCP derives from the direct historical approach. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that there have been disagreements about using the direct historical approach. Archaeologists have also argued that using a direct historical approach (for example, the CCP) is not suitable. In other words, the concept of the 'ethnographic present' is of little or no value because it neither accommodates nor emphasises change. Lane (1994/5: 52) provides three examples that utilise the direct historical approach to "substantiate and 'flesh out' interpretations of Later Iron Age material". He acknowledges that the oral traditions and historical records in these examples indicate some form of cultural continuity between past and present occupants in the region. He goes on to argue, however, that like most archaeologists working on 'IA' period material from southern Africa, the use of ethnographic data in the examples he offers is based on the largely untested assumption that because the source and subject side are closely related in time and space the historical and ethnographic sources that are used to support their interpretations are presumed to be accurate. Lane (1994/5) argues that such assumptions are not valid.

Huffman (1986) does, however, emphasise that as time passes, a group can move without changing its ideals, values, and beliefs. Nevertheless, there has been a growing interest in the dynamics of cultural change over the last 500 years, and it has become clear that many communities have been subject to change.

It is understandable why archaeologists have critiqued the use of oral traditions and historical documents since misinterpretations may arise if they are not used carefully. The problem with using ethnographic accounts from the 19th century is that many writers wrote from a Eurocentric, biased perspective. Also, there are instances where minor mistakes/contradictions can appear in historical accounts. Barrow's

(1806) ground plan of a Tswana house (Figure 2.2), with its narrow ellipsoid 'inner apartment', is relatively different compared to some of the more commonly recorded designs of Tswana houses (see Frescura 1989; Larsson & Larsson 1984), including those drawn by other travellers during this period (Figure 2.2). Anderson (2009: 8) has argued that it may have been a projection of what the ground plan of a structure was thought to look like from the outside. Alternatively, Barrow may have copied his version from someone else's in the expedition (which was flawed). However, this may also be an example of an alternative form of Tswana house design. Frequently, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3, the oral accounts and historical documents of a specific group of people (such as the Kgafela Kgatla) are lacking, incomplete and contradictory. Therefore, archaeologists must be careful when using oral traditions and historical accounts.

As seen above, countless critiques exist regarding the application of the CCP to 'LIA' and 'IA' sites in general. However, Huffman (2001: 31) argues that "[a]t the normative scale, the evidence for the Central Cattle Pattern...is overwhelming". Normative models are not meant to focus on the smaller-scale variability below a certain analytical scale, but instead, as Huffman (2001) justifies, concern themselves with the relationship between spatial organisation and worldview and apply to a general level. In Huffman's (2012: 124) view, the CCP settlement model does not ignore the variation in the everyday. The normative rules implied in the model shape the choices that site inhabitants are able to make. Therefore, the model can contextualise and delimit what those choices are (Huffman 2012: 124). Unfortunately, such cognitive structuralist models have their drawbacks. Not only have they remained somewhat unchanged for over three decades, but they operate on the macroscale. This broad-scale inhibits our ability to see potential differences between or within Tswana towns, and these differences are thus poorly understood or have yet to be explored (Anderson 2009; Fredriksen 2015).

2.5 The way forward?

The archaeology and archaeological approaches towards interpreting and understanding SWS have considerably advanced over the past two hundred years. Since the 1960s and 1980s, archaeological research on Tswana and Sotho-Tswana SWS, however, predominantly revolved around the application of typological approaches and ethnographically derived normative models such as the CCP. These models have been useful and enlightening to archaeologists attempting to study and understand stone-walled sites' settlement organisation.

These models are not in error, *per se*. After all, they do provide us with a basic understanding of Tswana communities. However, if we want to fully understand a Tswana community, we need to start looking for smaller-scale variability at an individual site level. Especially since, as I have noted elsewhere, numerous changes took place throughout the southern African 'Iron Age' in terms of both the internal and external arrangement of a settlement (Lane 1998: 192). Culturally driven responses to specific historical circumstances influenced the organisation of a settlement. Several factors, such as internal conflicts and periods of fission, played a role in the formation, separation, and even merging of communities. Each community reacted differently (even if it is just a minor difference) toward specific changes that were underway in the Tswana world, such as the rise and fall of Mzilikazi and his Ndebele, as well as the European and Boer expansions. Therefore, archaeologists should be cautious when approaching 19th-century Sotho-Tswana sites.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, some archaeologists have also argued that using a direct historical approach is unsuitable, noting that the concept of the 'ethnographic present' is of little or no value because it neither accommodates nor emphasises change. However, it is also believed that the study of the 'LIA' period often falls within the realm of historical archaeology (Anderson 2009; Behrens & Swanepoel 2008; Reid & Lane 2004). Therefore, cautious use of direct historical approaches and analogical

approaches can apply to certain sites. The early European documents as well as the historical and oral accounts, are a significant body of literature as they inform us of the 'living communities', offering us a contemporary record of Tswana communities. Many of these communities occupied settlements that are known archaeologically today (Boeyens 2000).

Nevertheless, archaeologists should always bear in mind the limitations and shortcomings of such literature and that the further away in historical time the subject matter is, the more problematic it may be to find people or accurate historical accounts close enough to the events (Matemba 2003: 54). Since it is crucial for the discipline to interpret through the use of analogy, analogical approaches can be used as comparative models (Stahl 1993: 253). When using analogical models, we should incorporate archaeological data where possible, especially when comparing archaeological sites from the same time period as non-archaeological source materials (Stahl 1993: 253). Archaeological data can play a more significant and active role in our attempts to explore change and variability. The identity of a community, an individual site, or its place in history may be re-established through combining and integrating oral tradition with archaeological and historical evidence. This is especially helpful when the direct connection between them has been lost (Anderson 2009: 22).

Because of the numerous changes that took place throughout the Tswana world, a universal approach (Pikirayi and Chirikure 2011: 228) is not appropriate when working with southern African 'IA' period settlements. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly apparent that a theoretical shift is required. Particularly, one that enables us to explore the mundane and the minor details, such as localised context-specific insights, which inform on continuity, change, gender, and variability (Anderson 2009; Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015). In Fredriksen and Chirikure's (2015: 13) view, they argue that we should develop approaches and models that utilise a recursive consideration of both micro-and macroscale events and facilitates in identifying subtleties. However, I argue that we do not necessarily need to formulate new

approaches/models to understand this. Instead, we can start utilising a combination of approaches that continuously considers both micro and macroscale events. We can use approaches that utilise a microscale lens and incorporate different research frameworks that combine ethnography, archaeological data, and oral tradition. Theoretically, this should enable us to understand not only smaller-scale variability but, in turn, enable us to better understand the settlements and Tswana communities as a whole (macroscale).

2.5.1 Microscale approaches

Using the lens of microscale shifts focus from the macroscale. This shift will produce different forms of knowledge about the past (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015: 4). In turn, archaeologists will be able to understand how different households and communities organised themselves within broader settlement patterns (such as the CCP). One of the main benefits of microscale approaches is that it tends to avoid 'grouping' communities/settlements together that may appear similar but are ultimately different.

There are numerous published works (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; Fredriksen 2007; Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015; Frescura 1989; Gilchrist 1999; Hall 1998; Hendon 1996; Lane 1998; Morton 2008) that have focused on the "microscale" at the homestead and household levels. These include but are not limited to the study of Tswana architecture during the *Difaqane/Mfecane* period and the colonial era, architecture, dwelling forms, building technologies, decorative motifs and settlement patterns (Frescura 1989). They also focus on processes involved in the formation of household assemblages, spatial patterning (Lane 2006), transformation, gendered and settlement space (Hall 1998), and domestic labour (Hendon 1996).

2.5.1.1 Household archaeology

Although the current research does not focus on the study of households, the increasing number of household archaeology studies and recent attempts to interpret households/homesteads should also be

mentioned here, as it applies to the microscale study. Various researchers such as, but not limited to, Allison (1998, 2002), Barile and Brandon (2004), Beaudry (2004); King (2006); and Wilk and Rathje (1982) have mentioned/discussed household archaeology. The term 'household archaeology' was first introduced by Wilk and Rathje (1982). They describe a household as being "...the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group" (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618). A household is composed of three elements: (1) the social element, which consists of the demographic unit, including the number and relationships of the members; (2) the material element, which includes the dwelling, activity areas, and possessions; (3) as well as the behavioural element which includes the activities performed. However, the nature of a household varies from society to society (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618).

Much of the earlier archaeological work done on structures attempted to describe household behaviour by focusing on the architectural remains. The household and associated material culture were considered to be relatively insignificant. Recently, archaeologists have started utilising household archaeology due to its ability to better understand the changes in domestic behaviour by critically analysing the complete record of material culture recovered from households (Allison 2002: i). Household archaeology and studies are significant in studying the past. Household studies enable archaeologists to measure socio-economic structures that can then be applied to the wider community (Allison 2002: 1).

If archaeologists study households, they can capture the intimate relationships between people and their material culture (Fredriksen 2007: 126). A household is an important and critical social unit and is an essential component for reconstructing past societies (Allison 1998: 16). Archaeologists will have the potential to "open a window" into the social dynamics within the household through approaches that include adequate consideration of variables such as domestic activities within settlement space (Webley 2008: 4). Studying households enable archaeologists to understand numerous aspects of the social life of

communities (Beaudry 2004: 254). Household archaeology and the analysis of the associated material culture are beneficial in that they can help archaeologists identify and understand the activities that took place within a household and the relationship that people had to their possessions. Moreover, through utilising household archaeology, archaeologists can obtain information about gender, change, variability, identity and ethnicity, status, agency and power, rituals, symbolism, production and consumption, as well as economy (Fredriksen & Chirikure 2015; Pluckhahn 2010; Prossor et al., 2012).

2.5.1.2 Gender archaeology

Over the years, gender archaeology has changed from the initial feminist critique of androcentrism to a more comprehensive study of the experience and meaning of past gender identities and sexual differences (Gilchrist 1999: 146). Gendered approaches go hand-in-hand with microscale approaches and the study of a household. Gender also plays a vital role in many southern African agropastoral societies. Archaeologists have identified that gender relations and ideologies were not constant for two thousand years, as implied by the CCP (Lane 1998: 198). Gendered ideologies and practices, such as labour activities, beliefs about intercourse, menstruation, pregnancy, female organs and space, ceramics, spatial division, initiation ceremonies and so forth, differed among the various communities. Some of these aspects appear in numerous Tswana communities; nevertheless, individuals may have had different perspectives on gendered activities and ideologies. Gendered perspectives may even change over time as individuals age and assume alternative identities (Lane 1998: 181).

Archaeologists can use an engendered/gendered approach to understand gender relations in household behaviour. Such an approach may point out gender biases and the division of labour in the archaeological record. Gender and gender biases even played a role among the Bakgatla (see Chapter 3). Engendering the archaeological record is not necessarily about identifying women or their activities. However, it

involves recognising and theorising how gender structures the interpretation of the archaeological record (Moore 1991: 407).

Granted, the CCP does 'emphasise' the importance of gender and gendered divisions. However, when archaeologists apply the CCP model to gender, *a priori* assumptions are made that all Sotho-Tswana communities had the same gendered divisions/ideologies. Many communities shared similar beliefs about gender, nevertheless, subtle differences may occur. If we use microscale and gendered approaches, we can assess which of the gendered divisions/ideologies are, and are not present at a settlement.

Gendered approaches have been used by various researchers, often outlining that some women wielded considerable social and political power, and how it changed with the arrival of Europeans. Furthermore, they often illustrate how gender archaeology's unique perspective can be applied to issues such as the division of labour and lifeways (for example such as Buijs 2002 and Gilchrist 1999). There are also examples of gender and sexual taboos among southern African communities. For instance, there has been controversy and scrutiny about iron-smelting and taboos among southern African communities (Chirikure 2007: 95; Killick 2009: 408), which, further substantiates the reasoning that we should not presuppose that once you have seen one 'IA'/agropastoral settlement we have seen them all. Gendered approaches can help us understand communities and settlements, and how or even why they may have differed.

2.6 Summary

Although the European travellers and missionaries traversed southern Africa and came into contact with various Tswana and Sotho-Tswana communities, their journals are often Eurocentric, and are not without flaws, nevertheless their documents are useful when attempting to understand agropastoral communities and their lifeways. They are not considered to be archaeological approaches, they are valuable however, since they documented the ethnographic present.

Over the past few decades, numerous approaches and methods towards Sotho-Tswana communities and stonewalled settlements have been developed, and the most well-known and widely used are cognitive approaches such the Central Cattle Pattern model. However, since this approach has not changed in almost three decades, countless critiques have arisen. These approaches tend to focus on a macroscale, grouping communities/settlements together that appear similar but are ultimately different. Sotho-Tswana groups underwent numerous changes and were affected by various circumstances such as the *Difaqane* period, the arrival of Europeans and colonialists as well as the arrival of the Boers. Thus, a theoretical shift is required. This chapter explained that microscale approaches, such as household archaeology and gender archaeology, that focus on everyday aspects of life and the mundane, may enable us as archaeologists to obtain a more comprehensive picture of a community or settlement. Through using such approaches, we can obtain a better picture of a community or a settlement as a whole (macroscale). It is important that we understand sites/communities on both the macro and microscale.

C HAPTER 3

3 A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE KGAFELA KGATLA

3.1 Introduction

The pre-historic and historical background of the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region has been archaeologically investigated and documented over the past two to three decades. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, various approaches and methods have been formulated and used in attempts to understand agropastoral societies and their settlements. These range from the historical and ethnographic accounts of the early visitors who documented indigenous agropastoral groups in southern Africa, to attempts at detailed investigations about the settlement history and types. Archaeologists and historians have also endeavoured to understand their cultural lifeways, and to identify the origins and formations of the indigenous people. Much of this literature and these approaches focused on the Tswana groups who have lived in the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region for the last couple of centuries.

The historical information provided in a number of oral and historical records for the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region and the Kgafela Kgatla is generally inconsistent. Many of the records identify various key Sotho-Tswana lineages. According to Hall et al. (2008: 57), lineages did not form real social or political groups. The political actors were largely chiefdoms, which were then divided into smaller juridical and administrative units (for instance, districts, wards, sub-wards and/or homesteads). These functional political units were made up of different and often unrelated lineage fragments (Hall et al. 2008: 57). The bulk of the recorded Tswana oral traditions are structured around the genealogies and histories of chiefly

lineages, which proves to be a useful starting point for tracing identities and places in the political landscape (Hall et al. 2008: 57).

Many southern African groups in the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region, and throughout southern Africa remained distinct over generations and proved to be resilient during the numerous prolonged periods of violence (Morton 2008: 3). The groups in the region witnessed and were central to major historical developments during the 18th and 19th centuries, and probably much earlier (Morton 2008: 2). Numerous records exist indicating that from the second half of the 18th century onward there was an increase in antagonistic relations between chiefdoms, succession disputes within lineages, the creation and disintegration of political alliances, cattle raiding, and regional submission to the new political order introduced by the establishment of Mzilikazi's Ndebele state in the late 1820s, as well as new alliances and conflicts with the Boers (Voortrekkers) (Hall et al. 2008: 57). The vast amount of 'IA' sites and traditions found in the region would suggest that this area was perhaps a centre of the formation of Tswana-speaking peoples (Morton 2008: 2-3).

This chapter will look at the origins and the formation of the Bakgatla бага Kgafela group, how and why they were formed, when they settled in the Pilanesberg, and why they eventually left the region to settle in Botswana. Additionally, this chapter will briefly discuss the Kgafela Kgatla during the *Difaqane* period, and their contact and relationship with the Boers.

3.2 Ethnographic background of the Bakgatla бага Kgafela

The Bakgatla (Kgatla) form part of the Sotho-Tswana cluster (Hamilton 2012: 152). From around AD 1500, the Batswana (Tswana) groups underwent a process of fission. This process resulted in the dispersal of these groups around the junction of the Madikwe (Marico) and Odi (Crocodile) Rivers. Among the Tswana, it is believed that the term “-tswana,” which means “to come or go out from one another, to separate” is

said to be the source of the composite name “Batswana”. This suggests a relatively high rate of fission and secession among Tswana-speaking groups (Schapera 1963: 164). Numerous factors may have contributed to and triggered the fission that occurred among Tswana groups from the middle of the 18th century and the early 19th century, as well as the overall strife among the communities in the western Highveld. These include, but are not limited to: increasing competition among several powerful Tswana polities for control of trade; social disruption generated by colonial labour seekers and raiders, population growth, and succession disputes and political differences within a chiefdom that was brought about by a scarcity of water resources and land (Mbenga 1996: 23). These factors, among others, frequently led to the separation of chiefdoms. Countless people and groups were affected by these factors, which eventually led to disgruntled individuals and their followers breaking away from their chiefdom to form their own separate chiefdom elsewhere. Separations within chiefdoms were repeated over time. Consequently, numerous chiefdoms related by descent and ties of culture, ritual and politics were formed. It is believed that this fission process continued throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The Kgatla were affected from around 1600 to 1680 AD. This process of fission is what led to the emergence of the Kgatla. The Kgatla were initially a composite group and later split into separate and distinct sub-groups (Mbenga 1996: 23).

Unfortunately, one of the most challenging difficulties when reconstructing the past from oral traditional, historical, and ethnographic data is that “the further away in historical time the subject matter is, the more problems a researcher has in finding people close enough to the events under survey” (Matemba 2003: 54). The early history of the Kgatla is not well recorded. There is a limited amount of information regarding the exact origins of the Kgatla and the Kgafela Kgatla. Therefore, the history of this group of people cannot be documented with certainty prior to the 19th century nor can a clear picture be provided on the process of Kgatla state-formation as far back as the 17th century. Nevertheless, the recorded oral histories and ethnographic accounts such as those of Paul-Lennert Breutz (1953) and Isaac Schapera

(1942), among others, and those recorded in the Museum at Saulspoort (Mphebotho Cultural Museum and Moruleng Cultural Precinct) may aid in giving an idea of the formation and origin of the group. Although the written and documented sources/accounts frequently have differences and gaps in their histories, it is unequivocal that the Kgatla and the Kgafela Kgatla had a tumultuous past. Their history is marked by fission, conflict, multi-ethnic integration, conquest by colonials, and dispossession of land and cessations.

3.2.1 A brief history of the formation of the Kgafela Kgatla

The term Bakgatla is shared amongst several different groups of Bantu-speaking people. These groups are mostly located in the central and western districts of the North West Province and the south-eastern portions of Botswana. The more well-known of the Bakgatla groups are: (a) the Bakgatla ba Mosêtlha, in the Hammanskraal District of the erstwhile Transvaal, (b) the Bakgatla бага Kgafela, in the Kgatla Reserve in Botswana (senior section) and the Rustenburg district of the North West Province (junior section), (c) the Bakgatla бага Mmanaana, in the Ngwaktse and Kwena Reserves in Botswana, (d) the Bakgatla ba Mmakau, in the Pretoria district, and (e) the Bakgatla ba Motsha, in the Hammanskraal District (Schapera 1942: 1).

The above-mentioned groups were, at some point in time, according to tradition, united under the rule of a single chief. The Bahurutshe (of the Marico area) are thought to be the “primary branch” of all Batswana. It is, therefore, believed that the Kgatla are an offshoot of the Bahurutshe (Mbenga 1996: 24; Schapera 1942:1-2). Additionally, it is said that the Kgatla were founded and/or named after Mokgatle (Mokgatla). Mokgatle was a descendant of Malope (Molope), presumed to be the traditional progenitor of numerous Tswana groups (Schapera 1942: 1-2).

The exact nature of early Kgatla dispersal is not known. However, it has been recorded that this occurred primarily north of the Vaal River, and sometime during the 18th century, they reached the Pilanesberg (Mbenga 1996: 24). It is worth mentioning that there has been some uncertainty about the Kgatla being directly connected to the Bahurutse or Bakwena. It has been suggested that the Bahurutse and the Kgatla were allies, and during the reign of Kalota II, the Kgatla lived as independent allies of the Bahurutshe at Kadishwene, and that the Kgatla dynasty traces to Mokopu Tshukudu. Mokopu Tshukudu was a ruler of a small chiefdom in the former Transvaal province during the middle of the 17th century (Matemba 2003: 54).

Nevertheless, the consensus is that the genealogies of the Kgatla chiefs demonstrate that Botlolo, Malekeleke's direct descendant in the fourth generation, had two sons, namely Mogale and Tabane. It is said that the Kgatla were divided during the reign of Mogale, when Tabane went north with a large group. This group was eventually subdivided into the modern Bakgatla ba Mmakau and the Bakgatla ba Motsha. Mogale remained at Diroleng (in the Rustenburg District), but under him or possibly one of his immediate successors, his people later moved to "Makapaan's Location", in the Hammanskraal District north of Pretoria. It was here, not long afterwards, that the Bakgatla бага Kgafela broke away from them (Breutz 1953: 247; Schapera 1942: 2).

Most of the Kgafela Kgatla's oral traditions relate to Mogale's son Matshêgô. Briefly, the death of Matshêgô led to a dispute about which of his two children (in his great house, he had one daughter, Mosêtlha and in his second house, one son, Kgafela) would be his successor. Some individuals argued for Mosêtlha to become Matshêgô's successor because she was the great wife's daughter. However, according to traditions, others refused to have a female ruling their society and wanted Kgafela to take over the chieftainship since he was the senior son. This dispute eventually led to the separation of the Kgatla and the two subsequently became known as the Bakgatla бага Kgafela and the Bakgatla бага

Mosêtlha (Breutz 1953: 245; Mohlamme 1999: 329; Schapera 1942: 2; Tlou & Campbell 1984: 67). The exact date of this separation is not known, although the genealogical evidence suggests that it may have taken place during the 17th century or perhaps during the early 18th century (Appendix B).

There are different views/beliefs, albeit limited, about the gender of Kgafela and Mosêtlha. Although the corpus of the texts coincide with one another about Kgafela being the son of Matshêgô, and that Mosêtlha was the daughter (Mohlamme 1999: 329; Schapera 1942: 2; Tlou & Campbell 1984: 67), Matemba (2003: 54) believes that of the two children, Mosêtlha was the son and that Kgafela was the daughter. Another document written in 1938 by L. S. Madisa, likewise has a different view on the gender of the two rulers. In this document, Madisa (1938) discusses the history of the separation of Kgafela and Mosêtlha. However, Madisa (1938) speaks of both Mosêtlha and Kgafela as men. This document was originally written in Tswana and later translated to English, it is thus not impossible that it could have just been a mistranslation or that Madisa (1938) believed both rulers to have been male. These differences in beliefs indicate how oral tradition and/or written sources are often conflicting and could be misleading.

Regardless of the gender of the two rulers, there is a clear consensus that the Kgatla group split into two to form the Kgafela Kgatla and the Mosêtlha Kgatla. The Kgafela Kgatla's separation from Mosêtlha signalled the beginning of a period of extensive sojourn and independence. The Kgafela Kgatla settled at various locations during their travels north-west toward the Odi River during the first part of the 17th century, after they split from the Mosêtlha Kgatla at Momusweng in the Hammanskraal area (Breutz 1953: 247). They arrived in the Pilanesberg region in the early- to mid-18th century (Coetzee 2018: 33).

Kgosi Pilane, as ruler of the Kgafela Kgatla people, reigned between AD 1825 and 1859 (Coetzee 2018: 33). It has been previously recorded that *Kgosi* Pilane built his settlements at Monamaneng (on Kafferskraal 890) and later moved to Bogopana (on Witfonteinsrand north-east of Witfontein 215) and from there to Mmamodimokwana (Schilpadnest 233) near the Crocodile River. After the Matebele

(Ndebele) invasion, he went to live at Motsitle (Mabieskraal). After 1837, Pilane established a more permanent settlement on the farm Rhenosterspruit 908 QJ (known initially as Rhenosterfontein 887) (Breutz 1953: 257). The site that the Kgafela Kgatla settled on is referred to as Mmasebudule in several sources (Schapera 1942: 9, Breutz 1953: 257). However, it is believed that this site at Rhenosterspruit 908 QJ (Rhenosterfontein 887) is Mabeleapodi (Boeyens & Hall 2009: 469; Hall et al. 2008: 60; 69). The name Mabeleapodi was originally found in a Tswana document written by Isaac Schapera (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2020). The Mankwe River, a non-perennial branch of the Elands River, has formed a rich fertile valley. The Mabeleapodi (Mmasebedule?) settlement is situated adjacent to this valley.

Morton (2010: 45) believes that *Kgosi* Pilane followed the example of many previous Kgatla leaders and travelled widely. During his lifetime, Pilane possibly travelled, on foot, approximately 10 000 km. Furthermore, Pilane's son, Kgamanyane, was an ivory trader and a traveller with vast knowledge of certain areas in southern Africa. This knowledge possibly aided him in choosing a new area (Mochudi) to resettle in, away from Pilanesberg (Morton 2010: 45).

Kgamanyane, Pilane's son, initially lived at Moroleng (the present settlement at Saulspoort) but, in the 1860s, Kgamanyane and many of his followers left their country and settled at Mostshodi (Mochudi) on the banks of the Ngotwane River in the Kgafela Kgatla Reserve in Bechuanaland Protectorate after having camped for one year at Tshwene-Tshwene (near Vleeschfontein 207). The other half of the Kgatla remained at Saulspoort (Breutz 1953: 260).



Figure 3.1 Kgosi Kgamanyane - image drawn after the statue displayed at Maropeng's 2019 Long Walk to Freedom. He is depicted as one of the 300 influential figures in South Africa (image: S. Fairhurst).

Table 3.1 indicates the ruling chiefs and regents, place names, years and locations of the Kgatla. Except for farm Rhenosterfontein 908 QJ (Mabeleapodi), all farm numbers refer to the old designations, not the new ones (Hall et al. 2008: 58-60).

Table 3.1 Chiefs, regents, placenames, dates and locations of the Kgafela Kgatla.

The Bakgatla Baga Kgafela			
Chief	Date	Capital	Farm/Place
Kgafela	Early 17 th c.?	Momusweng (Break with Mosêtlha)	Near Makapanstad
Tebele		Ntswane	Near Moretele River

The Bakgatla Baga Kgafela			
Chief	Date	Capital	Farm/Place
		Momoseu	Near Ntwane
		Tsekane	Leeuwpoort 1356, Southern Waterberg
		Matome	Tussenkomst 188
Masellane		Molokwane	Vliegpoort
Masselane	Early 18 th c.	Mabule	On hill on Kruidfontein 649
Kgwefane	Mi-18 th c.	Moruleng	Saulspoort
Molefe	Died 1780?	Maramapong	Saulspoort 269
Mmagotso	1780-1790		
Pheto	End 18 th c. Died c. 1805	Sefikile	Spitzkop 298 (near Northam)
Letsebe	1810	Tlhaka le Moetse	Middelkuil 564
Senwelo	Early 19 th c.	Mabule to Tlokwane	Rhenosterkop 1048
Motlotle	1820s	Magakwe or Dithubaruba	Kruidfontein 649
Pilane		Monamaneng	Kafferskraal 890
Pilane		Bogopana	Witfonteinrand NE of Witfontein 215
Pilane		Mmamodimokwana	Schilpadnest 233
Pilane		Motsite	(Mabieskraal)
Pilane	After 1837	Mabeleapodi/Mmasebudule	Rhenosterfontein 887/Rhenosterspruit 908 QJ
Kgamanyane		Moruleng	Saulspoort
Kgamanyane	1869	Mochudi	

Appendix B provides Burger's (2006) historical timeline of events from the mid-1400s to the mid-1990s. Appendix C includes a timeline of historical events during the reign of the various chiefs and regents as recorded at the Mphebotho Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct, as well as Isaac Schapera's list of the Genealogy of the chiefs and regents and the sons of Pilane and Kgamanyane.

3.2.1.1 Conflict and conquest

Numerous significant moments led to the formation of the Kgafela Kgatla. Similar to other Tswana groups, the Kgatla chieftdom experienced great social and political instability, especially during the 19th century. This instability resulted from conflict, internal power struggles, and colonial invasion and land dispossession. The Kgatla were already settled in the Pilanesberg region during this period.

During the reign of Pheto (at the beginning of the 19th century), the Kgafela Kgatla were one of the strongest (militarily) in the Pilanesberg. It was during this period that they attempted to centralise their chiefdom through war. The Kgafela Kgatla made several successful cattle raids against their neighbours such as the Bammatau, Batllako and the Bakwena-ba-Mogopa (Schapera 1942: 4; TNAD 1905: 27). Nevertheless, it does appear that the methods that were used were not exclusively military. Some of the incorporations were voluntary. Outsiders, such as the Baphalane and Bamasiana joined the Kgafela Kgatla (Schapera 1942: 4), and they, in turn, became very powerful and claimed sovereignty over the greater part of the region. Although the exact reason why these groups joined the Kgafela Kgatla is not known, it may be that these groups were attracted to the peace and security in *Kgosi* Pheto's chiefdom. Notwithstanding the power of the Kgatla, it should not be assumed that they had no challengers in the Pilanesberg region (Mbenga 1996: 27). It has been pointed out that the Bangwaketse to the west were militarily stronger and were quite problematic to the Kgatla and Hurutshe during c. 1790-1820 AD (Mbenga 1996: 27). It should be noted that the period after Pheto's death (c. 1810-1820) saw unprecedented internal strife, instability and misrule among the Kgafela Kgatla (see Schapera 1942).

Pilane, the second son of Pheto, roamed about alone for a while. He hid the fact that he was the son of a chief and became a servant of a Kwena hunter named Ngwake Bekgotlala. Pilane eventually returned to the Kgafela Kgatla to take over the chieftainship and served as *Kgosi* between 1825 and the 1850s. During the early days of *Kgosi* Pilane's rule, there was some stability, unfortunately, this changed in the late 1820s with the arrival of Mzilikazi (Moselekatse) and his Ndebele warriors (Mnwana 2018: 6).

3.2.1.2 *The Difaqane*

From the second millennium onwards, we start seeing the development of more nucleated settlement patterns in southern African farming communities, as well increased political centralisation and an increase in the specialisation of production and exchange (Mitchell 2002: 344). The aforementioned is

believed to form part of the framework for devastating the events that took place during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Mitchell 2002: 344). The demographic turmoil and revolutionary political and social changes during the early 19th century affected the entire region of southern Africa, both directly and indirectly. This period, generally referred to as the *Difaqane/Mfecane*, is characterised as an era of strife, when many groups experienced famine and hardship. It was also marked by large-scale migrations, occasional raids, conflicts and battles (Eldredge 1992: 1; 1995: 123). The history of the *Difaqane* and what may have actually happened remains a topic of much active debate in southern African historiography (for example, Etherington 1995, Omer-Cooper 1995, Saunders 1995, Wright 1995).

3.2.1.2.1 *Difaqane and the Kgatla*

The *Difaqane* also affected all the Pilanesberg peoples, although the Pilanesberg Tswana were not as impacted by violence as some of their Tswana neighbours (Breutz 1953: 364). As a result of the many years of intra-Kgatla conflict, misrule and the Fokeng invasion (Mbenga 1996: 27-28), the Kgafela Kgatla were too weak to defend themselves when Mzilikazi invaded the region in around 1828-1830 (Schapera 1942: 9; TNAD 1905: 27). They submitted to Mzilikazi, paid tribute (skins, corn and ivory as tribute) and served as cattle-herders (Breutz 1953: 257; Schapera 1942: 9; TNAD 1905: 27). Pilane, for a short period, remained untroubled by the Ndebele. They even gave him some of their cattle to herd (Breutz 1953: 257; War Office 1905: 23). As long as the Kgafela Kgatla remained submissive to Ndebele rule, they were left in peace.

However, it is said that his men slaughtered a few of the livestock and Mzilikazi's Ndebele eventually started conspiring to have *Kgosi* Pilane killed. When Pilane heard of this, he fled once more to ba ga Laka (c. 1835), leaving Molefi in charge of the Kgafela Kgatla. The Ndebele domination over the Kgafela Kgatla and other groups in the North West Province (former western Transvaal) did not last very long after this (Breutz 1953: 257).

The arrival of the Voortrekkers (Boers) under Hendrik Potgieter and Peter Uys in the Highveld in 1836, caused Mzilikazi and his Ndebele's fortunes to wane and their ultimate defeat (Breutz 1953; Schapera 1942: 9; Tlou & Campbell 1984). This, in turn, allowed for the return of *Kgosi* Pilane. Pilane returned in the late 1830s or early 1840s to resume his role as chief after the Ndebele were expelled from the old Transvaal. Pilane and the Kgafela Kgatla settled by the Kgetleng River (Elands River) at Mmasebudule/Mabeleapodi (or Rhenosterfontein 887) (Breutz 1953: 257; Mbenga 1996: 34; Schapera 1942: 9). It should be noted that although Pilane returned after the Ndebele were expelled, it is said that the Kgafela Kgatla were raided by a party of Ndebele from the north in 1842. Kgamanyane, Mantirisi and Hoselekatse (three of Pilane's sons) were captured. However, their release was secured by Molefi (who, as noted earlier, was held with high esteem by the Ndebele). Pilane, after this, was not troubled by Mzilikazi and his Ndebele again. It is also said that Pilane did not engage any conflicts/wars with other native groups¹¹ (Schapera 1942: 9). *Kgosi* Pilane passed away soon after in the early 1850s (Schapera 1942: 9), and Kgamanyane Pilane, *Kgosi* Pilane's eldest son from the first house, succeeded him (1850-1874).

Kgosi Pilane and *Kgosi* Kgamanyane formed successive alliances with Voortrekker leaders such as Potgieter. This, in turn, allowed them to successfully fend off attacks by the Ndebele warriors of Mzilikazi. They also attacked other communities in the region, who were unwilling to recognise and accept the colonial rule in what is now the former Transvaal region (Morton 1992: 107). The Kgafela Kgatla often incorporated some of the defeated groups.

3.2.1.3 Kgatla-Boer relations

The Boers arrived in the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg area in the 1830s (Buthelezi et al. 2019: 137). The arrival of the Voortrekkers in the region heralded an entirely new era of experiences and relations for the Kgafela

¹¹ Pilane played the role of peacemaker, see Schapera (1942: 9).

Kgatla and other Tswana groups (Mbenga 1996: 35). This was the first-time indigenous groups in the region experienced land dispossession and colonial invasion (Buthelezi et al. 2019: 137). The Boers eventually arrived north of the Vaal River, and it was here where they decided that all “natives” in the area were their subjects who would consequently be accountable for labour taxation (Schapera 1942: 10). Among these African groups were the Fokeng and the Kgatla.

While the *Difaqane*'s impact in this region was much less disruptive than elsewhere in southern Africa, it still left these groups vulnerable and in disarray. Many of the groups were unable to give any effective resistance to the Voortrekker incursions. At different times, since the Voortrekkers' arrival at the end of the 19th century, nearly all of the Tswana groups in the region encountered “trouble with the Boers”. Many Tswana groups eventually left the region to settle in other areas, either in South Africa or the British Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana). The basis of this “trouble” was the relentless demands of the Boers (Voortrekkers) for labour (Mbenga 1996: 36).

It would appear that there was little to no resistance to the Voortrekker occupation of the Pilanesberg (Mbenga 1996: 35). By the time the former Transvaal (ZAR [*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*]) was established, all the land that belonged to indigenous African groups had been divided into enormous “white-owned private farms”. The demands of the colonial conquest were so crippling that the entire African population was turned into tenantry. In other words, they resided on designated farms, having to pay rent to their new “white landlords” (Capps 2010: 159). The Voortrekkers saw themselves as the owners of both the land and the labour of African communities. The process of colonial dispossession was soon to be followed by forms of ‘alliances’ and relationships between the “new white ‘masters’ and African landless ‘servants’” (Mnwana 2018: 7). The nature of the relationship between the Voortrekkers and Kgatla, as well as Voortrekker and other Tswana groups in the Pilanesberg, was equivocal. This relationship was characterised initially by mutual cooperation but later by violence. The Boers and Tswana groups in the

Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region were allies from the 1840s onward, an arrangement that was mutually beneficial for both parties at the time (Mbenga 1996: 36).

The relationship between a 'tribe's' chief, the ward *veldkornetten* (field cornet), and the district *kommandant* (commandant) played a significant role in a community's responses to Boer rule. The Kgafela Kgatla were among the many groups whose chief had a relationship with the Boers. *Kgosi* Pilane's deputy field cornet was Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (Morton 2010: 35).

The Kgafela Kgatla came under Boer domination after the fall of Mzilikazi's state (Tlou & Campbell 1984: 145). The Kgafela Kgatla, among others, were forced to provide free labour to the Boers. *Kgosi* Pilane and *Kgosi* Kgamanyane tried to "soften the burden of Boer rule" and aided the Boers in their wars against some African groups, such as the Basotho in 1856, often capturing their children and cattle. Boer oppression, however, did not end (Morton 2010: 36; Schapera 1942: 9; 10; Tlou & Campbell 1984: 145). Kgamanyane's rule was unfortunately troubled from the start by disputes with his brothers, who were antagonised by his quick temper and autocratic tendencies. Later on, Kgamanyane's troubles were significantly increased through his dealings with the Boers (Schapera 1942: 9-10).

Kgosi Kgamanyane was one of the more notable chiefs in the North West Province. He demonstrated outstanding compliance with the demands of the Boers through his steadfast commitment to providing labour regiments (*mephato*) and his allegiance to local Boer leaders. Kgamanyane and his Kgafela Kgatla assisted the Boers in battles against other African indigenous groups (that resisted colonial control), conducted slave-raiding operations and reinforced hunting expeditions (Mnwana 2018: 7; Morton 1995:201; 1998:83).

Prior to civilian rule in the 1870s, the Kgafela Kgatla response to the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* rule was shaped by Kgamanyane, Paul Kruger and Hercules P. Malan's relationship (Morton 2010: 35). The Kgafela

Kgatla were bound to Kruger's personal advancement during the 1850s and 1860s, which allowed him to become a very wealthy landowner. He amassed large groups of Kgafela Kgatla and Fokeng on his farms, consequently allowing him to have a large amount of solid agricultural day labour (Morton 2010: 35).

Both leaders of the Kgafela Kgata and the Fokeng, Kgamanyane and Mokgatle, complied with the demands for military and agricultural labour by Kruger, therefore, they were allowed to have larger villages, firearms and gunpowder. In addition, they were allowed to trade and accumulate wealth, which was much different from the other indigenous groups in the Rustenburg District (Mbenga 1996: 37; Morton 2010: 36). The Kgafela Kgatla and their followers subsequently accumulated wealth in livestock (cattle), farms, tools, buildings, and dependents. The Kgatla-Boer relationship was beneficial for the Kgafela Kgatla, since they were able to develop in such a way that they were militarily the most powerful in the Pilanesberg, and they incorporated some of the weaker groups. Kgamanyane, in return, provided young captive African children to the Boers (Mbenga 1996: 37; Morton 1992: 106). These children were seized by him and his regiments during military raids (Mbenga 1996: 37). According to Mbenga (1996: 37), there is a praise poem dedicated to Kgamanyane. In this poem, reference is made to raids where he "seiz[ed] young children" whom he "[gave] to the white men" (Mbenga 1996: 37).

As seen above, Kgamanyane's loyalty to the white colonial state officials helped him accrue some benefits and privileges for himself and his people (Mbenga 1997: 135). The epitome of this was his relationship with Paul Kruger (Mbenga 1997: 135). The archaeological evidence from the previously excavated and analysed hut structure, Hut 2 in the *Kgosing* section (Fairhurst 2019), is in accordance with Morton's (2010) statement that Kgamanyane and, by implication, his father, *Kgosi* Pilane and their wives were considered wealthy by historical standards. Both "[w]ealth and power belonged to the *diKgosi* who served the Boers" (Morton 1992: 108). In other words, not only did their wealth increase, but their political status did too. Their relationship also allowed Kgamanyane to forcibly incorporate other African groups who

were less powerful or smaller into his chiefdom (Morton 1992: 107-108). It should be pointed out, however, that multi-ethnic integration was not a recent development, as it predates colonialism (Mnwana 2018: 8).

Despite all of this, Kgamanyane and Kruger were unpopular among Boer communities, due to the strengthened association, which in turn placed the two at odds. Kgamanyane did not have a respectable reputation among the Rustenburg Boers, as he was perceived to be disrespectful and rude. Due to the end of the rule of commandants and field-cornet along with the increasing white clamour for control over civilians, new laws were implemented that attempted to govern Africans in South Africa. These laws included the hut tax, and if the hut tax were paid in full, it would mean that they would have an exemption from labour; the tax rate for those employed by white farmers was also lowered (Morton 2010: 37).

The close relationship between the Boers and the Kgafela Kgatla started to deteriorate in the 1860s (Mbenga 1996: 284; 1997: 135). According to a Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) mission report, it becomes evident that one of the possible reasons the Kgafela Kgatla started to leave the Pilanesberg region, in the 1860s was that they became “weary from the oppression they endured from the [Boer] farmers”. The Boers’ demands for forced labour became unbearable, and, for example, as a result, Bottoman (presumably Letsebe), the Kgafela Kgatla sub-chief, and “all [of] his people” left the region to settle in Botswana among the Bakwena in the mid/late 1860s (Mbenga 1996: 41).

It would appear that the Boers may have been relatively more favourable to Kgamanyane, however, Kgamanyane’s people still suffered. Mbenga (1996: 38) postulates that it is likely that Kgamanyane may not have had a choice in the matter and was “compelled to perform for the Boer authorities”. There was an economic decline during the 1860s among the burgers of the ZAR. Previously profitable sources of income started to diminish, thus, ZAR officials such as Paul Kruger started implementing more drastic methods of extracting tax from the African groups (Mbenga 1996: 38). Furthermore, the pressures of the

rigorous implementation of forced labour by the Boers in the Pilanesberg region during the 1860s resulted in young men fleeing the region to Secheli at Molepolole, Bechuanaland. Mbenga (1996: 40) comments that it is, however, unlikely that “all the young men” may have fled. Nevertheless, this does indicate the severity of the forced labour problem that the Kgafela Kgatla faced at the time. In 1903, Kgafela Kgatla eyewitnesses in Saulspoort told F. Edmeston, the newly appointed Sub-Native Commissioner (SNC) for the Pilanesberg, about the difficult times they endured in the 1860s in the Pilanesberg with “the ‘corvee’ system” of labour. He also told him how numerous young men left the region because Kgamanyane “refused to supply further labour, as he had ‘only old men left’” (Mbenga 1996: 40; 1997: 136).

In about 1869, Van Staden received large tax payments from numerous Kgafela Kgatla men, and although the three field cornets requested labourers, Kgamanyane refused to send labourers. The ongoing grievance of the Kgafela Kgatla about forced labour and the unwillingness to continue supplying labour resulted in the public flogging of *Kgosi* Kgamanyane (Mbenga 1997: 136; Morton 2010: 38; Tlou & Campbell 1984: 145; Schapera 1942: 10). A few months after the first public beating, Kgamanyane was ordered by Kruger to provide labour to build the dam on Saulspoort, however, Kgamanyane again refused. His refusal led Kruger to administer another beating¹² to Kgamanyane (Mbenga 1996; 1997; Morton 2010: 38; Schapera 1942: 10).

After hearing about Kgamanyane’s difficulties with the Boers, the Kwena invited Kgamanyane to Botswana. Kgamanyane was both angered and disgraced by the insult of the flogging, and as a result, decided to withdraw from the rule of the ZAR. After his public humiliation and in search of new land, he decided that he would take the Kwena offer (Schapera 1942: 10). Kgamanyane received notice in

¹² Bergh (2005: 110) reports that Kgamanyane told the field-cornet J.C. Jansen van Rensburg: “I see that the word of the Government is no longer true except that of the General. I have been beaten badly by the General”. Field-cornet D.J. van der Merwe apparently also testified to the 1871 Commission that: “Gamajan [Kgamanyane] personally told me before he left that he was the only *kapitein* [captain] who got a beating on the orders of Mr Kruger” (Bergh 2005: 110).

September that Kruger would be coming through to Saulspoort to meet up with Kgamanyane and his chiefs, where they were to be disarmed. Instead of fighting Kgamanyane called a *kgotla* (public meeting), at which he and his people decided to emigrate (Morton 2010: 38).

Kgamanyane suddenly left Saulspoort in August of 1869 (Schapera 1942: 10). Before Kruger arrived, all but a few Kgafela Kgatla vanished (Morton 2010: 38). The Kgafela Kgatla believed that Kgari, a noted rainmaker, produced several downpours which wiped out their tracks, preventing the Boers from following them (Schapera 1942: 10). Kgamanyane died in the early 1870s, and it is believed that he passed away as a result of the beating (Schapera 1942: 11; Tlou & Campbell 1984: 145).

3.3 Summary

Unfortunately, there is still some uncertainty about the exact origins of this group of people, and some contradictions occur in the accounts about the gender of Kgafela and Mosêlha. Nevertheless, Kgafela and his followers did break away to form their own separate group, where they eventually settled in the Pilanesberg region, and later in Botswana.

It is clear that the Kgafela Kgatla experienced numerous changes and hardships before and during their stay in the Pilanesberg district. There were fissions between the Kgafela Kgatla and other groups; they also dealt with Mzilikazi and his Ndebele. The Kgafela Kgatla and other groups in the Pilanesberg-Rustenberg region were central to major historical developments, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. Many of these groups experienced succession disputes within lineages, aggressive and antagonistic relations between chiefdoms, the formation and collapse of political alliances, and cattle raiding. They were also affected by the regional submission to the new political order introduced by the establishment of Mzilikazi's Ndebele state in the late 1820s. Mzilikazi's state fell with the arrival of the

Boers. Many groups in the region initially aligned with the Boers, such as the Kgafela Kgatla, while others refused to submit to colonial domination.

Kgamanyane and Kruger had an amicable relationship. Kgamanyane gained considerable military strength and became relatively wealthy from this relationship. Nevertheless, the relationship eventually deteriorated, especially after the increase in tax and forced labour by the ZAR. The locally accepted narrative is that Kgamanyane left the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region after he refused to provide labour to assist in the building of a Saulspoort dam and, as a result, he was publicly flogged. Kgamanyane was both angered and disgraced by this insult and decided to withdraw from the rule of the ZAR. In the late 1860s or early 1870s, he left for a country, Mochudi, where he and most of his people could be independent (Morton 2010 38; Schapera 1942: 10).

C HAPTER 4

4 MABELEAPODI: THE 19TH-CENTURY KGAFELA KGATLA CAPITAL IN THE PILANESBERG

4.1 Introduction

During the 18th and 19th centuries, all known Tswana stone-walled capitals were occupied by aggregated chiefdoms. The groups in the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region were known to have large cattle herds. This region, therefore, offered numerous resources that were essential for the development and success of large, aggregated settlements (Anderson 2009: 45). It has been suggested that one of the most prominent characteristics of the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region is its ability to house a large number of people and support a variety of lifestyles (Morton 2008).

The Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region is known for its permanent water sources, rich soils, abundant grazing and iron and copper ore deposits that its various inhabitants have utilised for agriculture, herding, hunting, mining and trading at various times. By the start of the 19th century, there were approximately twelve to fifteen groups in the region (Morton 2008: 3; 2010: 23). Their large populations and the vast number of cattle herds attracted many invaders and immigrants/outsideers, such as BaPedi groups, followed by Sebetwane's MaKololo, Mzilikazi's Ndebele, and Potgieter's Voortrekkers (Morton 2008; 2010).

The groups in the area took advantage of the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg area, north of the Magaliesberg Range (Morton 2010: 23). Almost all of the lineages in the area were of Tswana descent, with the exception of the Bapedi, isiNdebele, and other language-speakers, who later became Tswana-speakers after living in the region for several generations (Morton 2010: 23-24). Many of these groups shared a

loose social/political organisation (Morton 2010: 23). The most visible groups in the area are the various Modimosana Kwena lineages, the Mogopa Kwena, the Po, the Tlhako, the Fokeng and the Kgafela Kgatla (Morton 2008). Moreover, the early inhabitants of the Pilanesberg had little to no knowledge that the area harboured toxic and potentially lethal contaminants such as radiation from rare earth minerals and high levels of fluoride in the surface water. Nevertheless, Stone Age and 'Iron Age' people utilised the unique topography of the Pilanesberg region for habitation (L'Abbé et al. 2008: 28), adapting their way of life to the area's varied physical resources (Morton 2010: 23).

4.2 The geographical setting of the Pilanesberg region

The Bushveld zone, on the interface between the savannah biomes and the grassland, has rich, fertile soils that the early agropastoralists would not only have valued but also utilised for the wide environmental varieties present during different seasons and variable rainfalls of the year (Anderson 2009: 88). The Pilanesberg is classified with its own veld type, namely the Pilanesberg Mountain Bushveld (Mucina & Rutherford 2010).

4.2.1 Pilanesberg: geology vegetation and soils

The Pilanesberg district is located in the lower-lying areas of the mid-western part of the North West Province (Mbenga 1996: 18). Its name originated from the range of mountains in the area, which the first Voortrekkers in the 19th century labelled the Pilanesberg after *Kgosi* Pilane (Mbenga 1996: 18). The Pilanesberg geological formation dates to approximately 1250 mya (million years ago) (L'Abbé et al. 2008: 28). L'Abbé et al. (2008: 28) state that the Pilanesberg region can be best defined as an inactive volcanic caldera.

The Pilanesberg has an altitude of approximately 1 000-1 500 m above sea level (Mucina & Rutherford 2006). It is best described as an almost circular complex (with a diameter of approximately 23–27 km) and

the present-day geological patterns attest to the fact that it is the remnants of an eroded volcano. This complex constitutes an intrusive and extrusive massif: a mountainous area of broken 'ring of hills' and low mountains which resulted from various volcanic activities such as but not limited to the collapse and resurgence of magma (L'Abbé et al. 2008: 28; Mbenga 1996; Mucina & Rutherford 2006). In other words, there is a clear contrast between the Pilanesberg and the Bushveld Complex's open plains of the Bankenveld region (L'Abbé et al. 2008: 28; Mucina & Rutherford 2006). This mountainous area created a unique space that was occupied and utilised by agropastoral groups (Pistorius 2012).

The predominant vegetation types surrounding many Tswana towns in the region and the Pilanesberg are known as Zeerust Thornveld, Dwarsberg-Swartruggens Mountain Bushveld, Marikana Thornveld, Gold Reef Mountain Bushveld, Moot Plains Bushveld, Central Sandy Bushveld, Dwaalboom Thornveld, Springbokvlakte Bushveld, and Western Sandy Bushveld (Mucina et al. 2005; Mucina & Rutherford 2006). The Savanna Biome to the north would have continuously retained its nutritional value, but due to its "sweet grazing" for cattle, it would have been prone to overgrazing and possible depletion. To the south, the mixed and sour grazing of the Grassland Biome would have been more reliable in terms of sustainability and quantity, however, during winter, it would likely have provided limited nutritional value (Anderson 2009: 88). Grazing inside the Pilanesberg is predominantly sourveld. It is possible that, due to the large cattle herds of the Tswana towns, it became necessary to rotate and extend grazing throughout the year between the south grassland area and local mixed bushveld and the northern savanna area (Anderson 2009: 88). There is a wide variety of taxa of small trees, tall shrubs, low shrubs, graminoids, herbs and succulent herbs within the Pilanesberg Mountain Bushveld such as: *Combretum apiculatum* (d), *C. molle* (d), *C. zeyheri* (d), *Strychnos cocculoides* (d), *Croton gratissimus*, *Englerophytum magalimontanum*, *Rhus leptodictya*, *Vangueria parvifolia*; *Diplorhynchus condylocarpon* (d), *Elephantorrhiza burkei* (d), *Grewia flava*, *Hibiscus calyphyllus*, *Mundulea sericea*, *Steganotaenia araliacea*,

Vitex rehmannii, *Polygala hottentotta*, *Chrysopogon serrulatus* (d), *Elionurus muticus* (d), *Panicum maximum* (d), *Themeda triandra*, *Abutilon pycnodon*, *Chamaesyce inaequilatera*, *Hermannia depressa*, *Nidorella resedifolia*, *Xerophyta retinervis*, *Crassula lanceolata* subsp. *Transvaalensis* (Mucina & Rutherford 2006).

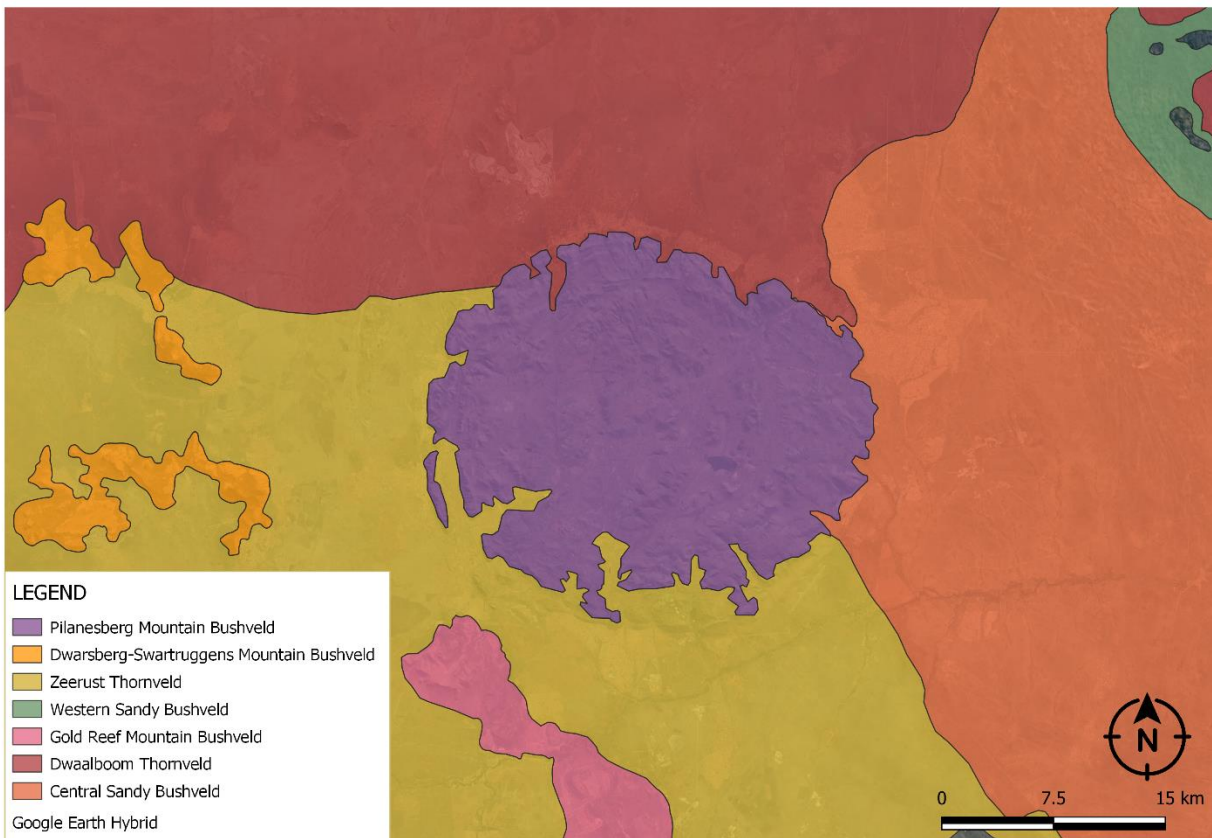


Figure 4.1 The Pilanesberg and surrounding vegetation (Image: S. Fairhurst – adapted from BGIS Map Viewer <http://bgisviewer.sanbi.org/>).

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the local soils in the Bankenveld region may have been agriculturally productive (Anderson 2009: 88). Therefore, Tswana chiefdoms would have been attracted to this region (Figure 4.2) from the 18th century onwards. The survival of large Tswana towns, including the capitals of the 19th century, may have eventually become completely reliant on the mixed resources of the Pilanesberg (Anderson 2009: 88).

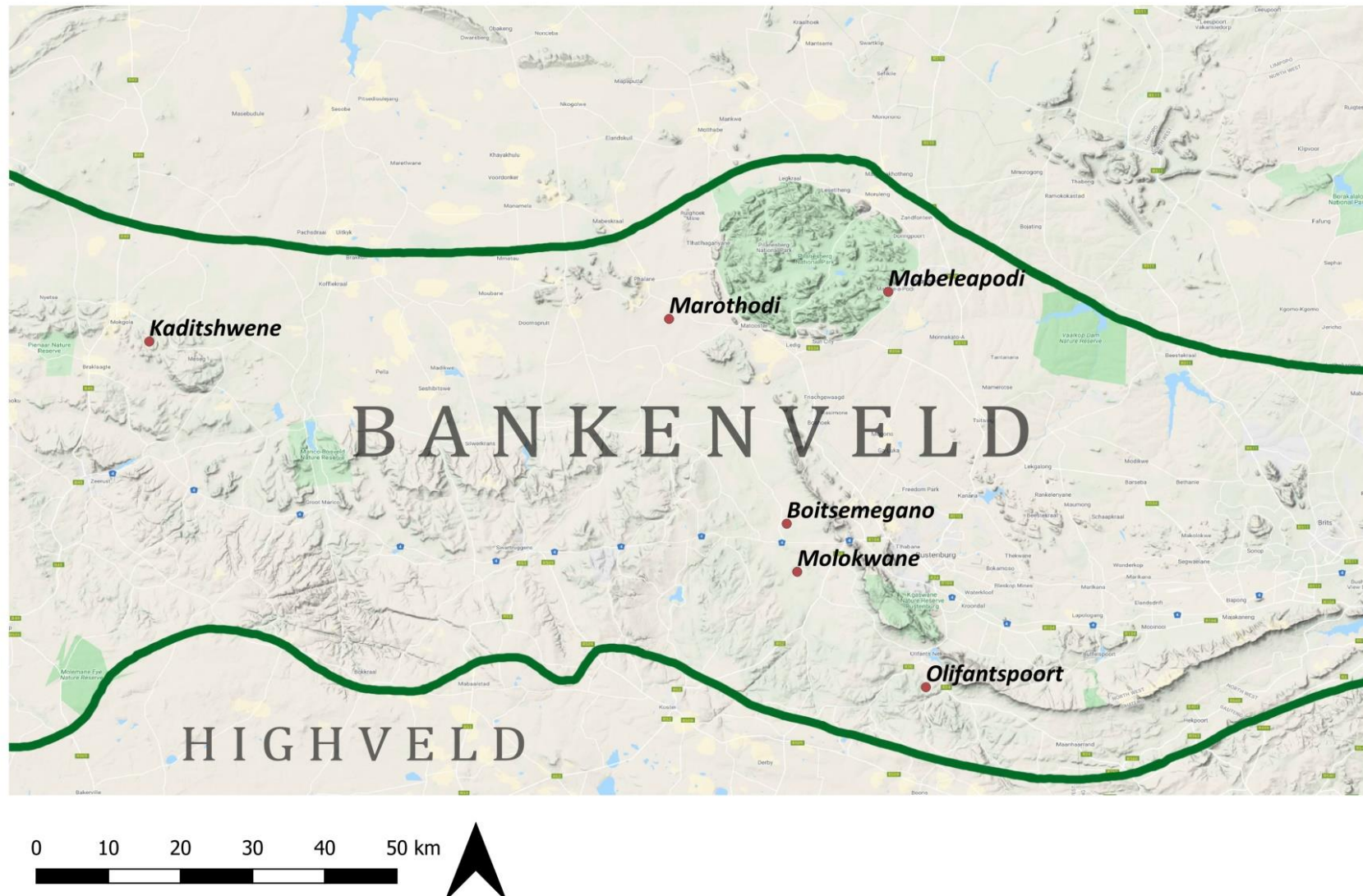


Figure 4.2 Some of the well-known settlements in the Bankenveld region (Image: S. Fairhurst, after F. Coetzee).

4.2.2 Climate

The Tswana 'mega-sites' of the region are situated within the mid-summer rainfall area. Rainfall occurs in the Pilanesberg between October and March, with average summer temperatures ranging from 26° to 30° C. According to recent statistics, the region has a typical annual precipitation of 600-700mm (Mucina & Rutherford 2006; PNP 2020). The Pilanesberg region is abundant with waterfalls, rapids and flowing streams during the rainy seasons. The highest temperatures are from November to March, while the lowest is from May to August (Mbenga 1996; PNP 2020).

Agropastoral settlement distribution studies in the southern Highveld have recently shown that the majority of the communities were situated in areas where the annual mean precipitation levels were between 550 mm and 800 mm and, interestingly, where tsetse flies were absent (Anderson 2009: 47). A minimum annual precipitation of around 500 mm is required for the cultivation of the staple crops, millet and sorghum (prior to maize) (Huffman 1996a). Thus, the region's rainfall was sufficient for farming. Towards the end of the 18th century, it is possible that regional agriculture benefited from increased rainfall (Anderson 2009; Huffman 1996).

4.3 Kgatla in the Pilanesberg

The Kgatla form part of the Kgatla-Phalane cluster. The Kgatla-Phalane cluster settlements in the 18th and 19th centuries were situated in the area north and east of the Pilanesberg. It is not unsurprising that the Kgatla (and the Phalane) chose to utilise the Pilanesberg area as it was also much larger than where the other groups had settled. In fact, they utilised a far greater territory than their 18th- and 19th-century counterparts and tended to occupy a number of settlements at the same time, rather than congregating in a single one (Morton 2008).

The Kgatla employed a wide range of settlement options (Morton 2008) and are thought to have reoccupied a number of their earlier settlements during the 17th to 19th centuries. Such settlements include: Makakawe, Maramapong and Moruleng on Saulspoort 38 JQ, and Mabule, Magakwe and Dithubaruba on Kruidfontein 40 JQ. The exceptions to this trend are: Molokwane (junction Odi and Oodi), Sefikile (Spitskop 410 KQ), Tlokwane (Rhenosterkop 251 KP) and Tsekane (Leeuwpoort 554 KQ). Sefikile and other settlements that were reoccupied tend to be situated in areas with rich agricultural soils. Apparently, Tsekane does not have any attractive agricultural or herding attributes, however, it does have rich tin deposits. The Kgatla took advantage of their diverse environment, often simultaneously, for agriculture, herding, hunting, mining, and possibly trading (Morton 2008).

The Kgafela Kgatla's influence became very broad geographically (Morton 2010: 45). Their original, expansive territory had an assortment of soil, rainfall, foliage types, and terrain. It was here where they adopted their cattle-based society and they were often involved in trade and mining activities, thus allowing those who travelled many routes to develop both linguistic and navigational skills.

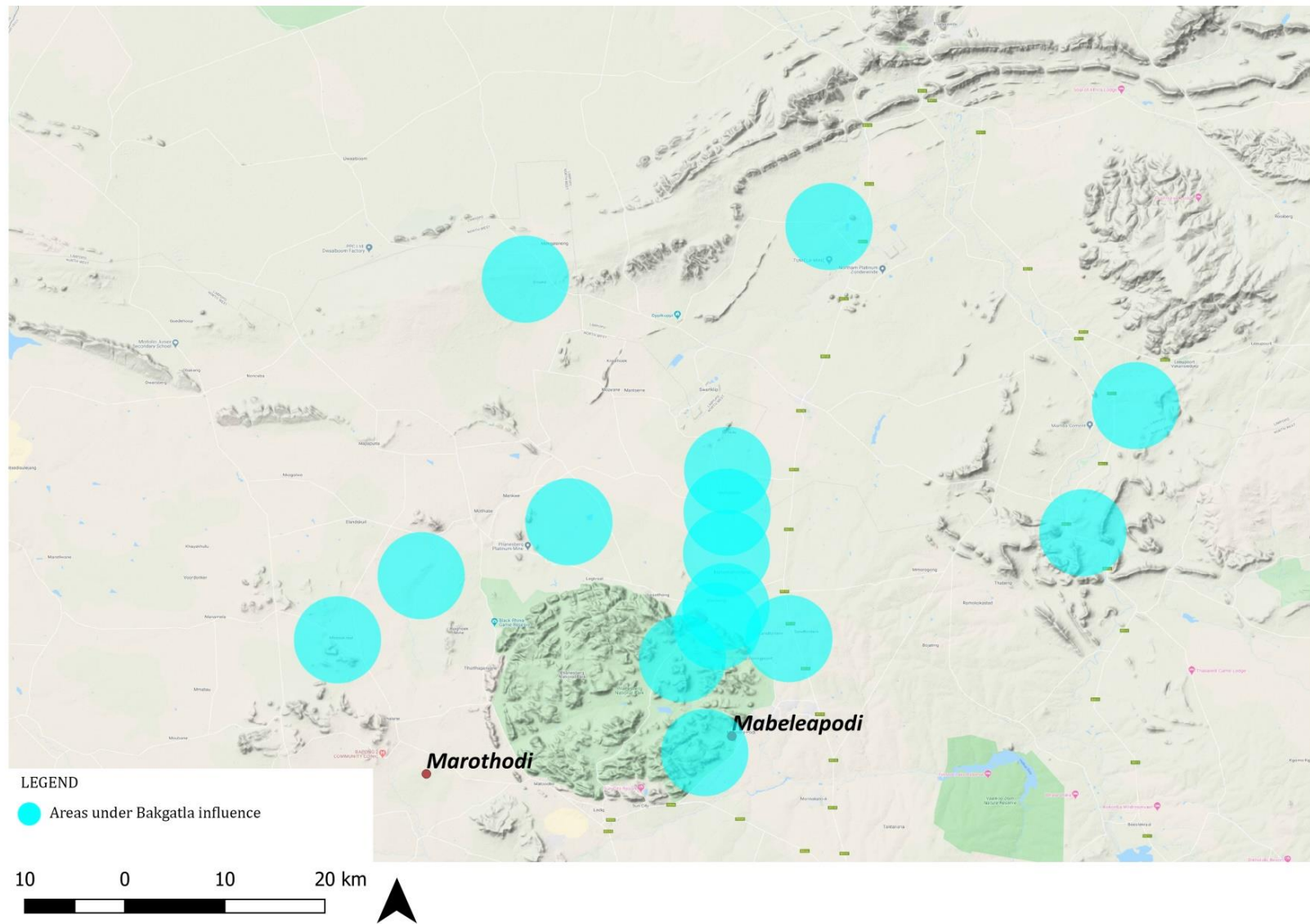


Figure 4.3 Map indicating the different known areas under Bakgatla influence in the region at different times in their history (Image: S. Fairhurst, after F. Coetzee).

4.4 Brief site description: Mabeleapodi

Tswana villages were usually located next to rivers or near places (such as springs) where water was easily accessible. However, it would appear that the preference was for hilly sites that afforded protection against raiding parties. This is seemingly apparent at Mabeleapodi, which is located on a foothill in the mountainous region of Pilanesberg. The settlement also has a small non-perennial spring on the site (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2018).

As previously noted, Mabeleapodi is situated on the farm Rhenosterspruit 908 QJ in what is now the Pilanesberg National Park (Figures 4.4-4.7). Mabeleapodi (which translates to “teats of a goat” [Jenkins 2007: 4]) lies in the southeastern part of the park and was the capital of the 19th-century Bakgatla бага Kgafela (Figure 4.4). The Kgatla are unique from other groups as they are known to have divided their settlements into five main sections in order of seniority (Schapera 1943:70-71; Schapera 1959:24-25), namely: *Kgosing* (containing all the royal wards in the centre and west), *Morêma* (situated north-west of the *Kgosing*), *Tshukudu* (situated in the south and south-west), *Mabodisa* (situated in the east), and *Manamakgôtê* (situated in the north-west beyond *Morêma*).

Mabeleapodi was seemingly also divided into these five major divisions (sections/wards), namely: the *Kgosing*, *Morêma*, *Mabodisa*, *Tshukudu* and *Manamakgôtê* (Figure 4.8) (Schapera 1994: 24). Using the layout of the site and the directions in the description provided by Isaac Schapera (see below), Mr Francois Coetzee determined that there was a close fit between Schapera’s description and the organisation of Mabeleapodi. The directions refer to the *Kgosing* as the central area. He worked from the assumed *Kgosing* when applying Schapera’s directions and assigned the names of the sections to the other parts of the site accordingly (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2023).

Researchers often refer to these major divisions as ‘wards’. Wards are the administrative, political, and social units of a Tswana community and often contain a number of family groups under the leadership of a headman (Anderson 2009). According to Schapera (1994), the Kgatla refer to the above-mentioned major divisions by the same term as they apply to the wards: *kgôrô* or *kgotla*. Kgatla authorities have stated that the term *kgôrô* should only be used for the major divisions, whereas the term *makgotla* should be used for the wards. Although this distinction is convenient for descriptive purposes, Schapera (1994) states that the Kgatla barely maintained this in their everyday speech. There have been circumstances where researchers such as Schapera (1994) have attempted to avoid the confusion with the Tswana terms and referred to these major divisions as ‘sections’ instead of ‘wards’. In this dissertation, I use the term section.

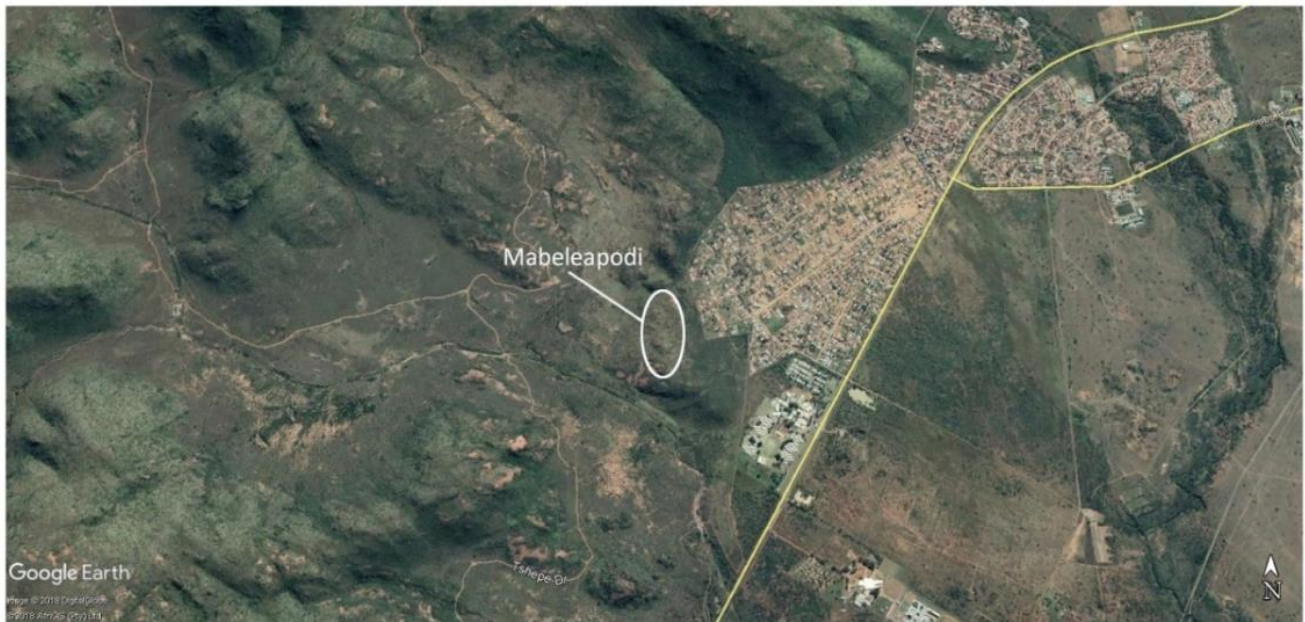


Figure 4.4 Satellite view of Mabeleapodi, Pilanesberg National Park (Image: Google Earth).

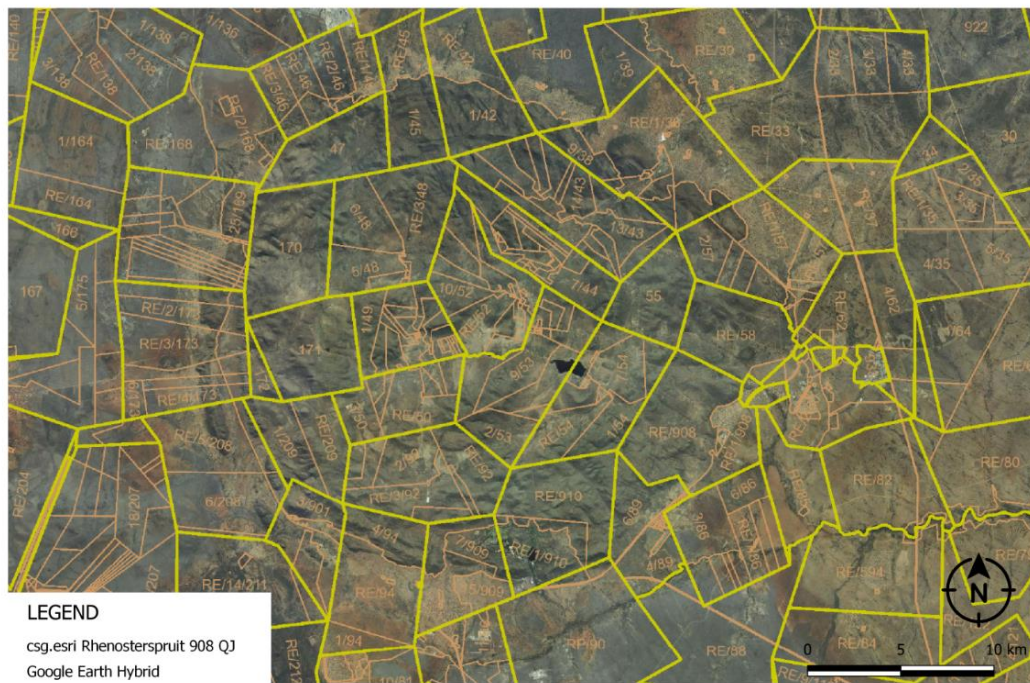


Figure 4.5 Division on farms in and around the Pilanesberg as recorded on the csg.esri-southafrica.com tool.



Figure 4.6 Rhenosterfontein 908 QJ (csg.esri-southafrica.com tool).



Figure 4.7 Rhenosterfontein 908 QJ (csg.esri-southafrica.com tool).

Furthermore, the sections at Mabeleapodi, excluding the *Kgosing*, are commonly referred to collectively as *badintlha* (outsiders/commoners). According to Schapera (1994), the term *badintlha* indicates that the inhabitants of these wards that form the outskirts of a Tswana settlement are generally the commoners and/or recent outsiders. In other words, the *Morêma*, *Mabodisa*, *Tshukudu* and *Manamakgôtê* are where the so-called commoners and outsiders would have resided. Interestingly, the ‘ward system’ was synonymous with the Tswana socio-political structure, which, in fact, eased the process of incorporating outsiders (Anderson 2009: 34). These wards, excluding the *Kgosing*, are believed to have occasionally housed individuals who belonged to the *Kgosing*. They were placed in these sections by the *Kgosi* as custodians of the *badintlha* (Schapera 1994).

Bakgatla Administrative Wards/Sections

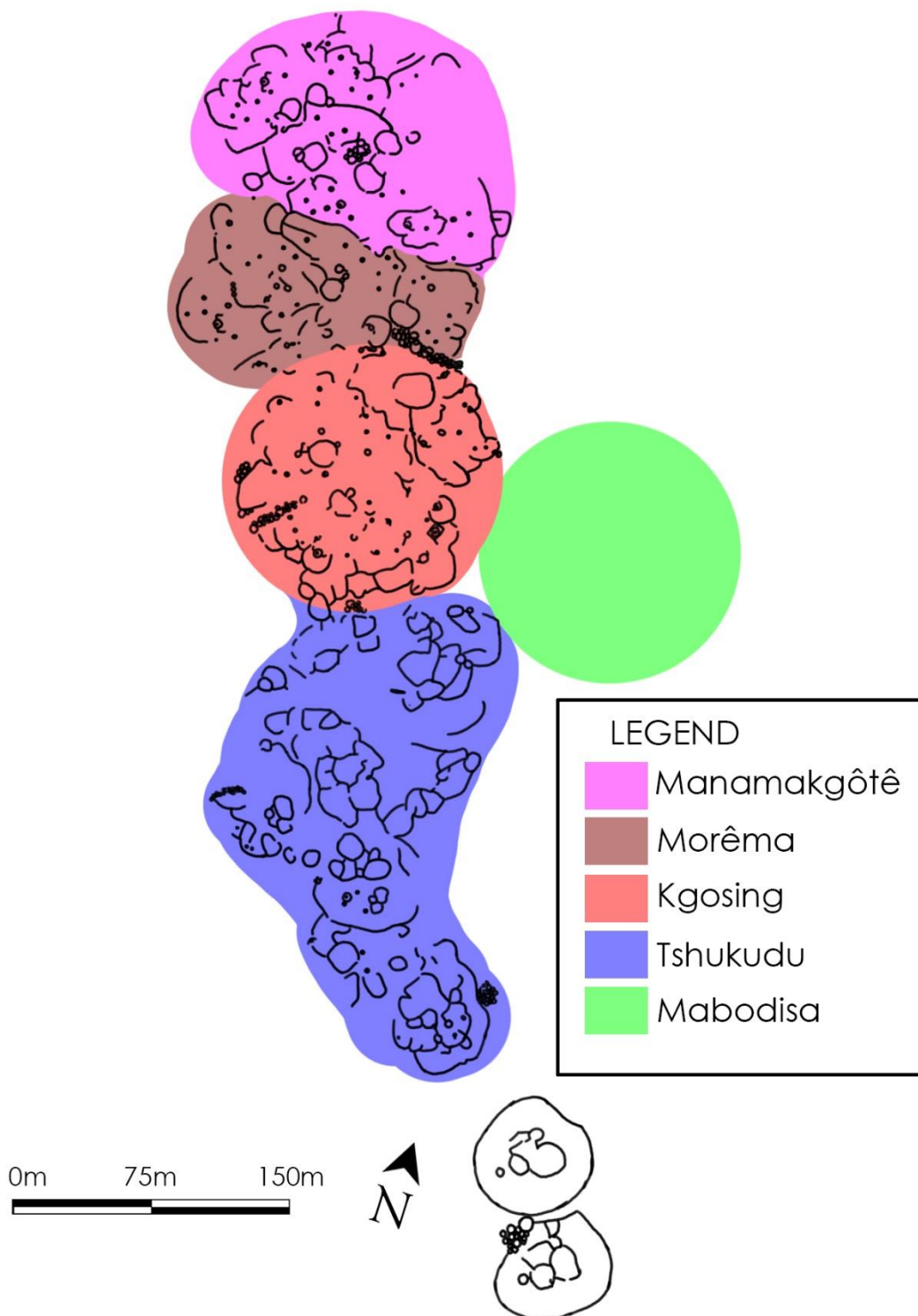


Figure 4.8 The administrative wards/sections at Mabeleapodi (Image: S. Fairhurst, after F. Coetzee).

A clear spatial differentiation is evident between the hut structures of the *Kgosing* and the hut structures in sections. The *Kgosing*'s hut features are relatively more spread out, while those situated in the other sections are more compact.

It is generally known that the highest point of an agropastoral settlement is related to seniority. However, this is not the case at Mabeleapodi. Since it has been determined that the *Kgosing* - situated in the 'centre' - is where the chief and his wives resided and contained all the royal wards in the centre and the west (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022; Schapera 1943, 1959). One of the possible reasons I believe the chief had not chosen the highest point in the settlement could be because they did not have to live as 'defensively' as most agropastoral communities at the time (the early 1800s – during the *Difaqane*) since they may not have been affected by this period of conflict in the same way as others groups were.

4.5 Summary

The rich and varied resources of the Pilanesberg-Rustenburg region allowed many communities to settle in the region. They benefited from these resources as they encouraged agriculture, hunting, herding, mining and trading. The Kgatla were among the many groups that settled in the region due to the varied resources and desirable climate. The Kgatla had a vast expansive territory, and they settled at various settlements from the 17th century onward, one of which is the capital of the 19th-century Kgafela Kgatla – Mabeleapodi – which was situated in the Pilanesberg. Mabeleapodi, situated in the south-eastern part of the park, can be divided into five major divisions (the *Kgosing*, *Morêma*, *Mabodisa*, *Tshukudu* and *Manamakgôtê*). It is believed that outsiders and commoners resided in the sections that were not the *Kgosing*. Therefore, there is a clear differentiation of space between the house structures within the various sections.

C HAPTER 5

5 METHODS OF FIELDWORK AND MATERIAL CULTURE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The scientific analysis of archaeological sites and material culture is of utmost importance in archaeological research (Rehren 2010: 160). Archaeological sites and artefacts are non-renewable resources and form part of our cultural heritage (Rehren 2010: 162). Artefacts have always been at the centre of archaeological research, and material culture contributes to our understanding of individual identity (Lightfoot & Martinez 1995: 485). Not all artefacts, however, are analysed immediately after excavation. Years may elapse between the two stages. Such is the case with the collection studied in this dissertation.

This chapter describes the excavation of the Mabeleapodi middens in 2006 during the annual UNISA field school. In addition, I will briefly discuss collections-based research and the approach taken in my study of the Mabeleapodi collection.

5.2 The fieldwork

This is collections-based research, therefore, I was not present during the initial excavations. The description of the excavation methods is based on the field documentation that was created during the excavation of a number of midden features (Middens 3, 4, 5, 6.1 and 6.2) during the annual UNISA Archaeological Field School held in July 2006.

The most favourable time to dig in the Pilanesberg region is generally in winter when the grass is shorter and/or burnt, hence, the excavations took place in July. This improves visibility in the field, making it easier

to identify archaeological features such as structures and middens. There is also only a remote probability of severe rain in the area during winter.

It appears that standard methods for archaeological fieldwork were used. As a result, the fieldwork involved site survey, excavation, the collection of archaeological material, as well as field and artefact documentation and recording (for example, taking photographs, field notes, and profile drawings) (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022). The aforementioned tasks must all be completed carefully because excavation techniques affect the results.

After the middens were identified, the surface area was cleared, and several 1 m square grids were laid out. The excavations then proceeded horizontally in arbitrary spits (10 cm). A 1x1 mm mesh sieve was used to screen the excavated deposits, and artefacts were then collected and documented. This was done in order to maximize the potential for the recovery of small materials. The middens were documented (through profile drawings) and photographed on site (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022).

The materials were mostly separated in the field and placed in polyethylene Ziplock bags, that were labelled. The labels included information such as site name, feature name, depth, square/unit number, as well as the contents of the bag. The bags were then placed in cardboard boxes. Once the fieldwork season ended, the material was then taken and stored in a storeroom at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

5.3 The excavated middens

This dissertation looks at five midden features excavated at Mabeleapodi. The midden features are as follows: Midden 3 is situated in the *Kgosing*, Middens 4 and 5 are situated in the *Morêma* section and Midden 6.1 and 6.2 are located in the *Tshukudu* section. The distance between the *Morêma* and the *Tshukudu* is approximately 490 m.

5.3.1 *Kgosing* section: Midden 3

The excavated feature of Midden 3 is situated within the northern part of the *Kgosing* section (Figure 5.1). Midden 3 is a small, localised midden. The extent of Midden 3's excavation was 1x1 m, and the unit was excavated to a depth of 40 cm. The grid was placed over the midden feature in such a way as to ensure that the deepest deposit was excavated (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022). The stratigraphy in the midden is presented in profile drawings (Figures 5.5 and 5.6). According to the documented profile drawings, the soil colours were light grey ashy soil, yellow ashy soil, grey ashy soil and red soil. The soil sample(s) taken from Midden 3 have colours ranging from reddish brown, brown, and light brown (Munsell 2010). The disturbances in the profile included rock and grassroots.



Figure 5.1 Location of Midden 3 in *Kgosing* section (Image: S. Fairhurst, after F. Coetzee).



Figure 5.2 Top view of Midden 3 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.3 Southern section, Midden 3 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.4 Eastern section, Midden 3 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).

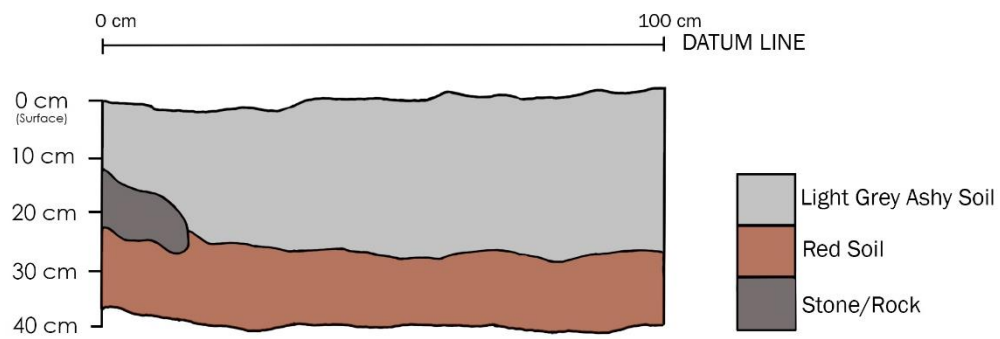


Figure 5.5 Stratigraphy of the eastern profile, Midden 3.

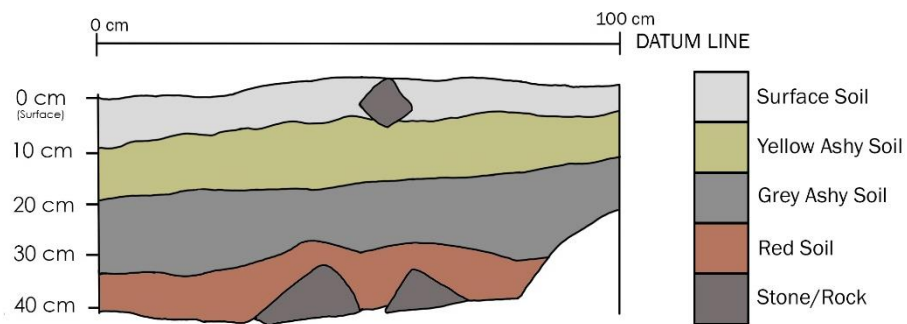


Figure 5.6 Stratigraphy of the southern profile, Midden 3.

5.3.2 *Morêma* section: Middens 4 and 5

Middens 4 and 5 are situated more or less in the centre of the *Morêma* section (Figure 5.7). Both are relatively small, localised middens. The extent of Midden 4's excavation was a 0.5x2 m unit excavated to a depth of 55 cm. The grid was also placed over the midden feature to ensure that the deepest deposit was excavated (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022). The stratigraphy of Midden 4 is visible in the profile drawings (Figures 5.10 and 5.11). The information about the stratigraphy is based on the recorded documentation taken on-site in 2006. The soil sample(s) taken from Midden 4 ranged from reddish brown, pinkish grey, dark reddish grey and light brown colour (Munsell 2010). Disturbances in the profile included rock/stone.

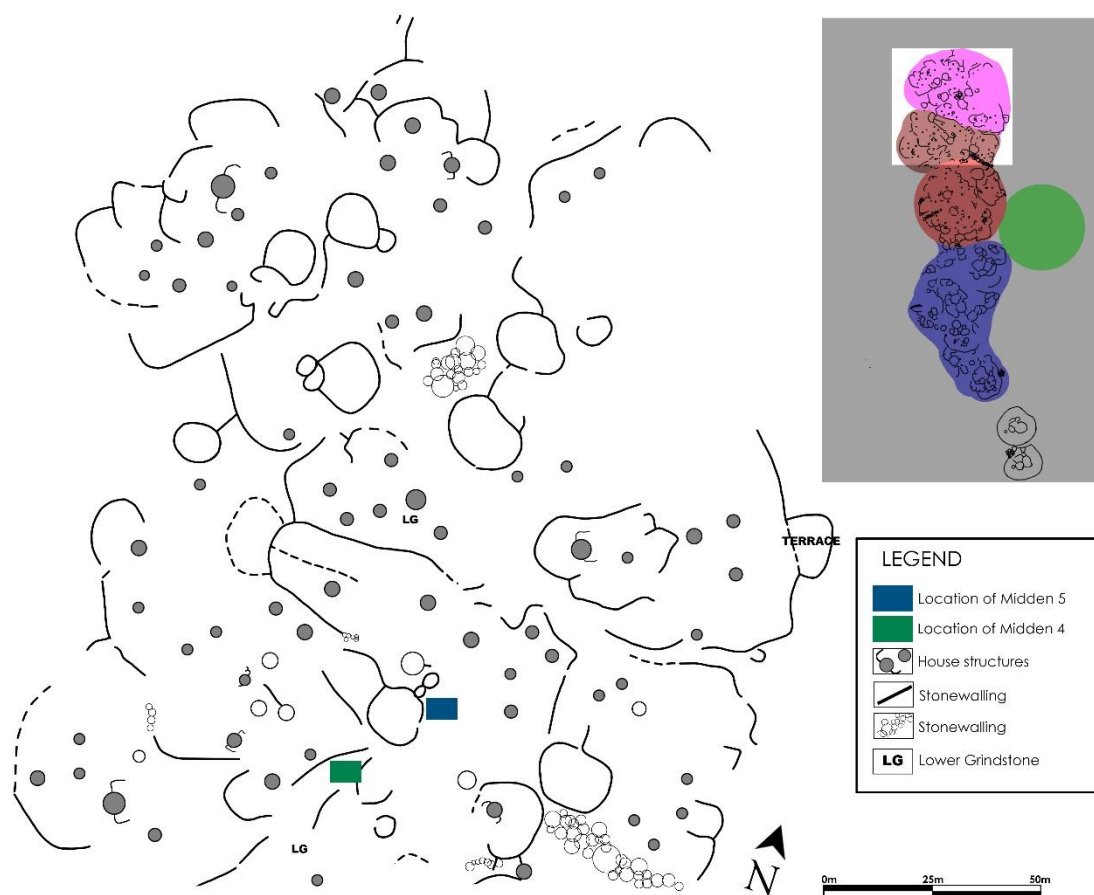


Figure 5.7 Location of Midden 4 and Midden 5 in *Morêma* section (Image: S. Fairhurst, after F. Coetzee).

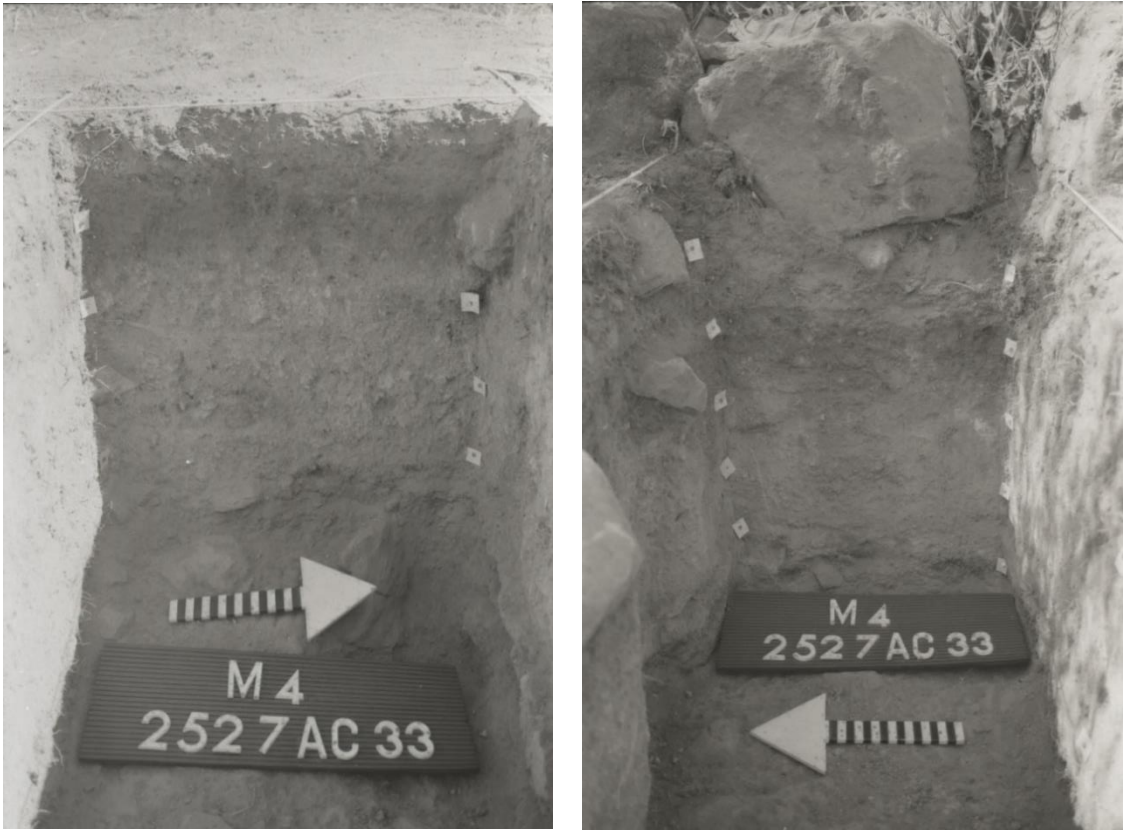


Figure 5.8 i) western section, ii) eastern sections, Midden 4 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.9 Top view of Midden 4 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).

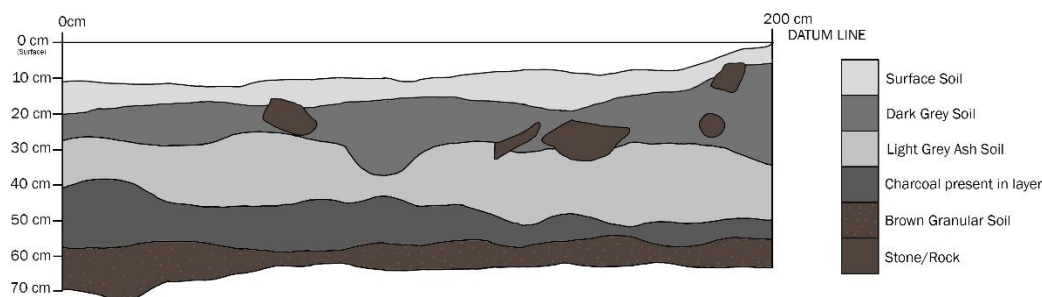


Figure 5.10 Stratigraphy of the northern profile, Midden 4.

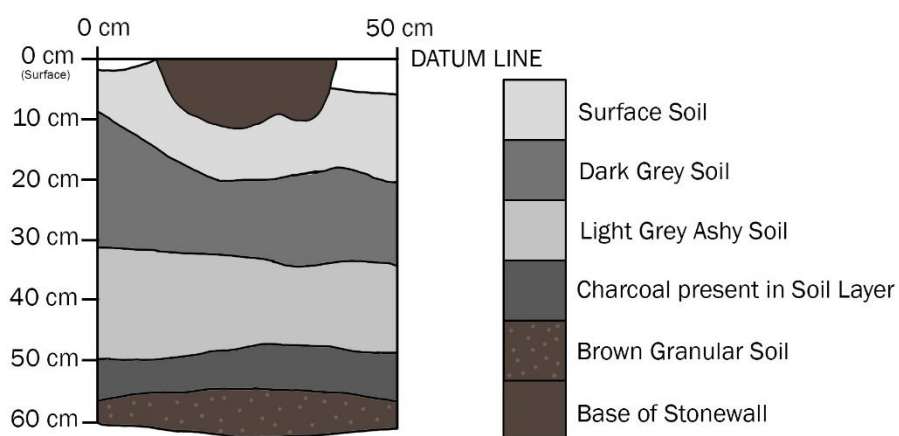


Figure 5.11 Stratigraphy of the eastern profile, Midden 4.

The extent of Midden 5's excavation was 2x2 m excavated to a depth of 40 cm. The grid was placed over the midden feature to ensure that the deepest deposit was excavated (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022). The information on the stratigraphy is based on the recorded documentation taken on-site in 2006. The stratigraphy of Midden 5 is presented in Figures 5.15 and 5.16. According to the profile drawings, the soil colours were light grey ashy soil, dark grey soil, beige soil, and light orange soil. The soil sample(s) taken from Midden 5 ranged from pinkish grey, dark brown, brown, light brown and light reddish-brown colour (Munsell 2010). Disturbances in the profile included rock/stone.



Figure 5.12 Northern section, Midden 5 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.13 Eastern section, Midden 5 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.14 Top view of Midden 5 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).

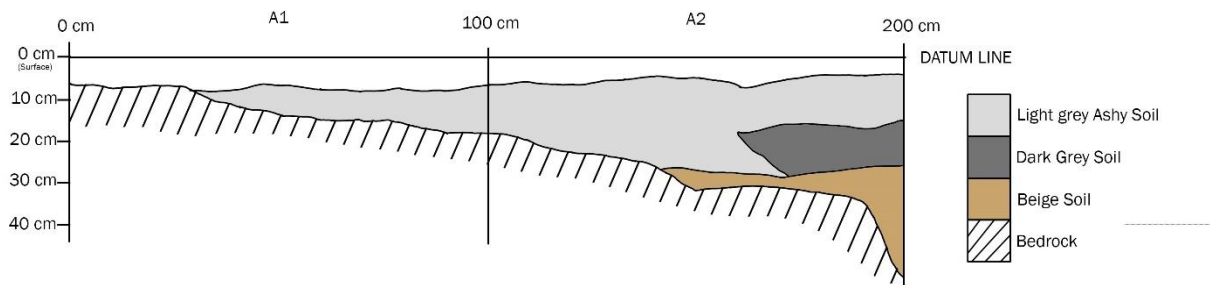


Figure 5.15 Stratigraphy of the northern profile, Midden 5.

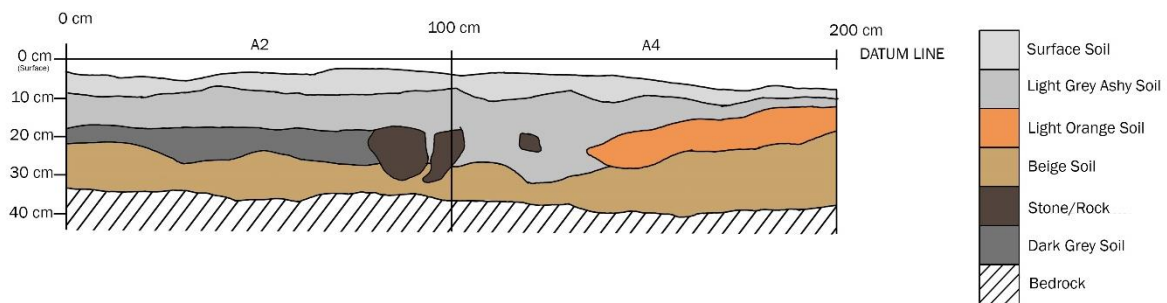


Figure 5.16 Stratigraphy of the eastern profile, Midden 5.

5.3.3 *Tshukudu* section: Middens 6.1 and 6.2

Middens 6.1 and 6.2 are both situated within the southernmost region of the *Tshukudu* section (Figure 5.17). They are also small, localised middens. The extent of Midden 6.1's excavation was 2x2 m excavated to a depth of 30 cm. The grid was placed over the midden feature to ensure that the deepest deposit was excavated (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022). The stratigraphy of Midden 6.1 is presented in profile drawings (Figures 5.21 and 5.22). The information about the stratigraphy is based on the recorded documentation taken on-site in 2006. According to the documented profile drawings the soil colours were yellow-grey soil, light ashy soil, and red granular soil. The soil sample(s) taken from Midden 6.1 ranged from light brown, light reddish brown and reddish yellow (Munsell 2010). Disturbances in the profile were rocks/stone, the midden was situated by a stonewall.

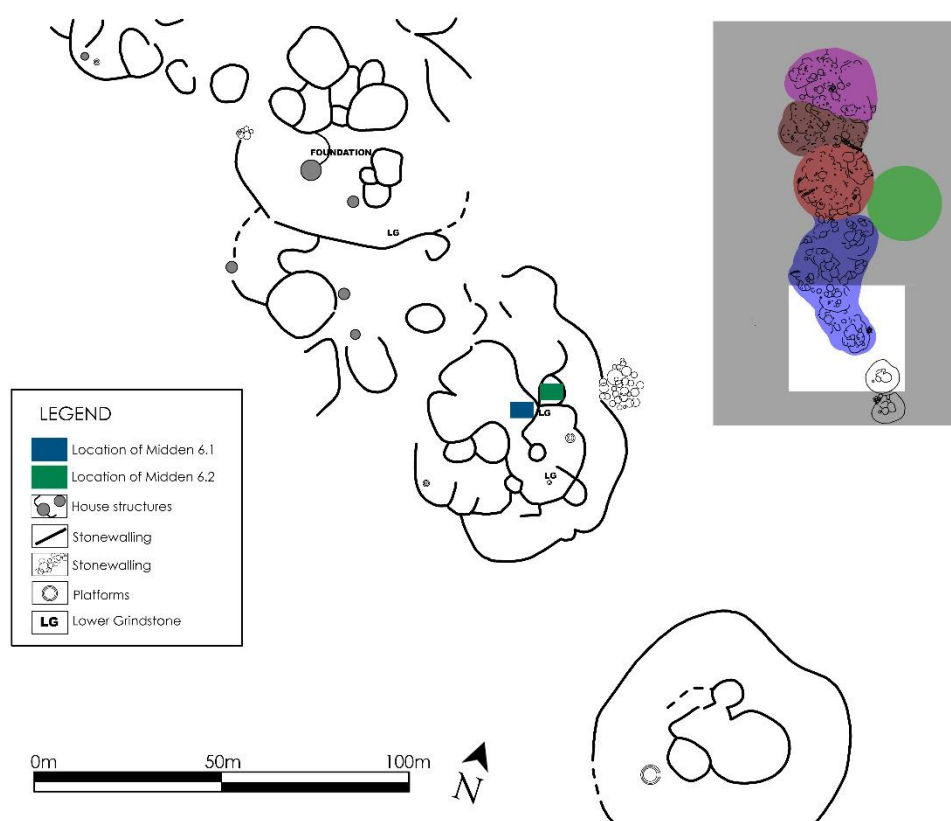


Figure 5.17 Location of Midden 6.1 and Midden 6.2 in the *Tshukudu* section (Image: S. Fairhurst, after F. Coetzee).



Figure 5.18 Top view (close-up) of Midden 6.1 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.19 Top view of Midden 6.1 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).



Figure 5.20 Southern section, Midden 6.1 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).

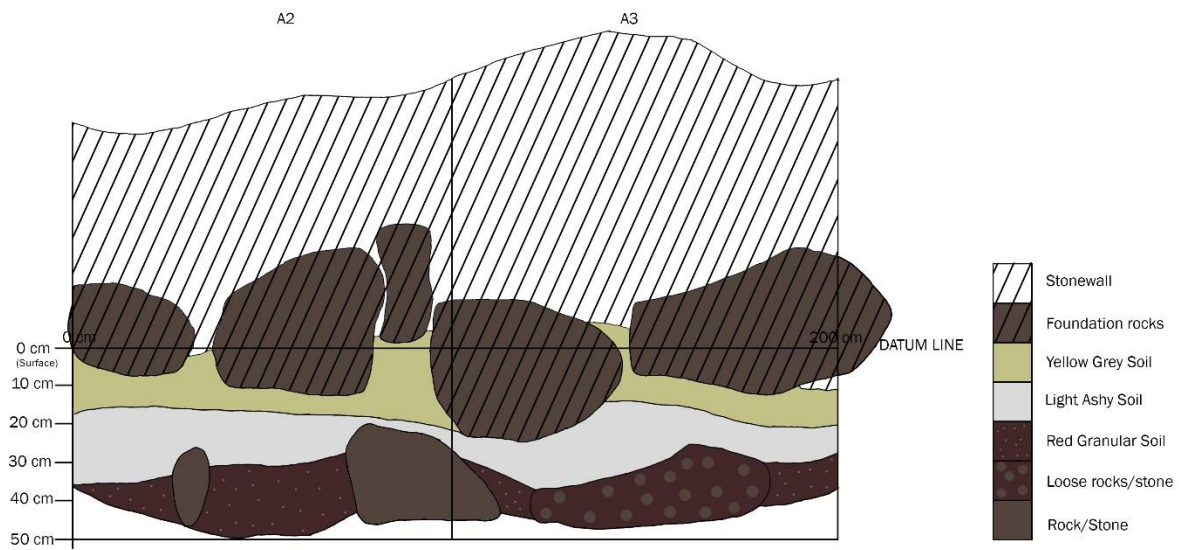


Figure 5.21 Stratigraphy of the eastern profile, Midden 6.1.

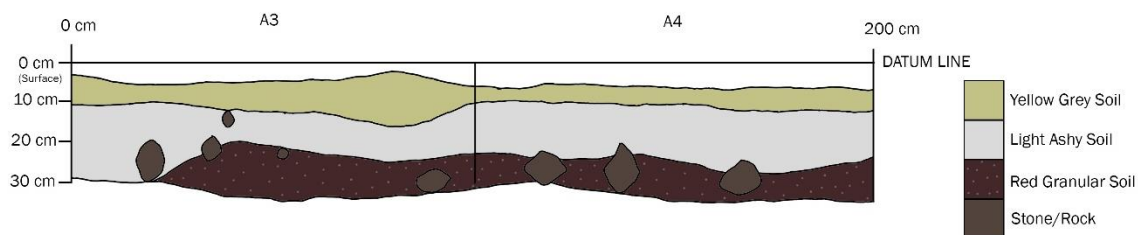


Figure 5.22 Stratigraphy of the southern profile, Midden 6.1.

The extent of Midden 6.2's excavation was a 1x1 m unit excavated to a depth of 60cm. The grid was placed over the midden feature to ensure that the deepest deposit was excavated (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022). The stratigraphy of Midden 6.2 is presented in profile drawings (Figures 5.24 and 5.25). The information on the stratigraphy is based on the recorded documentation taken on-site in 2006. According to the documented profile drawings, the soil colours were light brown soil, white ash soil, and red-brown soil. The soil sample(s) taken from Midden 6.2 is a pinkish-grey colour (Munsell 2010). Disturbances across the profile resulted from animal burrows, root intrusions and rock/stone.



Figure 5.23 Top view of Midden 6.2 (Photo: F. Coetzee 2006).

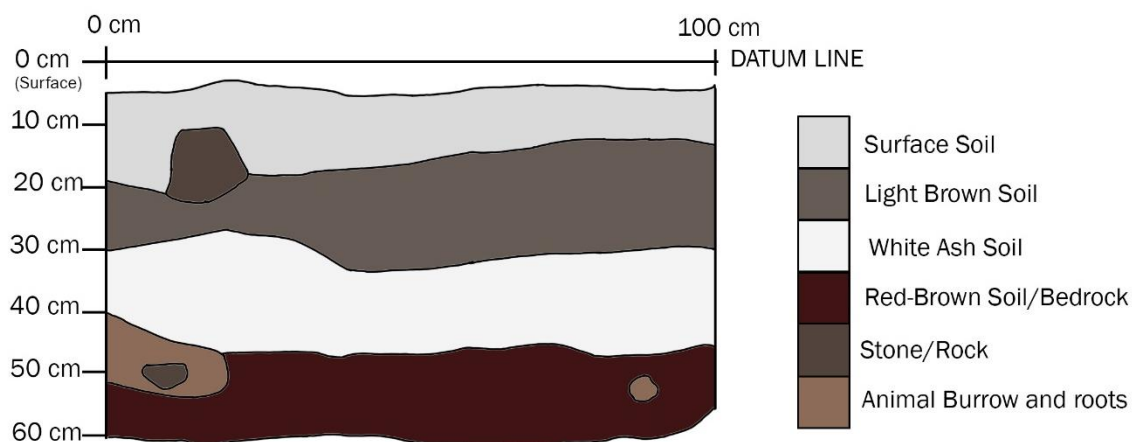


Figure 5.24 Stratigraphy of the southwestern profile, Midden 6.2.

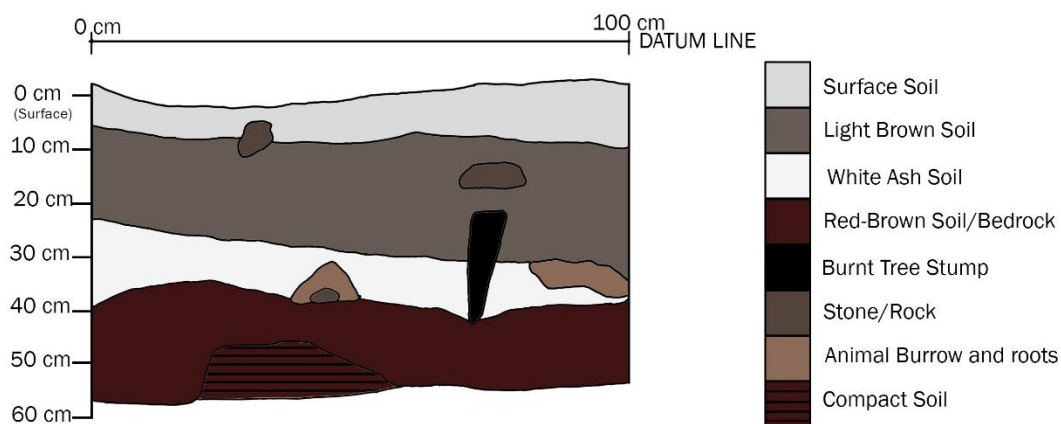


Figure 5.25 Stratigraphy of the north-western profile, Midden 6.2.

5.4 Collections-based research

When we think of archaeology, often one of the first thoughts that come to mind is fieldwork. After fieldwork has concluded, the archaeological material is stored in a repository at a university or a museum and can either be analysed immediately or remain untouched for years. Such accessioned collections usually consist of both the excavated material and, importantly, their associated records. There are cases where certain collections are researched, or where the collections are left unstudied, and we do not

obtain answers (Frieman & Janz 2018; King & Samford 2019; Martinez et al. 2022). My project was initially envisioned as a fieldwork-based project, but due to the Covid-19 pandemic, it was altered to collections-based research on cultural material and archaeological data originally collected in 2006. Although the fieldwork was done more than a decade and a half ago, the material had not been analysed. Therefore, many questions of the Kgatla at Mabeleapodi remained unanswered.

Briefly, collections-based research is the analysis and/or the re-analysis of archaeological assemblages. Through researching archaeological collections, we can contextualise field data, and we can compare the archaeological material from one site to another, or even do a comparison of one area of a site to another, allowing us to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of a group of people, or a settlement. Collections-based research also allows students or researchers to study certain artefacts that are not frequently encountered in the field (Frieman & Janz 2018; King & Samford 2019; Martinez et al. 2022).

Unfortunately, collections-based research is not without its limitations, several of which had implications for this research. Since the excavations were done in the early 2000s, the methods of collection, bagging and documentation were done differently compared to how we do it today. Three bags of potsherds, were not labelled. This could be due to several factors; the adhesive on the labels may have weakened over the years, and thus they could have fallen off (although they were not inside the boxes). Another possibility is that these bags may not have been labelled in the field. Regardless, their provenance is unknown.

Furthermore, some of the materials were incorrectly bagged or labelled. I often came across stones and faunal material among the ceramics, or vice-versa. I re-bagged the artefacts and cleaned them so that I was able to place the correct artefacts in their corresponding bags. There were also instances where ceramic sherds were labelled as undecorated, but were indeed decorated.

The fieldnotes that were written do not provide much information. There are no context sheets, the fieldnotes mainly focused on providing brief lists of what has been recovered in each midden, with no other specific information about the midden features and soil changes. This made the descriptions of the stratigraphy quite difficult. However, I was able to look at the small soil samples collected, which gave me some indication of soil colours. No Munsell colour codes were included with the profile drawings, therefore, I used the Munsell soil chart on the collected soil samples to identify the soil colours. A lot of the information on the excavation techniques was not provided in the fieldnotes or documentation either, however, I was able to use the photographs and some of the information written on the labels to identify the deposit depths, and excavation methods used. I also spoke to Mr Francois Coetzee, who was able to offer more information about the techniques used in the field.

5.5 Laboratory procedures

5.5.1 Potsherds

The potsherds were cleaned and analysed according to Booth (2015: 10) and Livingstone & De Francquen (2017). The potsherds were marked to indicate their provenance (i.e. the site, feature, unit number and layer). Once the marking and counting of the potsherds were completed, I started refitting the pottery. However, only one vessel could be partially reconstructed. The sherds that could be reassembled were sealed around the edges with an application of consolidant (Paraloid B-72 adhesive that was diluted in acetone and butyl alcohol and applied with a paintbrush) and set aside to dry. After it cured, I was able to start fitting the potsherds together (using a thicker solution of acetone, butyl alcohol and Paraloid B-72). These materials and techniques were used in the reconstruction of the pots as they are completely reversible, adhere to museum standards, and are not harmful to the artefacts (Buys & Oakley 1993: 102-104; 106-110; Knoob 1985).

There were several pottery pieces that had burnt residue. There are a variety of techniques for identifying residue on vessels. For example, animal fats and vegetable oils can be identified through gas chromatography; the interior of vessels can be subjected to phosphate analysis to determine whether the vessel held organic material; or an isotopic method can be applied to determine the contents of the vessels (Skibo 1992: 40). However, the above-mentioned techniques and the analysis of residue on vessels are beyond the scope of this study; therefore, the vessels with residue were noted and carefully preserved separately.

Potsherds are deemed diagnostic in this study if they have either a distinct rim profile and/or decoration motif present. I identified and illustrated all diagnostic sherds (Chapter 6). Decoration motifs and techniques on potsherds can include, but are not limited to: broad and fine line incisions, rim-notching, line stamping (with a “comb” or gourd), punctuates, fine stabs from a grass stalk, applique, and the use of colours such as ochre and/or graphite (Hanisch 1979: 74; Huffman 2007; Lawton 1965).

Furthermore, I was able to obtain the diameter of several rim sherds, which helped in identifying the shape and type of vessel. Thus, I attempted to interpret the possible functions of some of the vessels from which the sherds originated. It should be noted that some sherds were severely weathered and/or were too small to define a shape in order to determine what the vessel type was and which part of the vessel it belonged to. These pieces are thus put into the unknown category.

5.5.2 Beads

I carefully cleaned, counted, measured as well as photographed each bead recovered from the five middens. The beads and their corresponding descriptions are presented in this dissertation. The analysis of the glass beads focused on the appearance (size, colour, shape, diaphaneity, and decoration) and method of manufacture (structure, wound, drawn, blown, mould-pressed, or heat-treated); therefore,

Wood (2008; 2011) and Karklins (1985) were consulted. Marilee Wood, in particular has developed the terminological and methodological framework for studying glass beads that is widely utilised in southern African archaeology.

The condition of a bead may affect the appearance of the colour, this is a result of patina, dirt, scratches, density, corrosion and so on. Colours will often also look different under reflected light than transmitted light. I made use of the Munsell Book of Colours (2012), matching the beads to the chips under natural light. However, due to personal experience, I have also seen that, in addition to discolouration, people often see different colours/shades, even when using a Munsell. It is therefore advisable to refer to the broader colour range such as red, white, blue, and so forth (see Wood 2011: 70). Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show the standard criteria for bead analyses devised by Wood (2011) that were used to classify the beads' shapes, and sizes, and determine the diaphaneity of the glass beads recovered from the middens.

Table 5.1 Bead sizes (diameter) (after Wood 2011).

Size	Bead diameter
Minute	≤ 2.5 mm
Small	> 2.5-3.5 mm
Medium	> 3.5-4.5 mm
Large	> 4.5-5.5 mm
Very Large	> 5.5 mm

Table 5.2 Beads length ratio formulas (after Wood 2011).

Length ratio	Formula
Disc	Length= ≤ 0.2
Short	Length= >0.2 -<0.8 diameter
Standard	Length= > 0.8-<1.2 diameter
Long	Length= >1.2-<2 diameter
Very long	Length= >2 diameter

5.5.3 Faunal material

The analysis of faunal remains was carried out in accordance with Badenhorst's (2009) adaptation of Driver's (1991) standardised methodology for identifying archaeological faunal remains. Taxonomic identification was confirmed using the comparative skeletal collection at the Ditsong National Museum of Natural History under the supervision of Dr Annie Antonites (Senior Curator: Archaeozoological and Large Mammal Section, Vertebrate Department). Researchers can distinguish between closely related species using comparative skeletal morphology (Antonites et al. 2016). Therefore, I aimed to identify which species are present among the excavated faunal material through a comparative morphological technique. Specifically because a comparative technique can be used to assist in identifying faunal material from archaeological sites, and it can help solve archaeological research questions (Scott 2018; Scott & Plug 2016).

The specimens were grouped into two categories: identifiable and non-identifiable specimens. The non-identifiable specimens were counted and examined for evidence of taphonomy (such as cut or chop marks, teeth marks, white burnt, black burnt, worked and modified). The identifiable specimens were sorted according to skeletal element and taxonomic group. The taxonomy ranges from general to specific species (Badenhorst 2009). I further identified and categorised the skeletal elements by taphonomy, age (whether a specimen was mature or a juvenile) and sex (where possible).

5.5.4 Metal objects

The metal artefacts were carefully cleaned, photographed, measured and noted, but due to the small number of metal objects recovered from the middens no established typology was used in their analysis.

5.5.5 Clay objects

Some pieces, primarily fragmented, of moulded clay were retrieved. All pieces were measured, described where possible and photographed.

5.5.6 Stone

Two stone tools were identified. They were carefully cleaned, documented, described, measured and drawn. Other stones in the collection were noted, photographed and counted. The upper grindstone was measured and described. Although there was no visible macroscopic residue, the upper grinding stone was handled with care to preserve any microscopic traces that could be used for future analysis.

5.5.7 Other finds

Small amounts of crystal, modern glass, and copper ore were identified. These were cleaned, photographed and measured.

5.6 A microscale lens and comparative approaches

For my research and analysis I focus on studying the middens through a microscale lens. I attempt to understand the settlement organisation, and aim to answer my research questions by looking at the artefacts recovered from the midden features – specifically those that can give insight toward the household or homestead. I believe by using an approach that utilises the microscale and comparisons, focussing on themes such as gender, affluence and daily activities I will be able to obtain a better understanding of the everyday lives of the Kgafela Kgatla. I not only look at the excavation methods, nor do I merely analyse the artefacts, the additional methods I use throughout this dissertation is spatial analysis (specifically, intra-site spatial analysis) and comparing historical, ethnographic and oral accounts to the archaeological data.

5.6.1 Intra-site spatial analysis

Spatial analysis focusses on the study of the use of space in a settlement. There are generally two types of spatial analyses, namely, intra-site and inter-site. Intra-site spatial analysis mainly focusses on a microscale level, whereas inter-site is considered to be more on a landscape (macroscale) level (Gaydarska 2014: 6976). For the purposes of my research, and the use of a microscale lens, I utilise an intra-site spatial analysis. The excavations of the middens were conducted at different sections of Mabeleapodi – presumably to obtain a spatial/intra-site comparison of the settlement. Intra-site spatial analysis can be used to improve our understanding of human behaviour. I use this comparative approach to obtain a more sound and accurate understanding of Mabeleapodi. This approach can generally go even further than plotting larger features to identify, for example, activity areas, we can use a more micro-spatial analysis on structural features, which will enable us to plot sleeping areas, cooking areas, storage spaces and so forth (Gaydarska 2014).

The methods of spatial (intra-site, specifically) analysis are often conducted after excavations have been done, therefore, it is imperative to make sure that all the recordings of site data such as maps, coordinates, plotting of features, photographs and even in some cases artefacts are done correctly, so that we can obtain an accurate image of space. However, I should mention that because the data was recorded almost two decades ago, methods and techniques of collection were different, and thus, there is information missing from the data. Although the spatial analysis in this research does not plot artefacts (apart from a few noted lower grindstones), I am still able to obtain a general idea of activities that took place near the midden features.

5.6.2 Comparing accounts and data and the use of a 'direct historical approach'

Although it has been argued that the use of a direct historical approach is unsuitable and has little to no value toward agropastoral settlement studies, I do believe that it may have value, as the study of the 'late Iron Age' period and agropastoral communities (generally within the last 500 years) falls within the realm of historical archaeology (Anderson 2009; Behrens & Swanepoel 2008; Reid & Lane 2004). As I have noted elsewhere, the use of a direct historical approach, or ethnographic literature and oral tradition can be applied to certain sites and/or groups, as they offer us a contemporary record of Tswana communities, many of which are still alive today, such as the Kgafela Kgatla.

In order to make interpretations, (from a microscale – multidimensional point of view) and to obtain a more accurate understanding of some of the artefacts I make use of available ethnographic and oral accounts to obtain information about the modern-day Kgafela Kgatla. Even though I do make use of different datasets, I am still cautious about the fact that a lot of the documents and accounts may have changed/or been created to best suit a person or group of people, it is also possible there may have been some translation issues within certain documents. The archaeological data could confirm some of the oral/historical accounts, however, it is expected that there will be clear contrasts or inconsistencies between these datasets. Such contrasts have already been identified with some of the written accounts about the Kgatla (see Chapter 3), and the fact that previous research has indicated that the site was occupied after the death of *Kgosi* Pilane.

5.7 Summary

We document every part of an excavation, from start to finish; this includes the surveys, the excavations and the techniques, as well as the cultural material. This chapter focused on discussing the various techniques that were used in the field and in the laboratory. The fieldwork was done in 2006, thus,

techniques of documentation differed from current documentation techniques, which have significantly advanced since then. Therefore, several limitations are presented. The following chapter will discuss the results of the analysis of the midden assemblages.

C HAPTER 6

6 DISCARDED OBJECTS: RESULTS OF THE MIDDENS' ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the results of the analysis of the material from Middens 3, 4, 5, 6.1 and 6.2 at Mabeleapodi. The archaeological material recovered from the middens includes but is not limited to, ceramics (both decorated and undecorated), faunal material, beads (glass, ostrich egg shell [OES], and clay), various metal objects, charcoal, crystal, and moulded clay (figurine fragments).

6.2 *Kgosing* section: Midden 3

6.2.1 Midden 3

The finds from the Midden 3 excavation yielded a representative sample of cultural material commonly found at sites dating to this age, including ceramic sherds, beads (for example, glass and OES), faunal remains, two clay objects (possibly part of a figurine), a piece of hut rubble, and charcoal samples (Appendix D).

6.2.1.1 Potsherds

A total of 164 potsherds were recovered from Midden 3. Out of this assemblage, 81 (49.4%) are decorated (for example, comb-stamping, line incisions, and/or red/yellow/orange ochre), while a total of 83 (50.6%) are undecorated. Fifty-three (32.31%) have evidence of blackening. Blackening can occur for several reasons, it may be done deliberately (i.e. as decoration), it may result from the vessel being used continually on a fire, or it is because of post-depositional damage from veld or midden fires. Furthermore, the assemblage contained 15 (9.14%) rim sherds, several of which have a diagnostic curve making it

possible to identify the vessel shape, diameter and functions. The sherds with diagnostic profiles and/or decoration are depicted in Figures 6.1-6.5. The diagnostic sherd types (Table 6.1) include jar rims (n=9), jar neck (n=2), jar shoulder (n=3) and jar body sherds (n=19); bowl rims (n=4) and bowl body sherds (n=2).

Table 6.1 Potsherds recorded at Midden 3.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
0-10cm	Jar	Rim	-	1	-
	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	7	2	6
	Bowl	Rim	1	-	-
Unknown	Unknown	Rim	-	1	1
	Unknown	Body	34	16	13
	Subtotal		44	20	20
10-20cm	Jar	Rim	2	1	-
	Jar	Neck	-	1	1
	Jar	Shoulder	-	1	1
	Jar	Body	2	1	2
	Bowl	Rim	-	2	2
	Bowl	Body	1	-	1
	Unknown	Body	11	26	12
	Unknown	Unknown	-	5	1
Subtotal		16	37	20	
20-30cm	Jar	Rim	3	-	-
	Jar	Body	-	2	2
	Unknown	Body	2	3	2
Subtotal		5	5	4	
30-40cm	Jar	Rim	2	-	1
	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	2	3	1
	Bowl	Rim	-	1	1
	Bowl	Body	1	-	-
	Bowl	Unknown	1	-	-
	Unknown	Rim	-	1	1
	Unknown	Body	8	16	5
	Unknown	Unknown	1	-	-
Subtotal		16	21	9	
Total		81	83	53	
Total %		49.4%	50.6%	32.31%	

6.2.1.1.1 Vessel decorations

Table 6.2 presents the various decorations present in the ceramic assemblage of Midden 3. These include the sherds that are decorated with comb-stamping or line incisions and rim sherds that have ochre decoration. The decorated sherds recovered from Midden 3 can be attributed to the Urewe tradition, namely the Uitkomst and Buispoort ceramic styles (see Huffman 2007).

Table 6.2 Vessel decoration present at Midden 3.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Rim	Neck	Shoulder	Body	Decoration type	Ochre/graphite interior and/or exterior
0-10 cm	Jar		X			Comb-stamping, ochre	E
	Jar			X		Comb-stamping, ochre	E, I
	Bowl	X				Ochre	E, I
10-20 cm	Long-necked Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
	Long-necked Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
20-30 cm	Jar	X	X			Comb-stamping, ochre/graphite	E
	Jar	X				Line incisions, Ochre	E
	Possible Jar - no clear profile information				X	Line incisions, ochre	E, I
	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
30-40 cm	Bowl				X	Line incisions, ochre	I
	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
	Unknown -no clear profile information				X	Line incisions	None
	Unknown - no clear profile information			X		Line incisions, ochre	E
	Possible Jar	X				Comb-stamping	None

6.2.1.1.2 Vessel functions

Unfortunately, not all of the rims were clearly defined. However, table 6.3 provides the possible functions of the vessels with a distinct rim diameter.

Table 6.3 Possible vessel functions present at Midden 3.

Depth (cm)	Function	Vessel Type	Rim Diameter	Rim	Neck
0-10 cm	Beer brewing/Cooking: <i>Nkgwana</i> (fermenting beer [bojalwa] or <i>Tsagana</i> (used for sour porridge [ting])	Jar (recurved)	22 cm	Rounded	Everted neck
	Serving vessel	Open bowl - appears to be a shallow bowl	10 cm	Slightly flattened and thickened	N/A
10-20 cm	Storage pot: <i>Tsaga</i> (large) beer storing/making pot or <i>Nkho/Nkgo</i> (large) pot used for storing water	Long-necked jar	44 cm	Slightly flattened and rounded	Everted neck
	Serving vessel/washbasin	Deep bowl	22 cm	Rounded	N/A
20-30 cm	<i>Mogakwana</i> possibly served as a container for keeping water cool.	Long-necked jar	13 cm	Slightly flattened and rounded	Everted neck

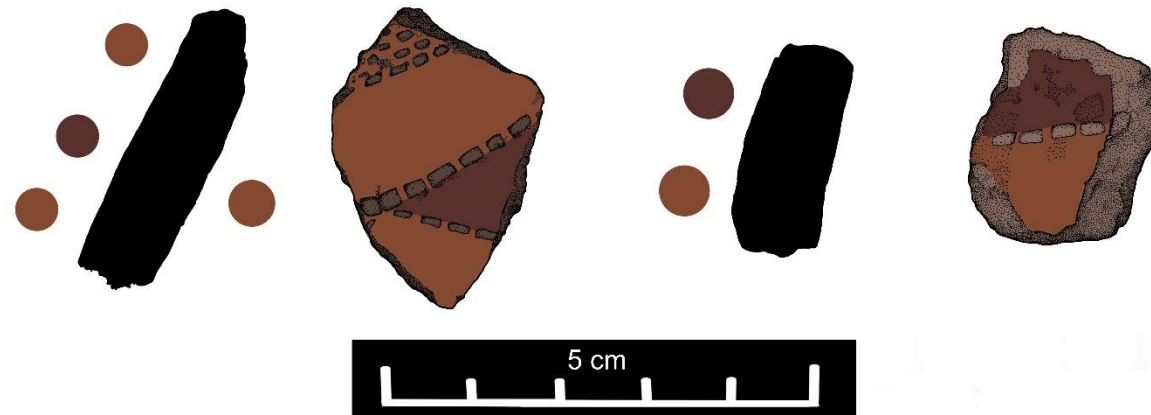


Figure 6.1 Midden 3 0-10 cm: i) section of neck and shoulder of a jar (possibly a recurved jar) decorated with comb-stamping and ochre on the exterior; ii) shoulder section of a jar (possibly a recurved jar), decorated with comb-stamping, and ochre (exterior and interior) (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

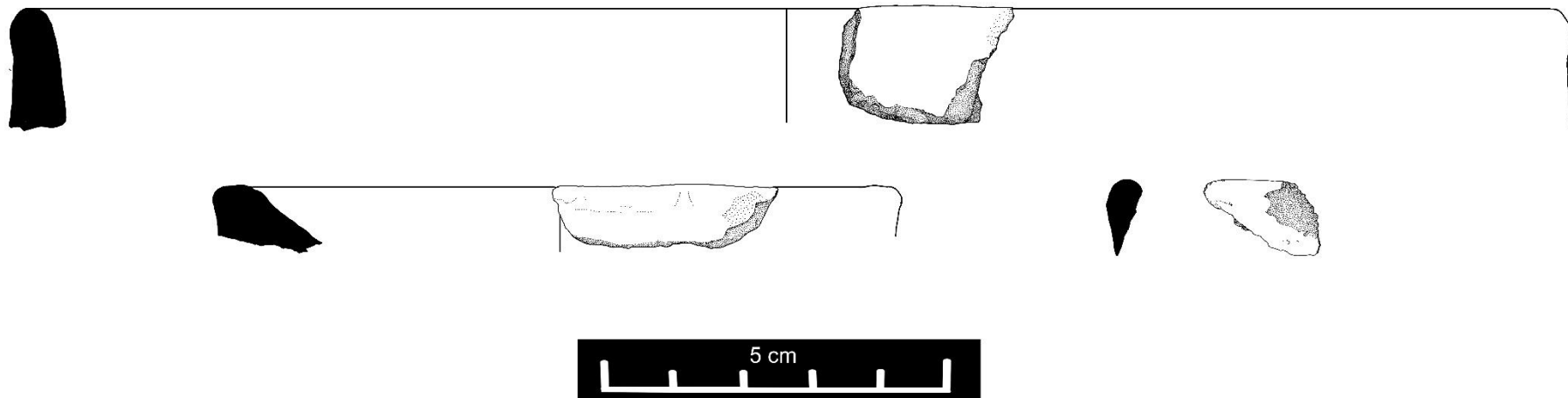


Figure 6.2 Midden 3 0-10 cm: i) recurved jar, possibly a *Nkgwana/Tsagana*, no decoration; ii) open shallow bowl, possible serving vessel, no decoration; iii) undecorated rim sherd (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

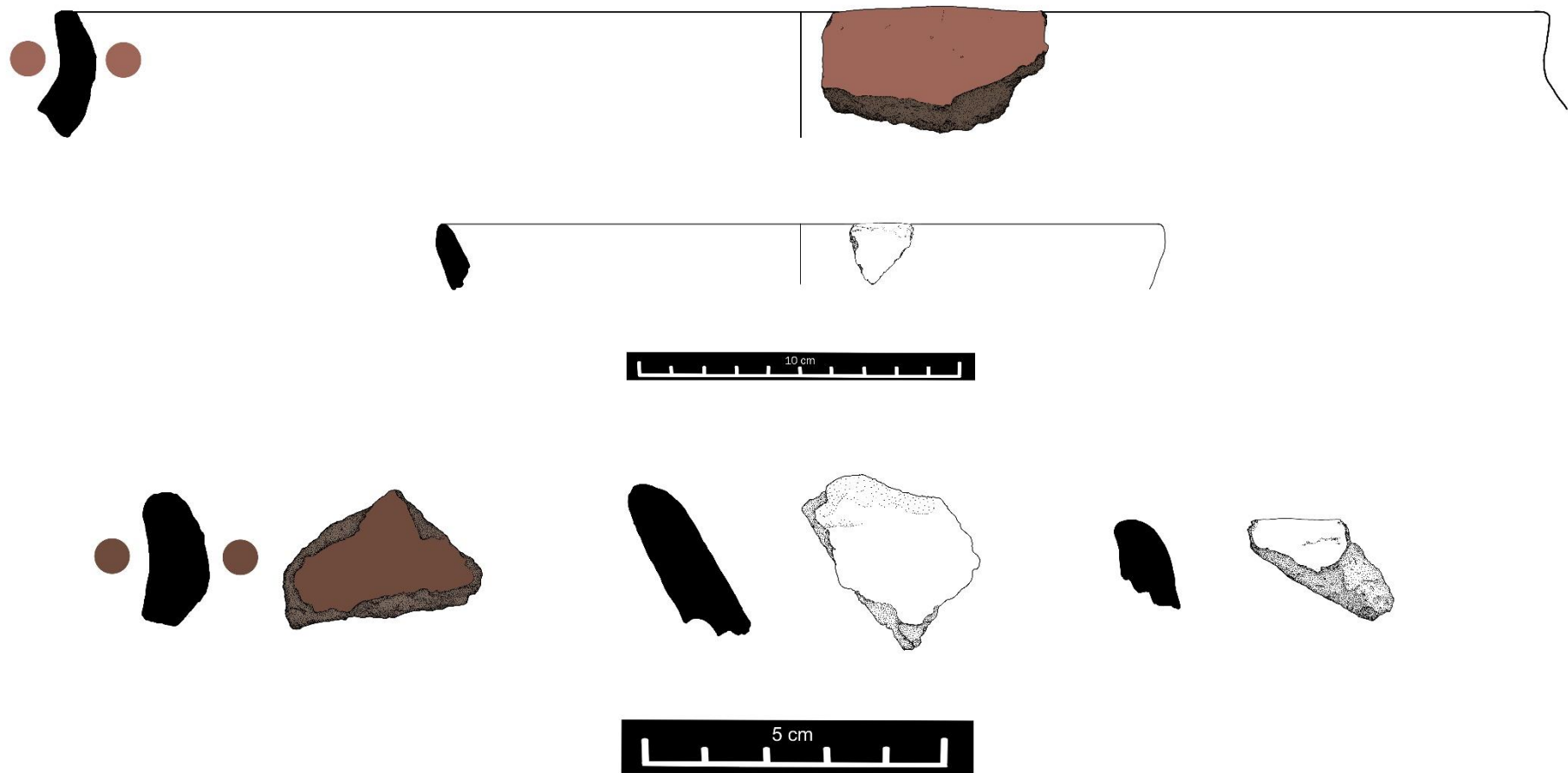


Figure 6.3 Midden 3 10-20 cm: i) long-necked jar, possible *Tsaga* or *Nkho* (*Nkgo*), ochre on interior and exterior; ii) deep bowl, could be a washbasin or serving bowl, no decoration, but has black burn; iii) long-necked jar rim, decorated with ochre (interior and exterior); iv) bowl rim sherd, no decoration, black burn; v) jar rim sherd, no decoration, black burn (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

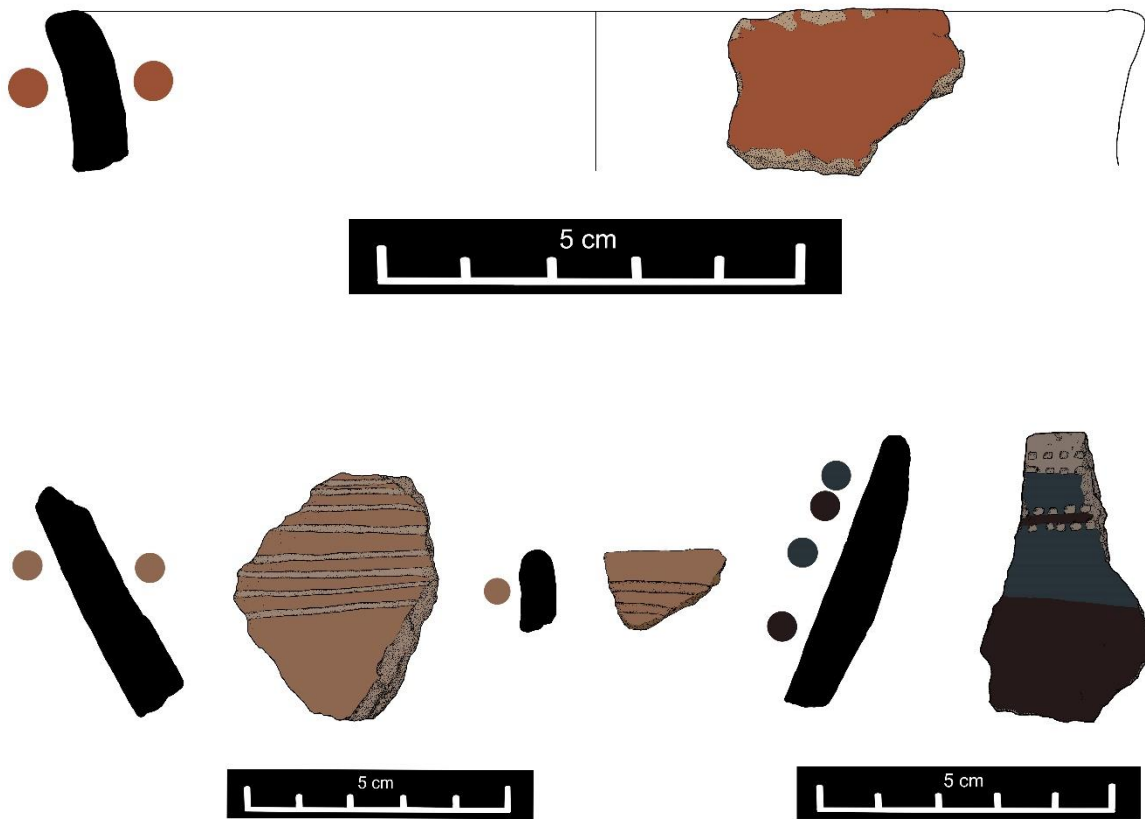


Figure 6.4 Midden 3 20-30 cm: i) long-necked jar rim sherd, decorated with ochre on interior and exterior; ii) no profile information (could be a jar), decorated with horizontal incisions and ochre; iii) jar, decorated with horizontal incisions and ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

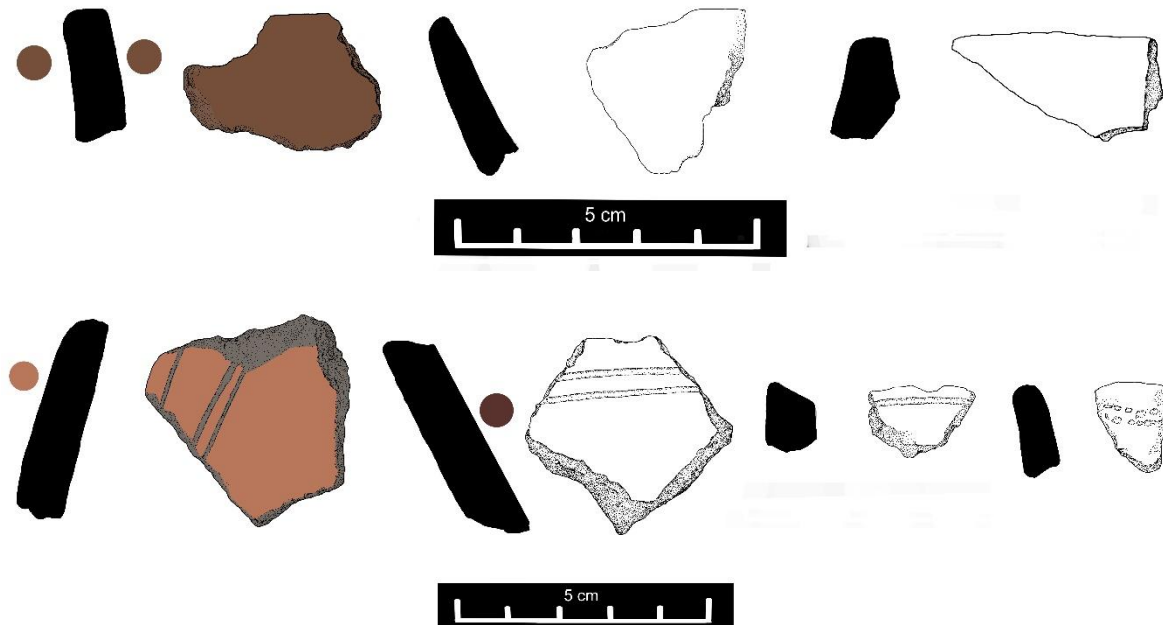


Figure 6.5 Midden 3 30-40 cm: i) jar rim, decorated with ochre; ii) bowl rim; blackened; iii) jar rim, appears to have been blackened; iv) no profile information, decorated with incised lines and ochre; v) bowl; decorated with incised lines and ochre on the interior; vi) no profile information, decorated with an incised line; vii) rim sherd-decorated with comb-stamping (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

6.2.1.2 Beads

A total of 41 beads were recovered from Midden 3. These were fashioned from glass (n=33) and OES (n=8).

6.2.1.2.1 *Glass beads*

Layer 1's (0-10 cm) collection contributed 48.48% of the glass beads, whereas layers 2 and 3 contributed 39.39% and 12.12%. There were no beads present in layer 4. Bead shapes varied between cylinders (n=20 - 60.6%) and tubes (n=13 - 39.4%). The glass beads vary in size, from minute to medium. Bead lengths varied from short beads (n=20 - 60.6%) with a length ranging between 1 mm - 3.8 mm to standard beads (n=12 36.4%) that range between 1.8 mm - 3.9 mm. There was also one large bead. Munsell (2012) colour codes were used to assign colours to the various glass beads and thus aid in their identification. The bead description was based on Karklin's (1985) and Wood's (2011) classification. Most of the beads appear to have been slightly treated, while others have been reheated to the point that the edges are bevelled. Such reheating generally occurs among the cylindrical beads recovered from Midden 3.



Figure 6.6 Glass beads from Midden 3 - layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photographs: S Fairhurst).



Figure 6.7 Glass beads from Midden 3 - layer 2 (10-20 cm) (Photographs: S Fairhurst).



Figure 6.8 Glass beads from Midden 3 - layer 3 (30-40 cm) (Photographs: S Fairhurst).

6.2.1.2.2 OES beads

There were a total of eight OES beads recovered from Midden 3. They consist of four complete beads and four broken beads.

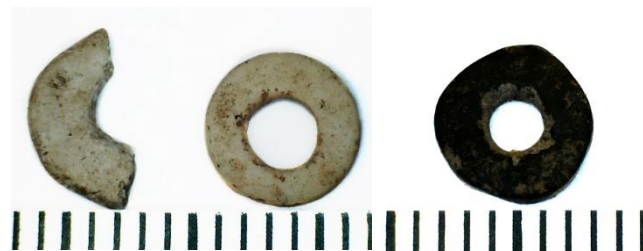


Figure 6.9 OES beads from Midden 3 - layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photographs: S Fairhurst).



Figure 6.10 OES beads from Midden 3 - layer 2 (10-20 cm) (Photographs: S Fairhurst).

Table 6.4 Glass beads from Midden 3.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
0-10 cm	2.5PB 3/8	Deep blue	1	Tube	3.9 mm Medium	Medium	2.1 mm	Short	1		Translucent-opaque
	N1	Lamp black	1	Cylinder	3.5 mm Medium	Medium	2 mm	Short	1	1	Opaque
	5.0R 3/10	Barn red Unclear what colour is on the inside due to deterioration.	1	Cylinder *Note appears to have a notch/collar/rim (see Beck 1928)	3.1 mm small	Small	3 mm	Standard		1	Opaque
	10B 2/4	Dark navy	4	Tube	3.5 mm 3.5 mm 1.8 mm 2.5 mm	Medium Medium Minute Small	1.9mm 1 mm 1.9 mm 1.1 mm	Short Short Standard Short	2		Translucent-transparent
	5R 4/8	Rose taupe White heart	2	Cylinder	2.5 mm 2mm	Small Minute	1.9 mm 1.8 mm	Short Standard	2	1	Translucent-opaque
	N9	White	3	Tube	2.9 mm 2.9 mm 2.8 mm	Small Small Small	3.8 mm 2.5 mm 2.5 mm	Long Standard Standard	3	3	Opaque-translucent
	7.5PB 2/10	Royal blue	1	Cylinder	2 mm	Minute	1.6 mm	Standard	1		Translucent-transparent
	N9.5	Bright white With stripe	1	Cylinder	1.8 mm	Minute	1 mm	Short			Opaque
	10GY 4/4	Dark palm green	1	Cylinder	1.9 mm	Minute	2mm	Standard	1	1	Opaque translucent
	N7	Light grey	1	Cylinder	2.1 mm	Minute	2mm	Standard	1	1	Opaque
Subtotal			16								
10-20 cm	N1	Lamp black	1	Cylinder	3mm	Small	1.9 mm	Short	1	1	Opaque
	N9	White	4	Cylinder	3.1 mm	Small	2mm	Short	1		Opaque

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
					3.1 mm	Small	2mm	Short			
					2.5 mm	Small	1.9 mm	Short			
					2.9 mm	Small	1.5 mm	Short			
	10GY 4/4	Dark palm green	1	Cylinder	2.9 mm	Small	2.5 mm	Standard	1		Opaque-translucent
	2.5R 7/6	Pink	1	Cylinder	2.8 mm	Small	1.9mm	Short			Opaque
	10B 2/4	Dark navy	1	Tube	2.9mm	Small	1.9mm	Short			Translucent-transparent
	5PB4/4	Light navy	1	Tube	2.5mm	Small	1.5mm	Short			Translucent-transparent
	7.5PB 2/10	Royal blue	1	Tube	2.6mm	Small	1.7 mm	Short	1		Translucent-opaque
	5.0R 3/10	Barn red	1	Cylinder	3.3 mm	Small	3 mm	Standard	1		Translucent-transparent
		White heart									The heart is opaque
	5.0R 3/10	Barn red	1	Cylinder	2.1mm	Small	2mm	Standard	1		Opaque
	N9	White	1	Cylinder	2.1mm	Small	1.5mm	Short	1		Opaque
		Appears to have had a stripe (red?)									
Subtotal			13								
20-30 cm	2.5B 6/4	Aqua blue	1	Tube	2.7mm	Small	2.8mm	Standard			Transparent-translucent
	N1	Lamp black	1	Tube	2.5mm	Small	1.5mm	Short			Opaque
	N9	White	1	Cylinder	2.9mm	Small	1.8mm	Short			Opaque
	5R 3/10	Barn red	1	Cylinder	3mm	Small	1.9mm	Short	1		Transparent-translucent
Subtotal			4								
Total			33								

Table 6.5 OES beads from Midden 3.

Depth (cm)	Bead	Amount	Diameter	Thickness
0-10 cm	OES bead	3	6 mm 7.3 mm 6.2 mm	1.1mm 1.3 mm 1.1mm
Subtotal		3		
10-20 cm	OES bead	5	8 mm 5.1 mm 5.5 mm 5.1mm 7 mm	1.9 mm 0.9 mm 0.8mm 0.9mm 0.9mm
Subtotal		5		
Total		8		

6.2.1.3 Fauna

The faunal material at Midden 3 is comprised of a total of 28 (12.02%) identifiable species/taxa and a total of 205 (87.98%) unidentifiable faunal fragments. Thirty-eight (16.31%) out of the 233 faunal specimens had taphonomy present. Several fragments (n=14) are weathered, while other fragments are burnt (black or white) (n=20). A ground-down molar of an unidentified animal (most likely from a species of Bovine) is present in the collection, as well as three fragments with chop/cut marks.

The species and larger taxa identified include bivalve (freshwater mussel), cf. *Capra hircus* (goat), cf. *Bos taurus* (cattle), cf. *Tragelapuu angas* (nyala), cf. *Taurotragus oryx* (eland). There were also several skeletal parts that could only be identified by size, and not generally species, namely, Aves, Bovid II and Bovid III. Table 6.6 provides details on the faunal remains recovered from Midden 3, including the species/taxa, size, skeletal part and taphonomy.

Table 6.6 Faunal remains of Midden 3. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Aves	Claw sheath	1	-	-	
	Bov II – cf. <i>Capra hircus</i>	Left Tibia fragment: left; proximal portion of shaft crest	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Lower front tooth	1	-	-	
	Bov III – cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>	Front left Metacarpal: lateral portion of proximal articulation and portion of the proximal shaft	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Lower molar fragments	4	-	-	

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
	Bov IV cf. <i>Taurotragus oryx</i>	Metatarsal: vascular groove	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	57	15	4 black-burn; 7 white-burn; 3 weathered
		Enamel	-	1	-	
Subtotal			9	58	15	
10-20 cm	Bivalve	Shell	1	-	-	
	Bov III – cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>	Right third Metacarpal	1	-	-	
		First Phalange: partial proximal articulation and fragmented shaft	1	-	-	
		Third molar	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Metatarsal: distal half of shaft by vascular groove	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	36	3	1 white-burn; 2 weathered
Subtotal			5	36	3	
20-30 cm	Bov III – cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>	Right first phalange	1	-	1	weathered
		Second phalange	1	-	1	weathered
		Head of femur - juvenile	3	-	-	
	Bov III- cf. <i>Tragelaprus angas</i>	Pelvis: fragment portion of Ischium opposite obturator foramen; male	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Vertebrae fragment	1	-	-	
		Left first phalange	1	-	1	weathered
		Left first phalange: partial proximal articulation	1	-	-	
		Fragment of phalange	1	-	1	weathered
		Third phalange: fragment of articulation	1	-	1	weathered
	Unknown	Fragments	-	43	4	3 weathered; 1 white-burn
		Enamel	-	1	-	
Subtotal			11	44	9	
30-40 cm	Bov II	Right Radius: distal shaft fragment	1	-	-	
		Left Radius: proximal portion of the shaft	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Molar	1	-	1	1 grinded
	Unknown	Fragments	-	59	10	3 black-burn; 3 white-burn; 3 weathered; 3 with chop/cut marks
		Enamel	-	8	-	
Subtotal			3	67	11	
Total			28	205	38	

6.2.1.4 Clay objects

Two clay objects were recovered from Midden 3 (layer 1). They are rounded and somewhat flattened into an oval-like shape. It is presumed that they may have been part of a figurine or an attempt at a figurine.

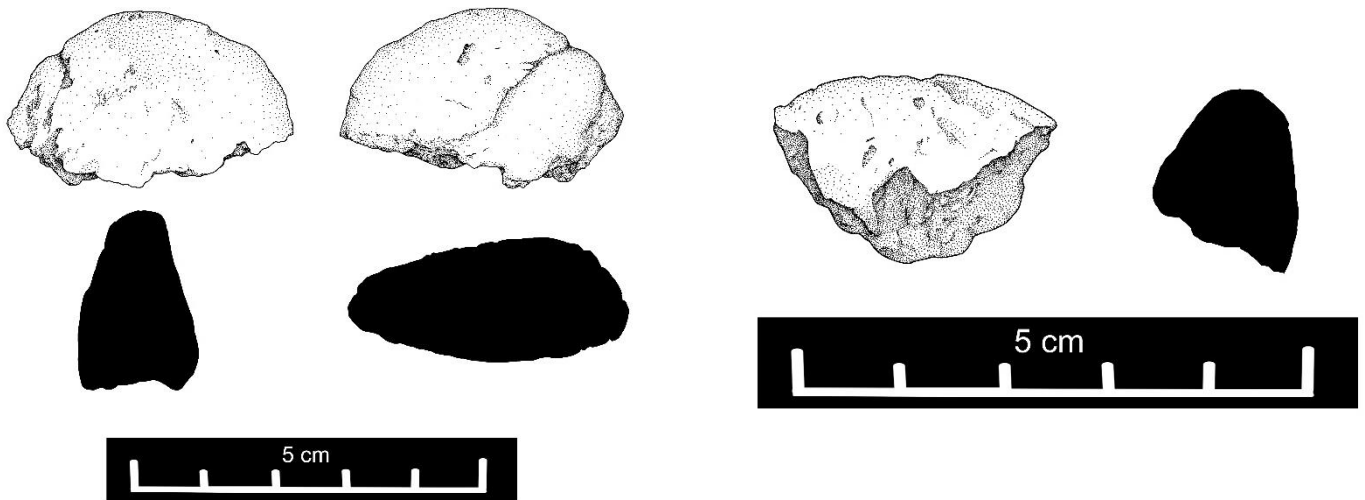


Figure 6.11 Clay objects from Midden 3 (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

6.2.1.5 Other material

Only one piece of hut rubble was collected from layer 1 of Midden 3 and two samples of charcoal (sample 1 taken from 0-30 cm and sample 2 taken from 30-40 cm). An in-depth analysis of charcoal is beyond the scope of this study. There were also 13 fragments of copper ore in layer 4 (30-40 cm).

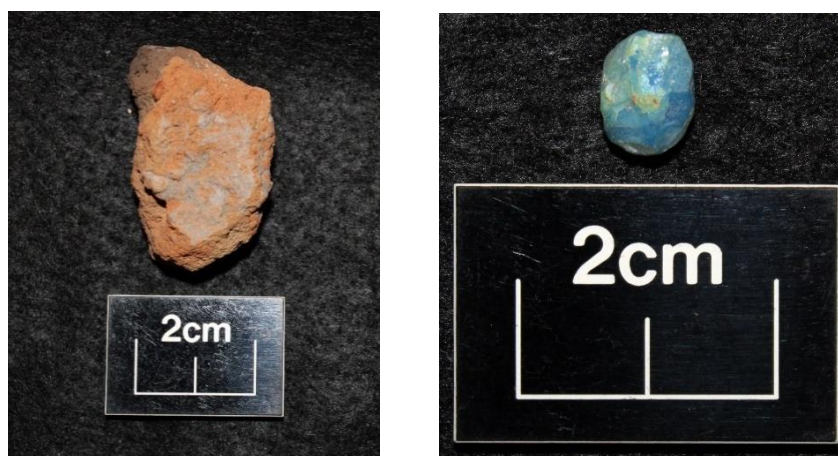


Figure 6.12 Hut rubble and copper ore from Midden 3 (Photographs: S Fairhurst).

6.3 *Morêma* section: Middens 4 and 5

6.3.1 Midden 4

The finds from the Midden 4 excavation yielded a representative sample of cultural material commonly found at Mabeleapodi, including ceramic sherds, beads (glass and OES), faunal remains, a metal object, and a charcoal sample (Appendix D).

6.3.1.1 Potsherds

There are a total of 46 potsherds from Midden 4. Out of this assemblage, 21 (45.7%) are decorated (for example, with comb-stamping, rim-notching, and ochre or graphite), while a total of 25 (54.3%) are undecorated. Seventeen (36.95%) have evidence of blackening. The assemblage also contains five (10.86%) rim sherds, several of which were used to identify the functions of the vessels.

The diagnostic sherd types include jar rims (n=4), jar shoulders (n=3) and jar body sherds (n=8). The vessel profiles are depicted in Figures 6.13-6.15.

Table 6.7 Potsherds recorded at Midden 4.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Body	2	1	-
	Unknown	Body	5	5	3
Subtotal			7	6	3
10-20 cm	Jar	Rim	3	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	1	1
	Jar	Body	2	-	-
Subtotal			6	1	1
40-55 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	-	1	-
	Jar	Body	-	3	3
	Unknown	Rim	-	1	1
	Unknown	Body	7	13	9
Subtotal			8	18	13
Total			21	25	17
Total %			45.7%	54.3%	36.95%

6.3.1.1.1 Vessel decoration

Table 6.8 presents the various decorations present in the ceramic assemblage of Midden 4. These include the sherds that are rim decorated with comb-stamping or rim-notching as well as rim sherds decorated with ochre.

The decorated sherds recovered from Midden 4 can be attributed to the Urewe tradition, namely the Uitkomst and Buispoort ceramic styles (see Huffman 2007).

Table 6.8 Vessel decoration present at Midden 4.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Rim	Neck	Shoulder	Body	Decoration type	Ochre/graphite interior and/or exterior
0-10 cm	Unclear profile information				X	Comb-stamping, ochre	E, I
10-20 cm	Jar	X				Rim-notching, ochre	E, I
	Jar	X				Rim-notching, ochre	E, I
	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
40-55 cm	Jar	X				Graphite	E, I

6.3.1.1.2 Vessel function

Table 6.9 provides the possible functions of the vessels that have a distinct rim diameter and profile.

Table 6.9 Possible vessel functions from Midden 4.

Depth (cm)	Function	Vessel Type	Rim Diameter	Rim	Neck
10-20 cm	Storage pot: <i>Tsaga</i> (large) beer storing/making pot or <i>Nkho/Nkgo</i> (large) pot used for storing water.	Jar	18 cm	Rounded	Everted
	Beer brewing/Cooking: <i>Nkgwana</i> (fermenting beer [bojalwa] or <i>Tsagana</i> (used for sour porridge [<i>ting</i>])).	Jar	18 cm	Rounded	Everted

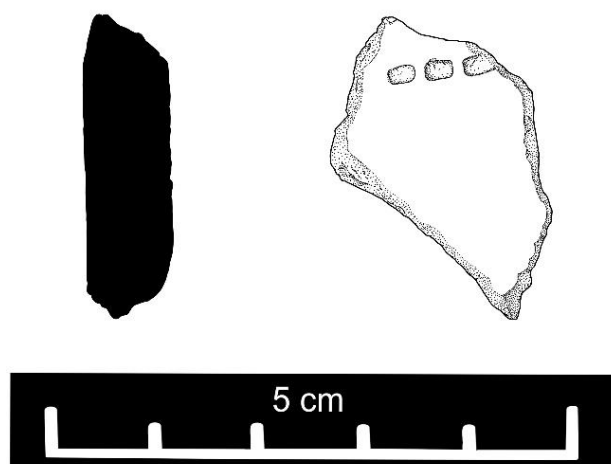


Figure 6.13 Midden 4 0-10 cm: no clear profile, decorated with comb-stamping (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

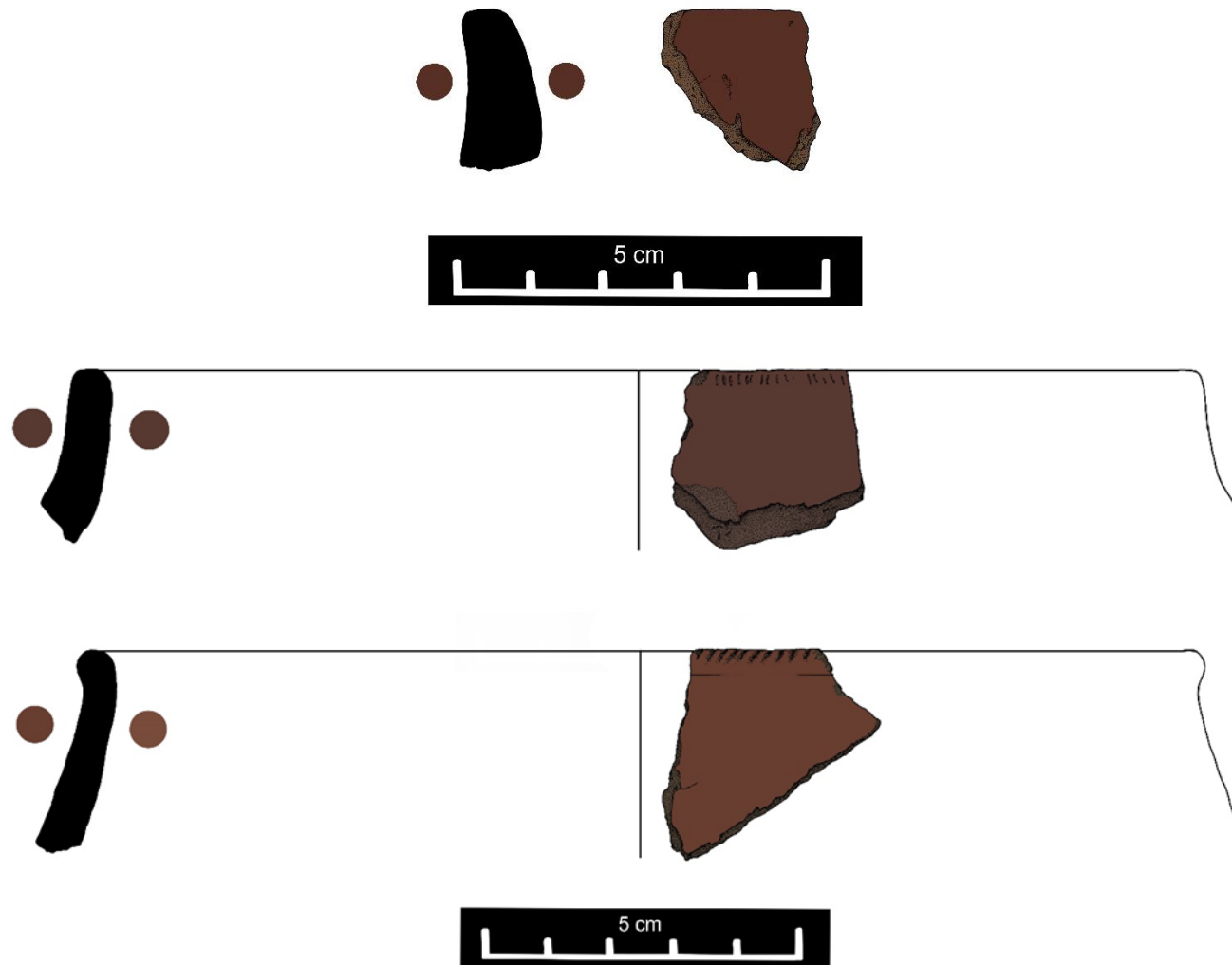


Figure 6.14 Midden 4 10-20 cm: i) jar, decorated with ochre; ii) jar, possible storage pot; *Tsaga* (large) beer storing/making pot or *Nkho/Nkgo* (large) pot used for storing water, decorated with rim-notching and ochre; iii) jar, used for beer brewing/cooking known as *Nkgwana* (fermenting beer [*bojalwa*]) or *Tsagana* (used for sour porridge [*ting*]), decorated with rim-notching and ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

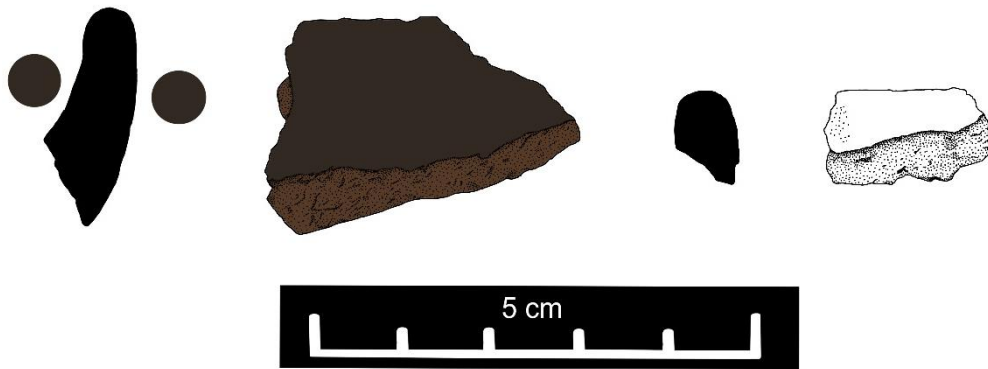
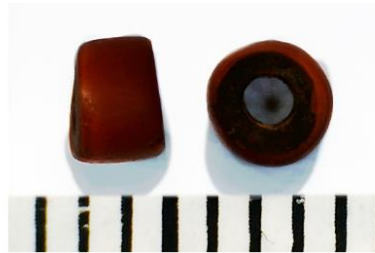


Figure 6.15 Midden 4 40-55 cm: i) jar, decorated with graphite; ii) rim sherd, unknown profile, no decoration (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.1.2 Beads

Only two beads (one glass and one OES) were recovered from midden 4.



Barn Red (Munsell 2012); compound, cylinder, opaque;
Short (l: 2mm)
Small (d: 3mm)

Figure 6.16 Glass bead recovered from Midden 4 – layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photo: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.17 OES bead recovered from Midden 4 – layer 5 (40-55 cm) (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

Table 6.10 Glass bead from Midden 4.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
0-10 cm	10R 3/8	Barn Red	1	Cylinder	3 mm	Small	2 mm	Short	1		Opaque
Subtotal			1						1		
Total			1						1		

Table 6.11 OES bead from Midden 4.

Depth (cm)	Bead	Amount	Diameter	Thickness
40-55 cm	OES	1	11.5 mm	1.4mm
Subtotal		1		
Total		1		

6.3.1.3 Fauna

The faunal material at Midden 4 consists of a total of seven (6.54%) identifiable species/taxa and a total of 100 (93.46%) unidentifiable faunal fragments. Eleven (10.3%) out of the 107 faunal pieces had taphonomy present. Several of the bone fragments (n=5) are weathered, while other fragments are burnt (black or white) (n=3). There were also two fragments which appear to have been worked. The two worked faunal fragments appear to be a broken spatula (Figure 6.18) and a scraper (Figure 6.19).

The following species and larger taxa were identified, bivalve (freshwater mussel), and cf. *Bos taurus* (cattle). Several skeletal parts could only be identified by size and not species, such as small mammal, Bovid II, Bovid III. See table 6.12 for a more detailed description of the faunal material recovered from Midden 4.

Table 6.12 Faunal remains of Midden 4. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Layer	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
30-40 cm	Bov III – cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>	Vertebrae – spinous process – right and left articular transverse process with partial spinous process	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments		7	1	1 black-burn
Subtotal			1	7	1	
40-55 cm	Bivalve	Shell fragments	4	-	-	
	Small mammal	Metapodial fragment	1	-	-	

Layer	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
	Bov II	Fragmented metatarsal lateral portion and medial portion of the proximal articulation	2	-	1	1 weathered
	Bov III	Fragment	-	1	1	1 worked
	Unknown	Enamel	-	1	-	
		Fragments	-	91	8	1 worked; 2 black-burn; 4 weathered
Subtotal			7	93	10	
Total			8	100	11	

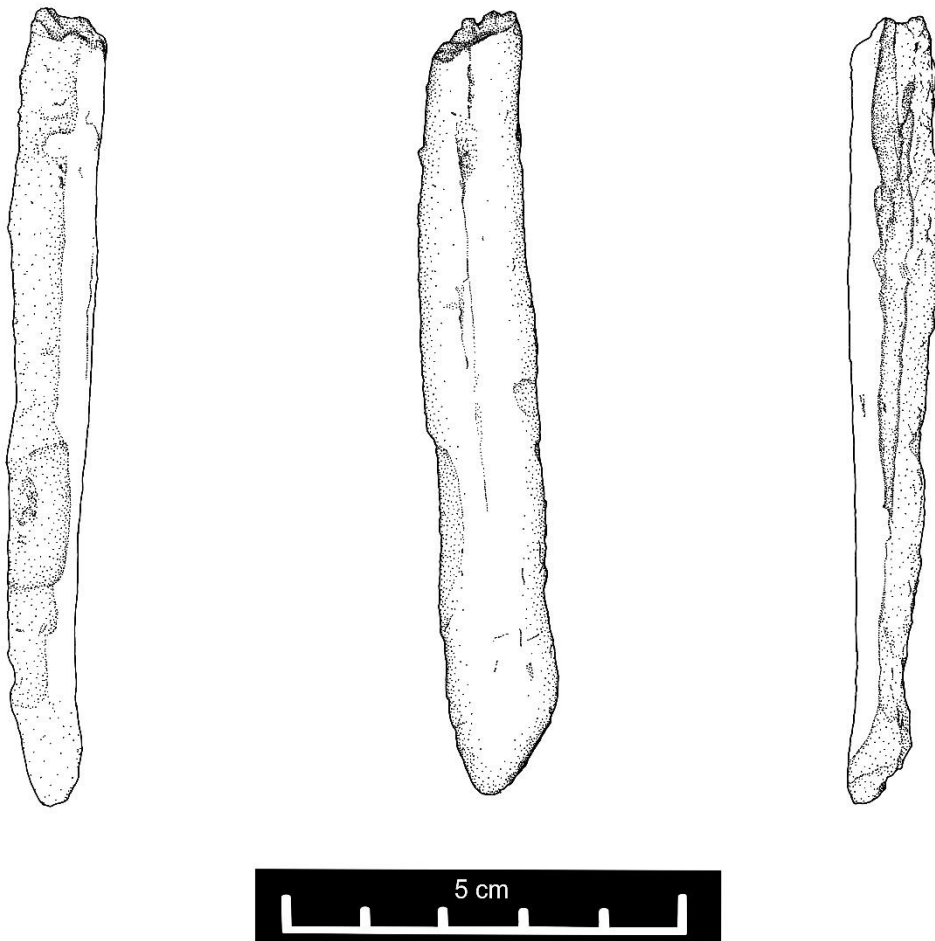


Figure 6.18 Broken spatula from Midden 4 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

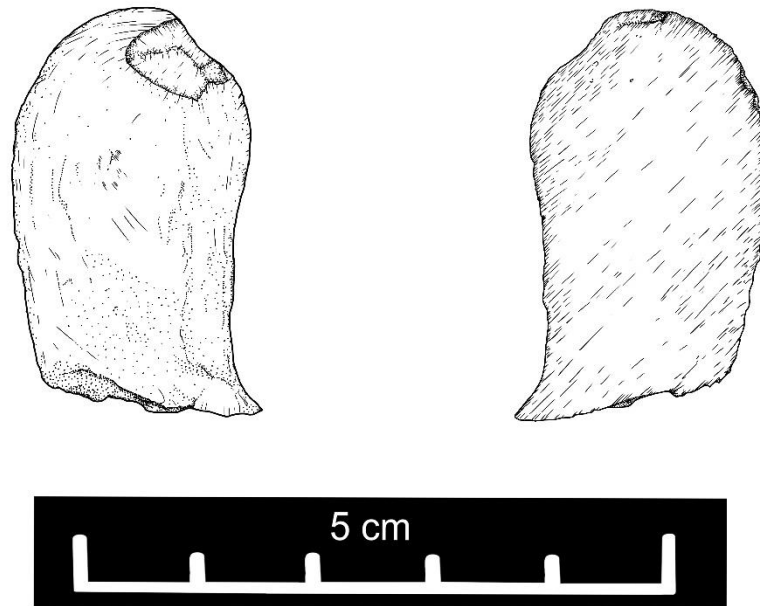


Figure 6.19 Bone scraper from Midden 4 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.1.4 Metal

One metal object (thickness 4mm, length 3.4cm, width 2.35cm) was recovered from Midden 4. Unfortunately, due to the breakage and deterioration, the function of the metal object is unclear. However, based on the shape of the object, there is a minute possibility that it could part of a razor (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7).

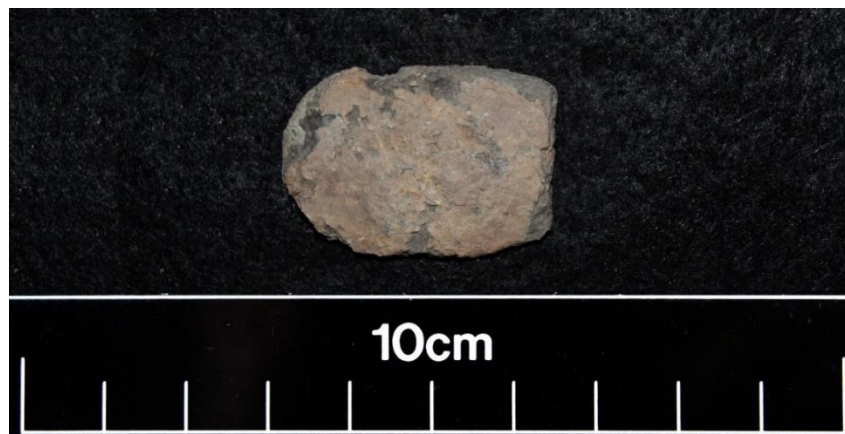


Figure 6.20 Metal object from Midden 4 (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.1.5 Other material

A sample of charcoal was recovered from Midden 4 (40-55 cm).

6.3.2 Midden 5

The finds from the Midden 5 excavation yielded a representative sample of cultural material commonly found at Mabeleapodi, including ceramic sherds, beads (for example, glass and Ostrich Egg Shell [OES]), faunal remains, figurine fragments, metal, seeds and glass.

6.3.2.1 Potsherds

There are a total of 356 potsherds from Midden 5. Out of this assemblage, 327 (91.85%) are decorated (for example, comb-stamping, rim-notching, thumbnail impressions and line incisions as well as ochre and/or graphite), while a total of 29 (8.15%) are undecorated. One hundred and two (28.65%) have evidence of blackening. Furthermore, the assemblage consists of 23 (6.46%) rim sherds, several of which have a diagnostic curve making it possible to identify the vessel shape, diameter and functions. The sherds with diagnostic profiles and/or decoration are depicted in Figures 6.21 - 6.39. The diagnostic sherd types (Table 6.13) include jar rims (n=19), jar neck (n=9) jar shoulder (n=6) and jar body sherds (n=31), and bowl rims (n=3).

Table 6.13 Potsherds recorded at Midden 5 Unit A1.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of blackened sherds
Surface	Unknown	Body	1	1	-
Subtotal			1	1	0
0-10 cm	Jar	Rim	8	-	-
	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	1	1
	Jar	Body	12	1	4
	Unknown	Rim	1	-	-
	Unknown	Body	12	7	7
	Unknown	Base	-	-	-
	Unknown	Unknown	39	-	10
Subtotal			74	9	22
10-20 cm	Jar	Rim	-	1	-
	Bowl	Rim	1	-	-
Subtotal			1	1	0
Total			76	11	22
Total %			87.36%	12.64%	25.3%

Table 6.14 Potsherds recorded at Midden 5 Unit A2.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Rim	5	-	1
	Jar	Neck	2	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	2	-	-
	Jar	Body	12	-	3
	Unknown	Rim	2	-	-

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of blackened sherds
	Unknown	Body	10	3	4
	Unknown	Unknown	18	-	2
			47	3	10
10-20 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	1
	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	1	-
	Unknown	Body	2	1	-
	Unknown	Unknown	14	-	5
			19	2	6
20-30 cm	Unknown	Body	4	-	3
	Unknown	Unknown	1	1	1
			5	1	4
30-40 cm	Unknown	Body	1	-	-
			1	0	0
Total			72	6	20
Total %			92.31%	7.69%	25.64%

Table 6.15 Potsherds recorded at Midden 5 Unit A3.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Rim	2	-	1
	Jar	Neck	2	-	1
	Jar	Body	1	-	1
	Unknown	Rim	1	-	-
	Unknown	Body	15	-	7
	Unknown	Unknown	22	7	-
			43	7	10
10-20 cm	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Bowl	Rim	1	-	1
	Unknown	Body	9	-	3
	Unknown	Unknown	-	1	-
			11	1	4
20-30 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	2	-	1
	Unknown	Body	1	-	1
	Unknown	Unknown	8	1	3
			12	1	5
Total			66	9	19
Total %			88%	12%	25.33%

Table 6.16 Potsherds recorded at Midden 5 Unit A4.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	2	-	1
	Bowl	Rim	1	-	-
	Unknown	Body	8	-	3
	Unknown	Unknown	37	1	9
			49	1	13
10-20 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	-
	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	2	1	1
	Jar	Body	1	-	-
	Bowl	Rim	1	-	-
	Unknown	Rim	1	-	-
	Unknown	Body	15	-	8
	Unknown	Unknown	16	-	7
			38	1	16
20-30 cm	Unknown	Body	6	1	6
	Unknown	Base	-	-	-
	Unknown	Unknown	20	-	6
			26	1	12
Total			113	3	41
Total %			97.41%	2.59%	35.34%

6.3.2.1.1 Vessel decoration

Table 6.17 presents the various decorations present in the ceramic assemblage of Midden 5. These include the sherds that are decorated with comb-stamping, rim-notching, thumbnail impressions and line incisions, as well as ochre and/or graphite.

The decorated sherds recovered from Midden 5 can be attributed to the Urewe tradition, namely the Uitkomst and Buispoort ceramic styles (see Huffman 2007).

Table 6.17 Vessel decorations present at Midden 5.

Depth (cm) and Unit	Vessel type	Rim	Neck	Shoulder	Body	Decoration type	Ochre/graphite interior and/or exterior	
A1 0-10 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	I, E	
	Jar	X				Ochre	I, E	
	Jar	X				Ochre	I	
	Jar	X				Ochre	I, E	
	Jar	X				Ochre	I, E	
	Jar	X	X	X	X	Ochre, comb-stamping	E	
A1 10-20 cm	Jar	X				Ochre, rim-notching	I, E	
	Unknown	X				Ochre	I	
	Bowl	X				Ochre, comb-stamping	I, E	
	A2 0-10 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
		Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
		Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
		Jar	X				Ochre, incised lines	E, I
	Jar	X				Graphite	E, I	
	Jar				X	Ochre, comb-stamping	E, I	
	Jar				X	Ochre, comb-stamping	E	
Unknown				X	Ochre, comb-stamping	E		
Unknown				X	Ochre, comb-stamping	E		
Unknown	X				Ochre	E, I		
Unknown	X				Ochre	E, I		
A2 10-20 cm	Jar	X				Graphite	E, I	
A3 0-10 cm	Jar	X	X	X		Graphite	E, I	
	Jar	X				Graphite	E, I	
	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I	
	Unknown	X				Graphite	E, I	
	Jar		X			Ochre	E, I	
A3 10-20 cm	Bowl	X				Ochre	E, I	
	Unknown		X			Comb-stamping, Ochre	E, I	
A3 20-30 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I	
A4 0-10 cm	Bowl	X				Ochre	E, I	
	Jar		X			Ochre, Graphite, Comb-stamping	E, I	
	Unknown				X	Ochre, Comb-stamping	E, I	

Depth (cm) and Unit	Vessel type	Rim	Neck	Shoulder	Body	Decoration type	Ochre/graphite interior and/or exterior
A4 10-20 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
	Bowl	X				Comb stamping, graphite	E, I
	Unknown	X				Graphite	E, I
	Unknown				X	Thumbnail impressions and line incisions, ochre, graphite	E
A4 20-30 cm	unknown				X	Comb-stamping, graphite/ochre	E

6.3.2.1.2 Vessel function

Unfortunately, not all of the rims were clearly defined. However, Table 6.18 provides the possible functions of the vessels that have a distinct rim diameter.

Table 6.18 Possible vessel functions present at Midden 5.

Depth (cm) and Unit	Function	Vessel Type	Rim Diameter	Rim	Neck
A1 0-10 cm	Beer serving(?)	Jar	12 cm	Rounded	Everted
	Storage	Jar	18 cm	Rounded	Everted
10-20 cm	Serving	Bowl	22 cm	Rounded	
	Storage	Jar	20 cm	Rounded	
A2 0-10 cm	Small storage	Jar	10 cm	Rounded	Everted
	Storage	Jar	20 cm	Rounded	Everted
10-20 cm	Storage/cooking	Jar	10 cm	Slightly Flattened	Everted
A3 10-20 cm	Washbasin(?)	Bowl	24 cm	Slightly Flattened	N/A
A4 10-20 cm	Storage	Jar	12 cm	Rounded	Everted

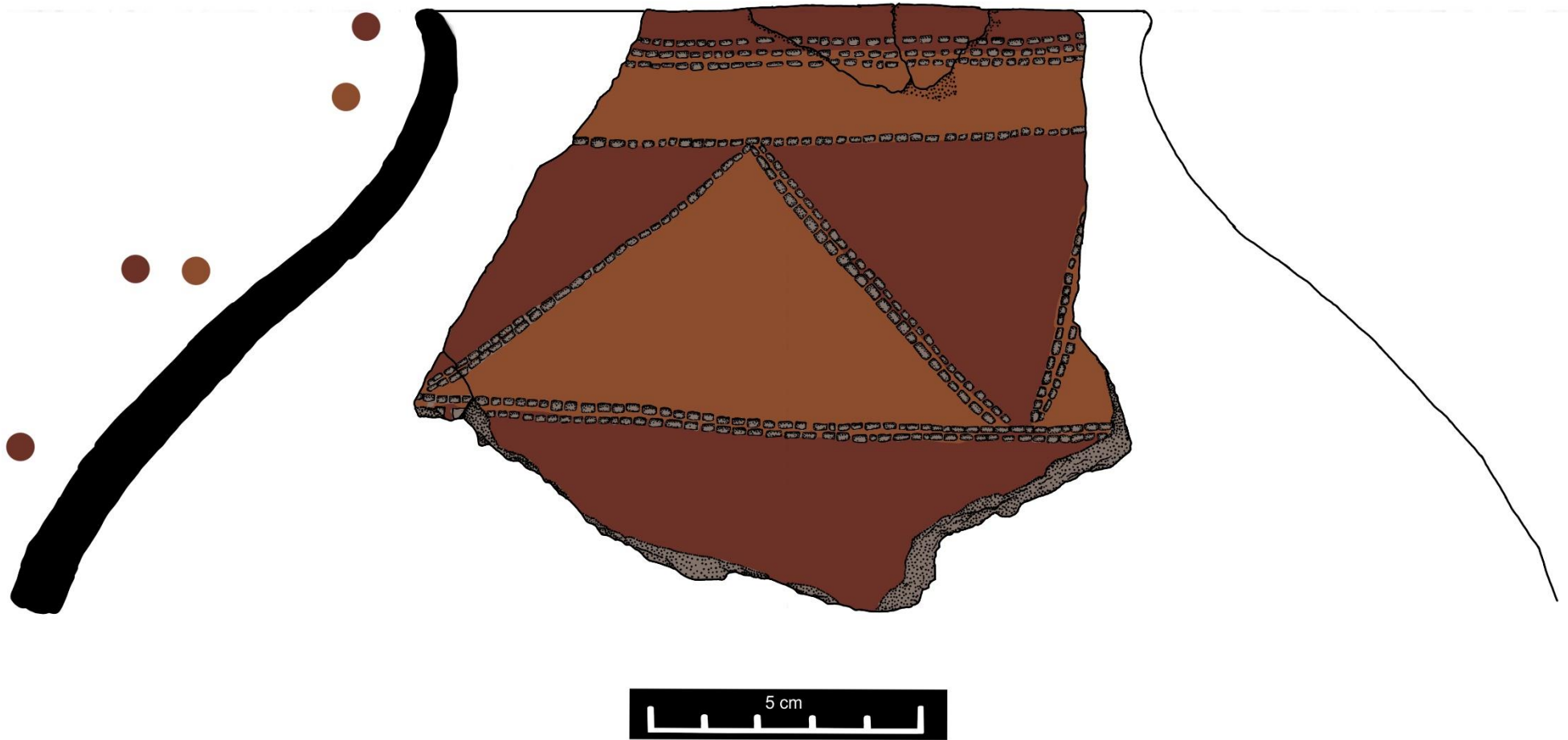


Figure 6.21 Midden 5 A1 0-10 cm: beer serving vessel, jar, decorated with comb-stamping and ochre (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

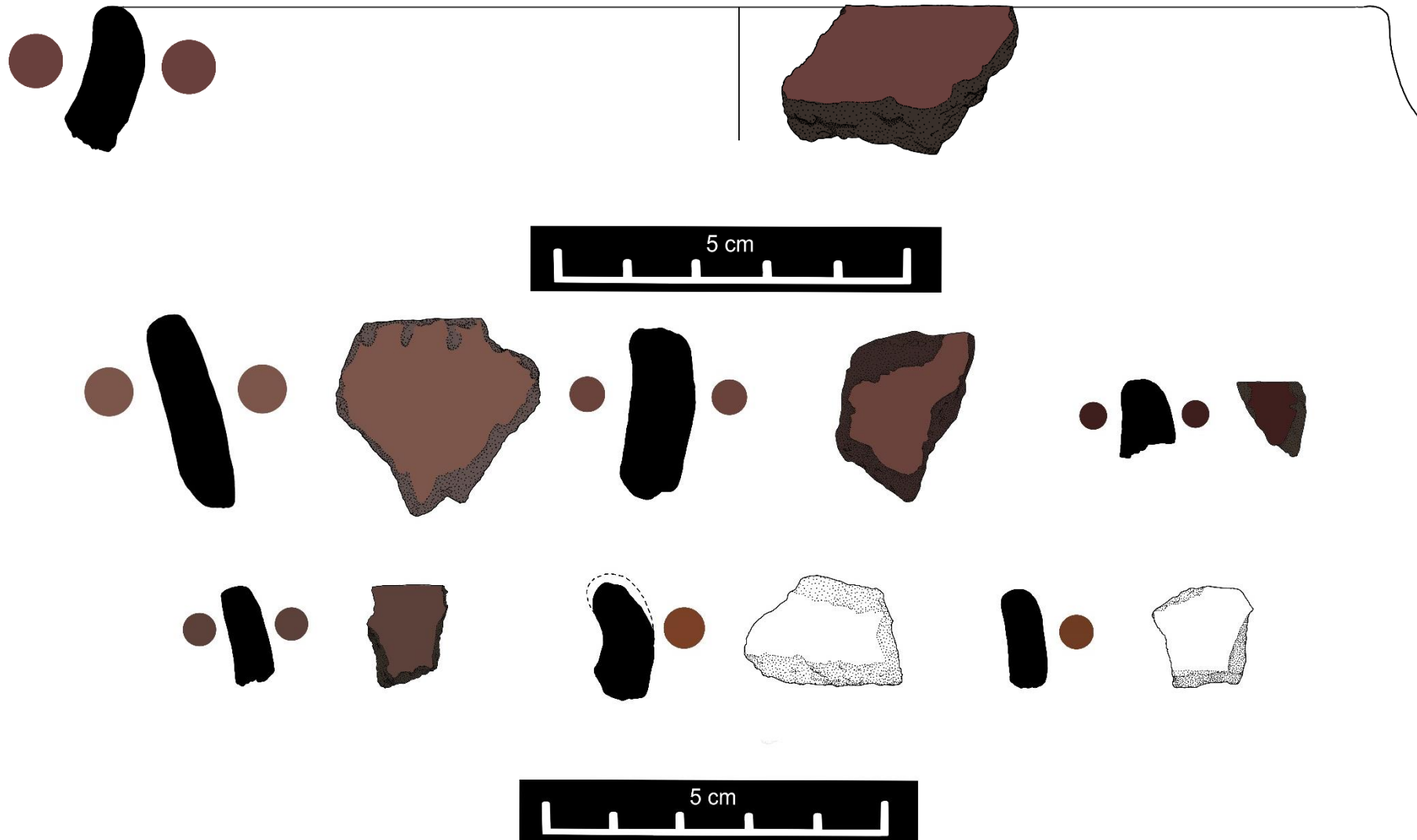


Figure 6.22 Midden 5 A1 0-10 cm: i) storage vessel jar rim, decorated with ochre; ii) jar rim, decorated with rim-notching and ochre; iii) jar rim decorated with ochre; iv) jar rim, decorated with ochre, v) jar rim, decorated with ochre, vi) jar rim decorated with ochre; vii) unknown rim, decorated with ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

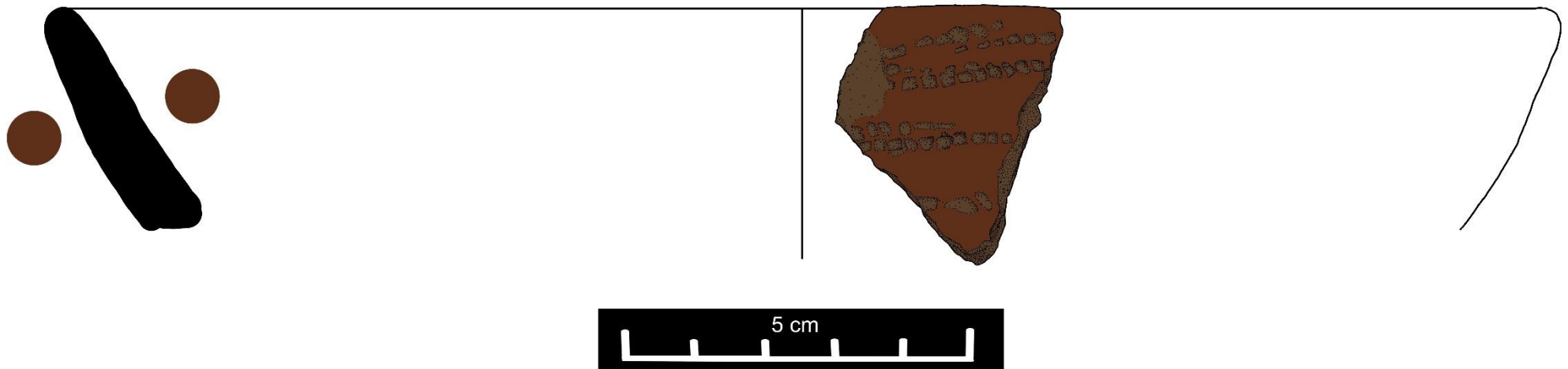


Figure 6.23 Midden 5 A1 10-20 cm: serving vessel bowl rim, decorated with comb-stamping and ochre (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

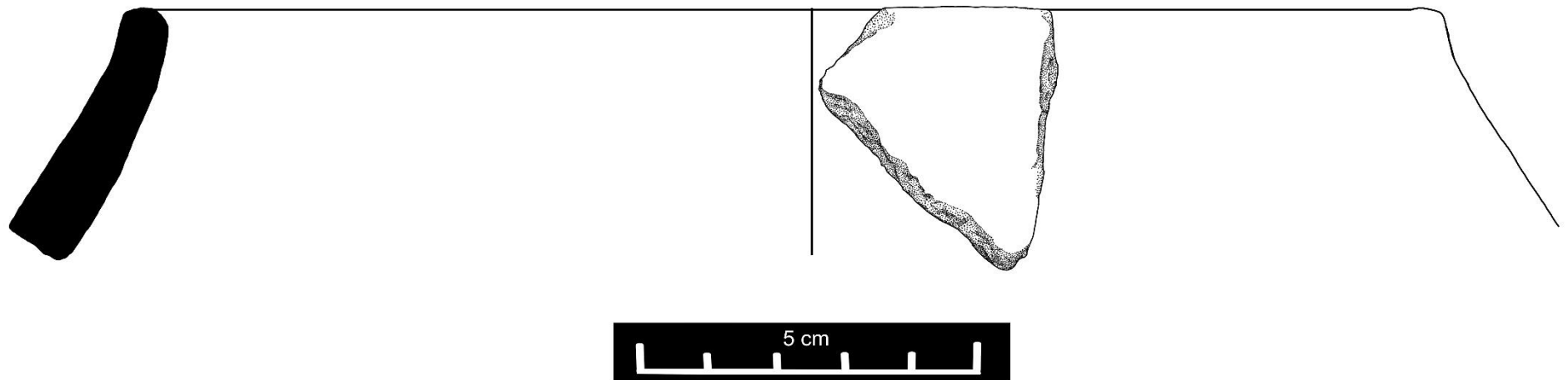


Figure 6.24 Midden 5 A1 10-20 cm: storage vessel jar rim, undecorated (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

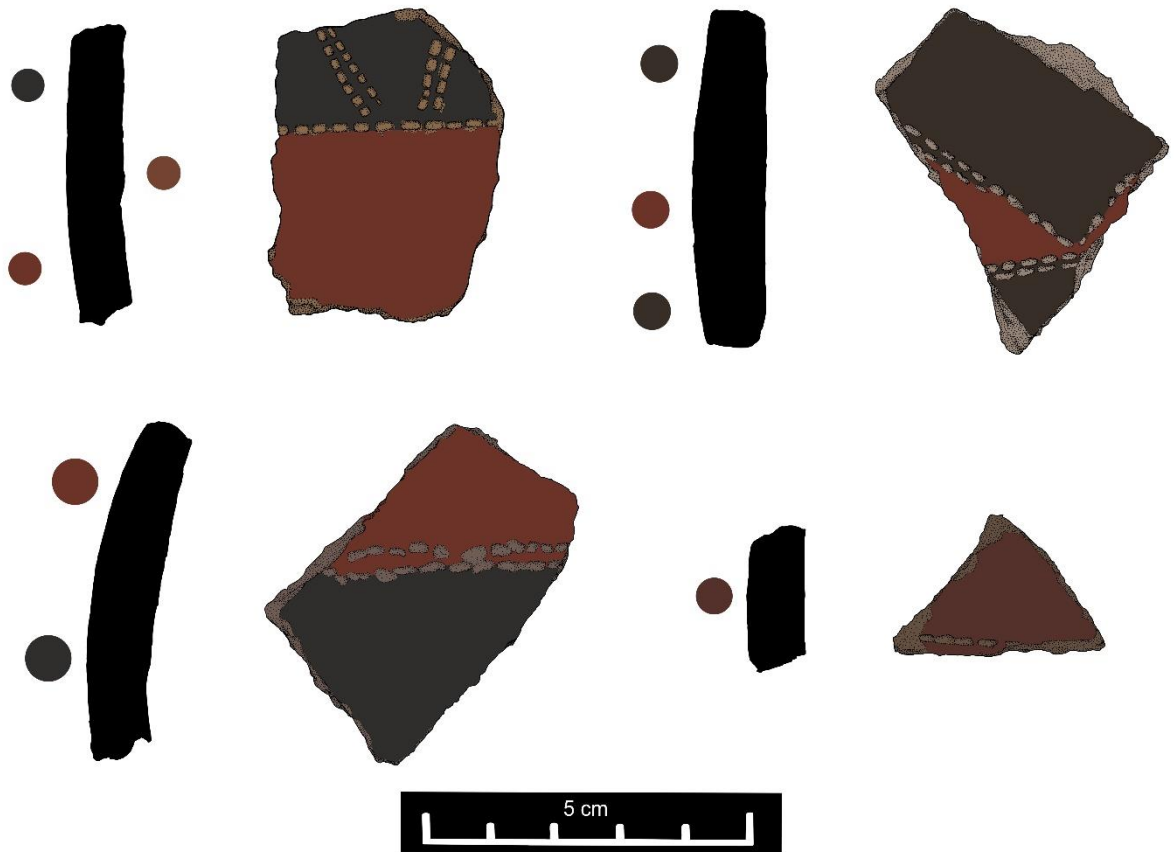


Figure 6.25 Midden 5 A2 0-10 cm: i) jar body, decorated with comb-stamping, ochre and graphite; ii) unknown body, sherd decorated with comb-stamping, ochre and graphite; iii) jar body, decorated with comb-stamping; iv) unknown body sherd, decorated with comb-stamping and ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

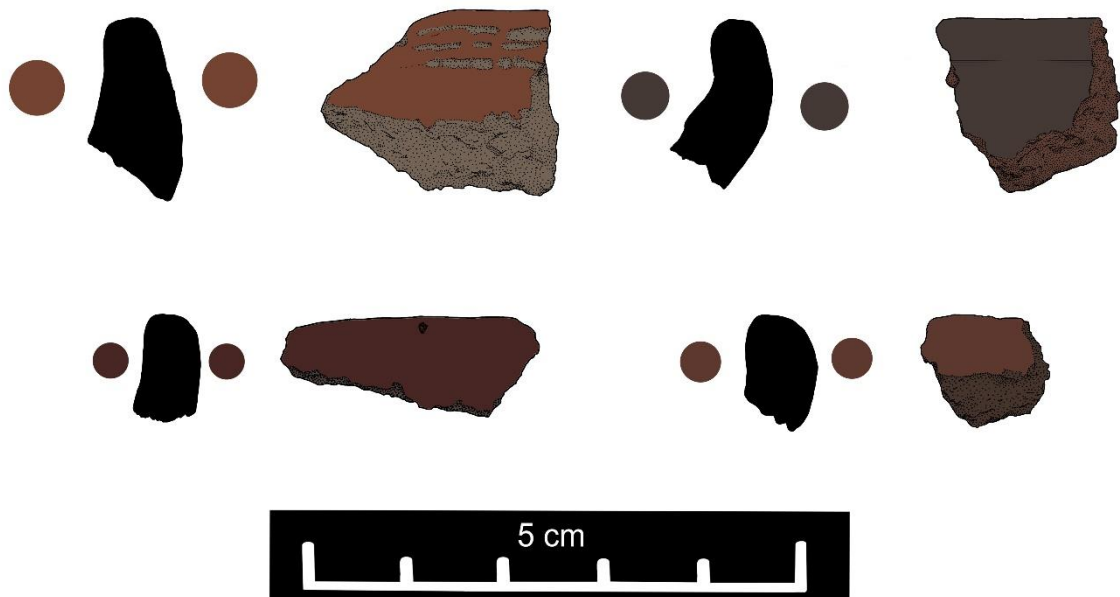


Figure 6.26 Midden 5 A2 0-10 cm: i) jar rim, decorated with comb-stamping and ochre; ii) jar rim, decorated with graphite; iii) possible jar rim, decorated with ochre; iv) possible jar rim, decorated with ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

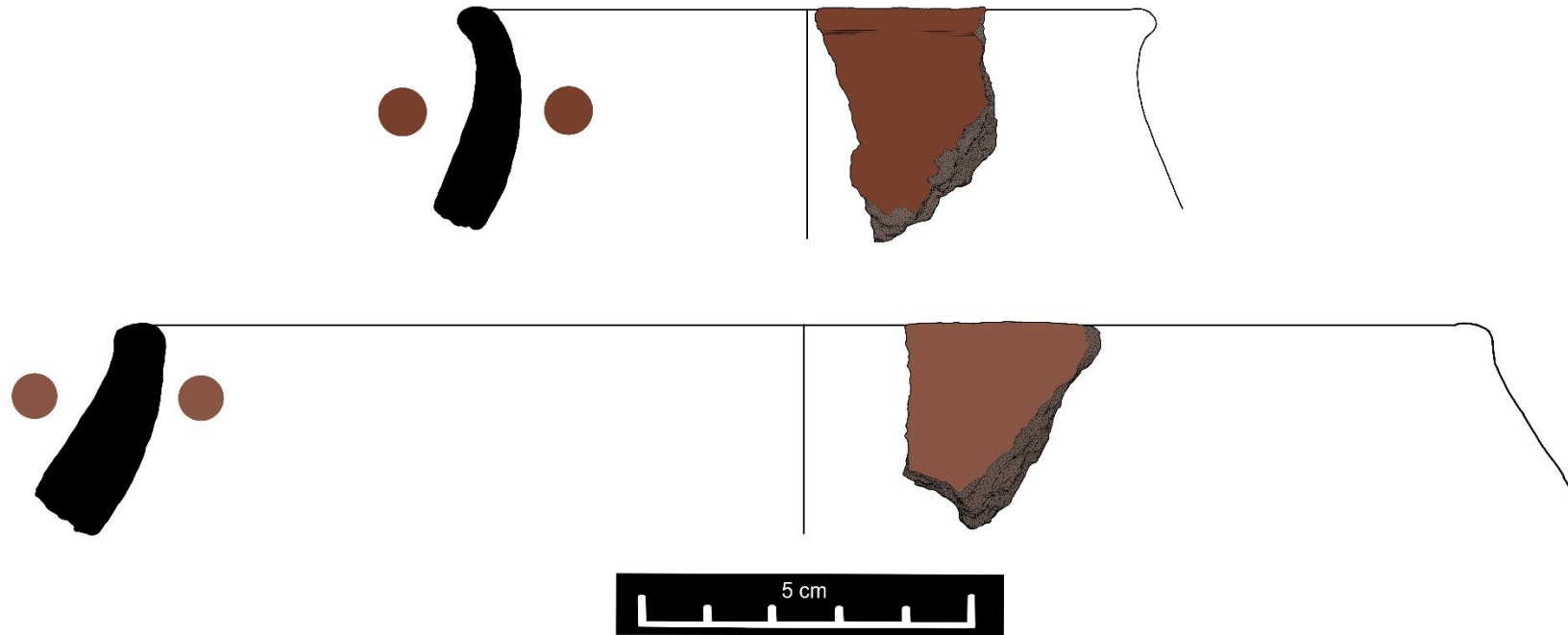


Figure 6.27 Midden 5 A2 0-10 cm: i) small storage jar rim, decorated with ochre; ii) storage jar rim, decorated with ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

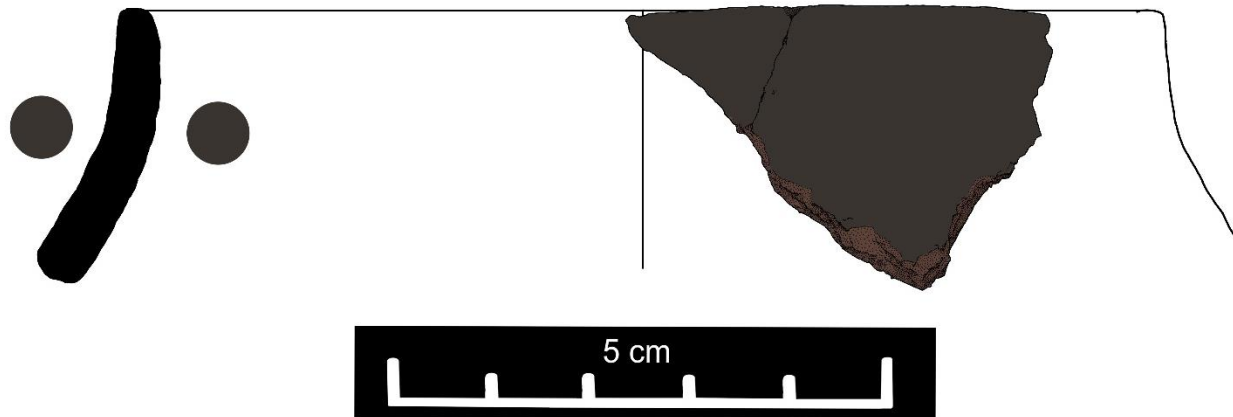


Figure 6.28 Midden 5 A2 10-20 cm: storage or cooking jar rim, decorated with graphite (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

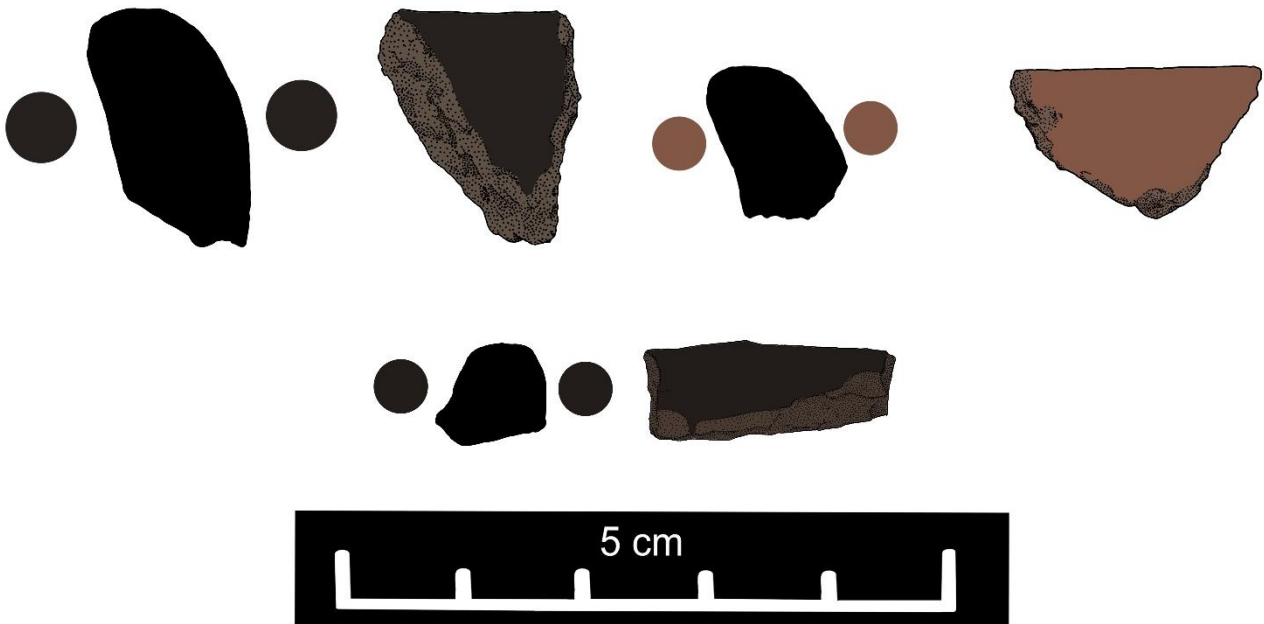


Figure 6.29 Midden 5 A3 0-10 cm: i) jar rim, decorated with graphite; ii) jar rim, decorated with ochre; iii) unknown rim, decorated with graphite (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

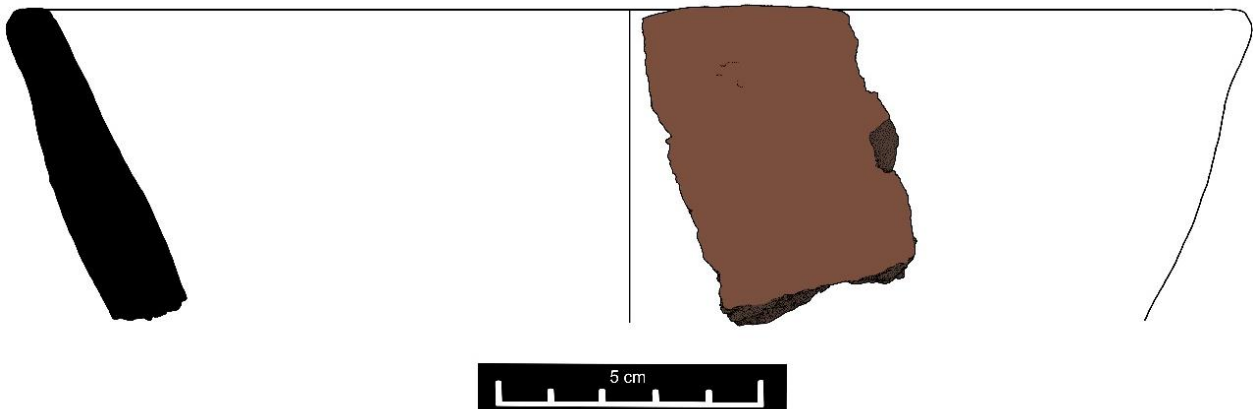


Figure 6.30 Midden 5 A3 10-20 cm: possible washbasin bowl rim, decorated with ochre (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

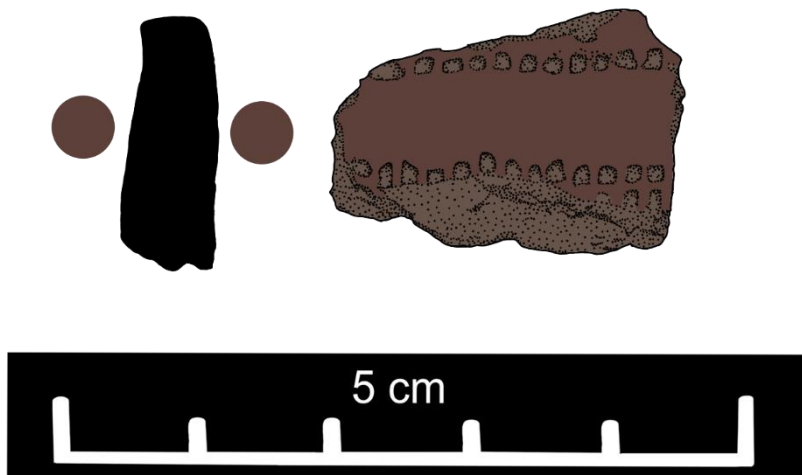


Figure 6.31 Midden 5 A3 10-20 cm: unknown sherd, decorated with ochre and comb-stamping (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

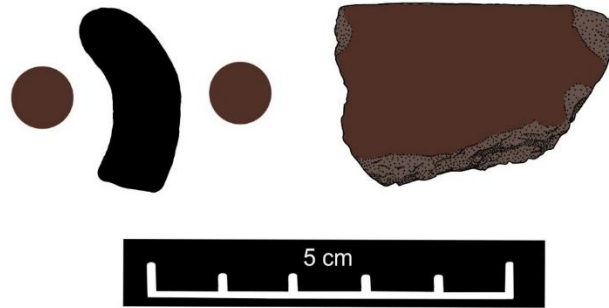


Figure 6.32 Midden 5 A3 20-30 cm: jar rim decorated with ochre (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

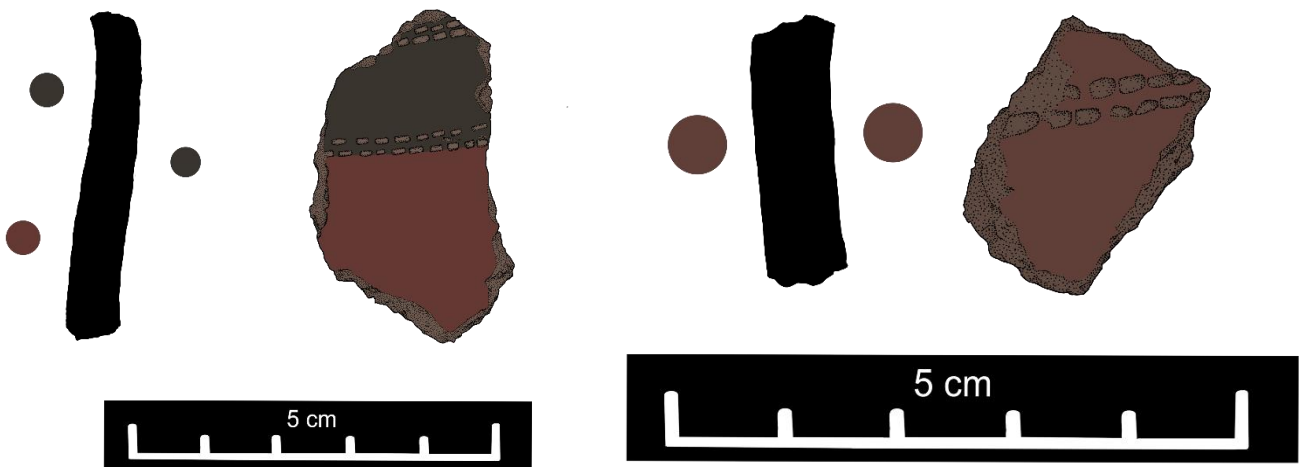


Figure 6.33 Midden 5 A4 0-10 cm: jar neck sherd decorated with comb-stamping, graphite and ochre, ii) unknown sherd decorated with comb-stamping and ochre (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

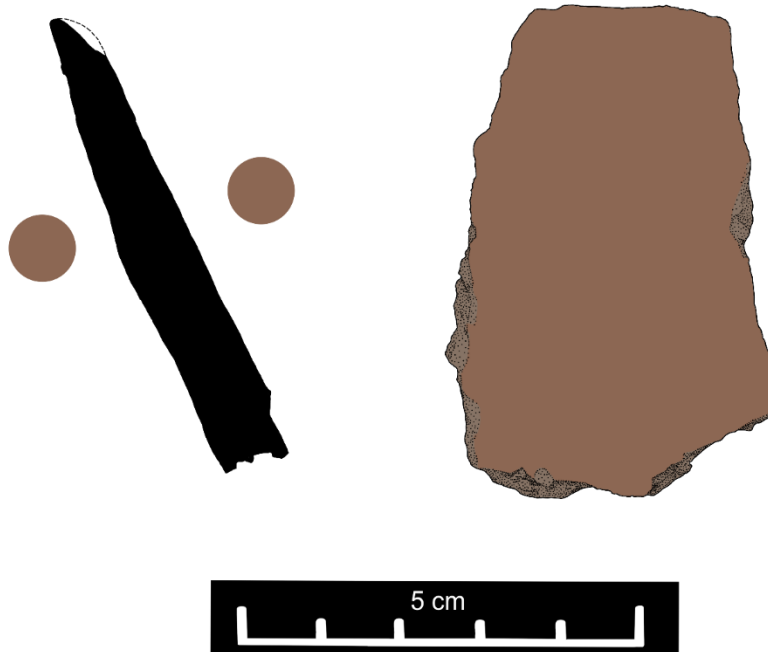


Figure 6.34 Midden 5 A4 0-10 cm: bowl rim decorated with ochre (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

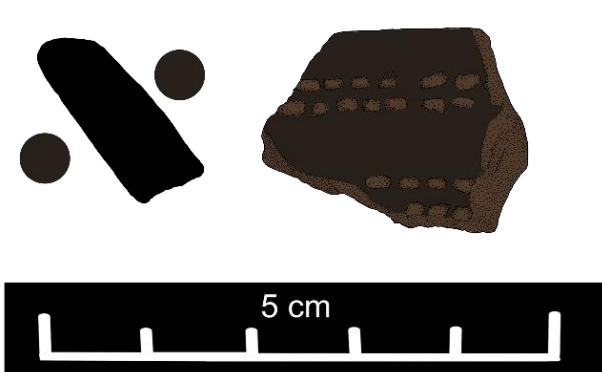


Figure 6.35 Midden 5 A4 10-20 cm: bowl rim decorated with graphite and comb-stamping (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.36 Midden 5 A4 10-20 cm: unknown sherd decorated with thumbnail impressions, line incisions, ochre and graphite (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

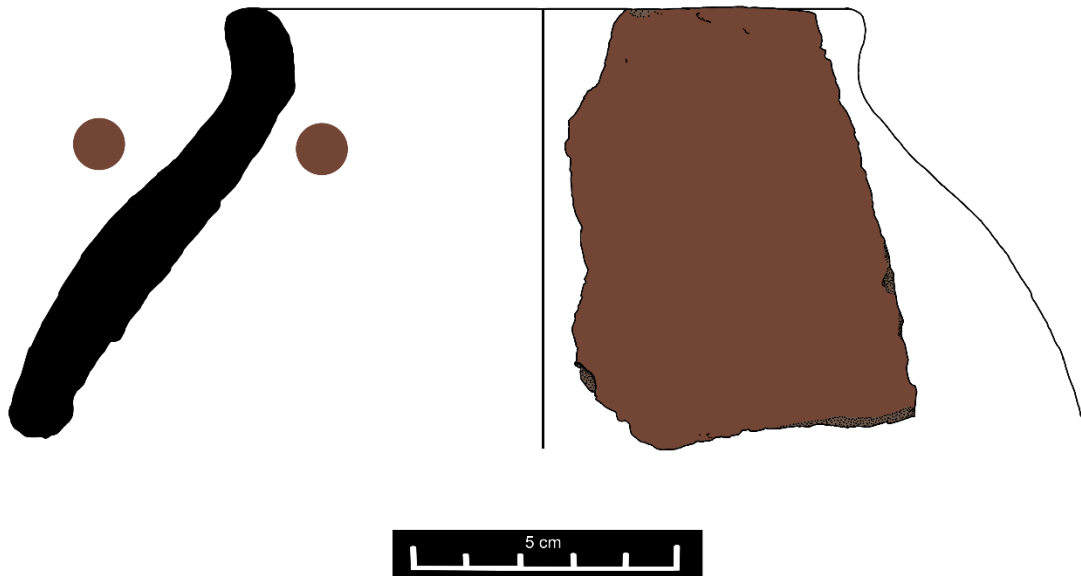


Figure 6.37 Midden 5 A4 10-20 cm: storage jar rim decorated with ochre (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

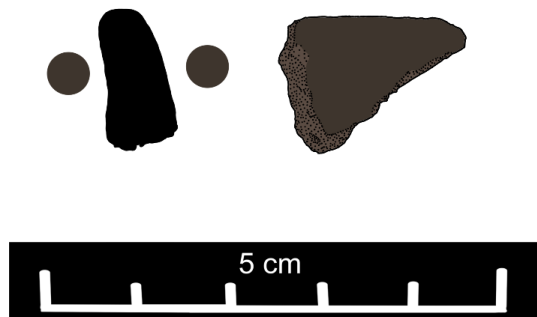


Figure 6.38 Midden 5 A4 10-20 cm: jar rim decorated with graphite (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

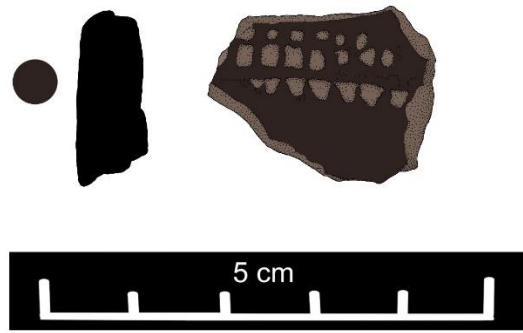


Figure 6.39 Midden 5 A4 20-30 cm: unknown sherd decorated with comb-stamping and graphite (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.2.2 Beads

A total of 109 beads were recovered from Midden 5. These were fashioned from glass (n=74) and OES (n=35).

6.3.2.2.1 Glass beads

There are a total of nine beads from layer 1 of Unit A1, and four from layers 1 and 2 of A2. These units yielded the least number of beads from Midden 5. The majority of the beads recorded from Midden 5 were recorded in A3 and A4. Unit A3 yielded a total of 38 glass beads. A3 layer 1's (0-10 cm) collection contributed 19.6% of the glass beads, whereas layers 2 and 3 contributed 13.73% and 3.92% of the glass beads recorded in Midden 5. While Unit A4 had 23 beads, of which layer 1 contributed 17.65%, layer 2 contributed 3.92% and layer 3 0.98% of Midden 5's beads. Bead shapes varied between cylinders (n=52), tubes (n=18), barrels (n=2), oblate (n=1), and unknown (n=1). The glass beads vary in size, from minute to large. The bead lengths varied from short beads (n=57) with a length ranging between 0.9 mm – 3.1 mm and standard beads (n=14) that range between 1.6 mm – 3 mm. There were also long beads (n=3). Munsell (2012) colour codes were used to assign colours to the various glass beads. The bead description was based on Karklin's (1985) and Wood's (2011) classification. Most of the beads appear to have been slightly treated, while others have been reheated to the point that the edges are bevelled. Such reheating generally occurs in cylinders among the beads.

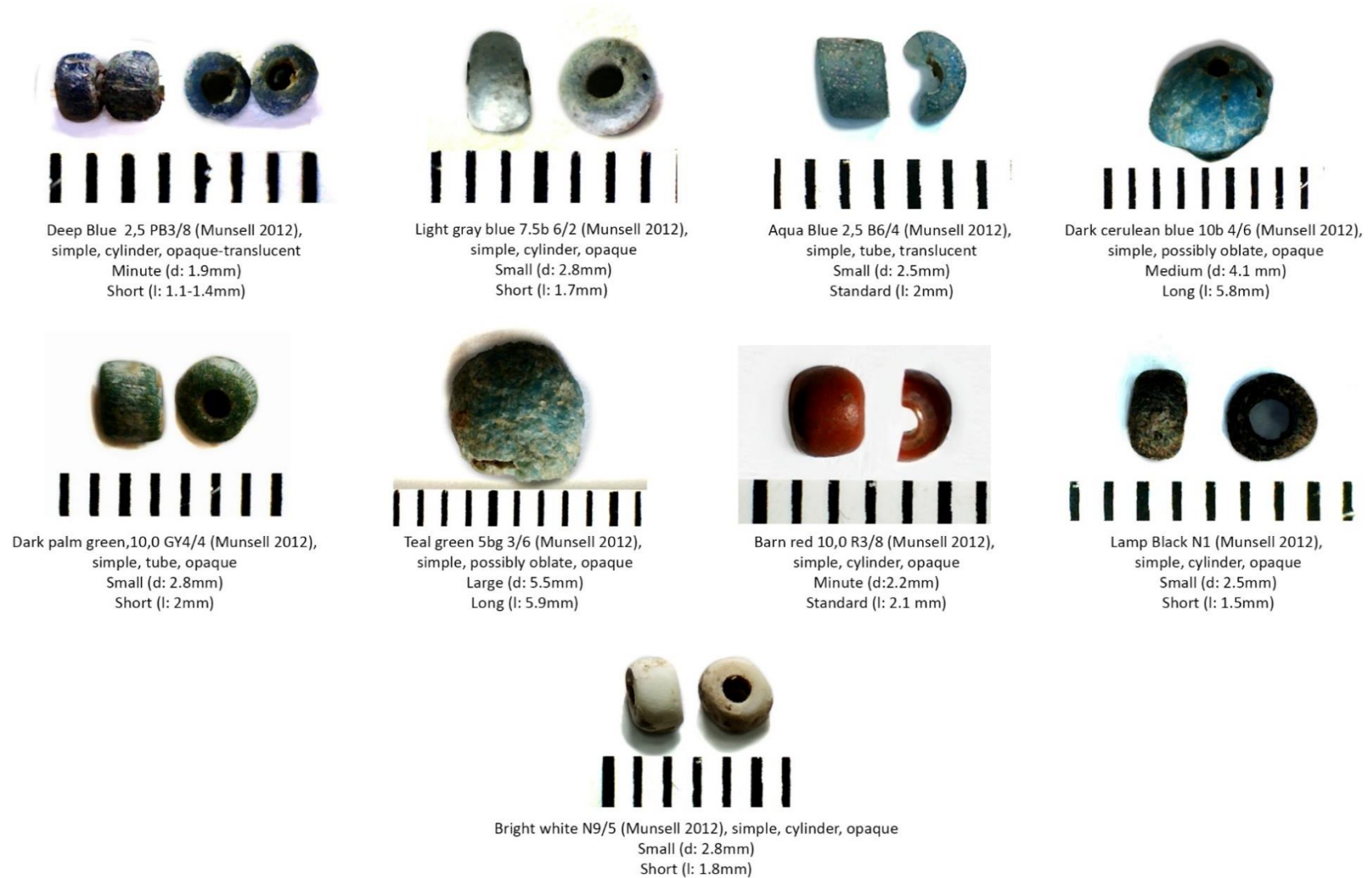


Figure 6.40 Glass beads from Midden 5 A1 – layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

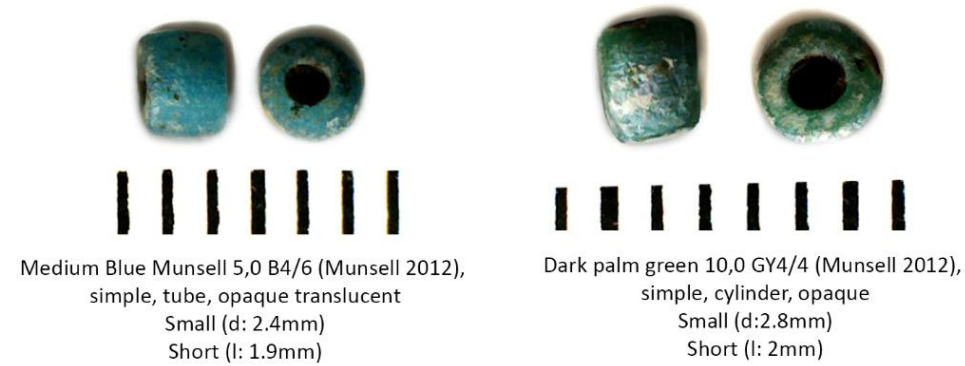


Figure 6.41 Glass beads from Midden 5 A2 – layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.42 Glass beads from Midden 5 A2 – layer 2 (10-20 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

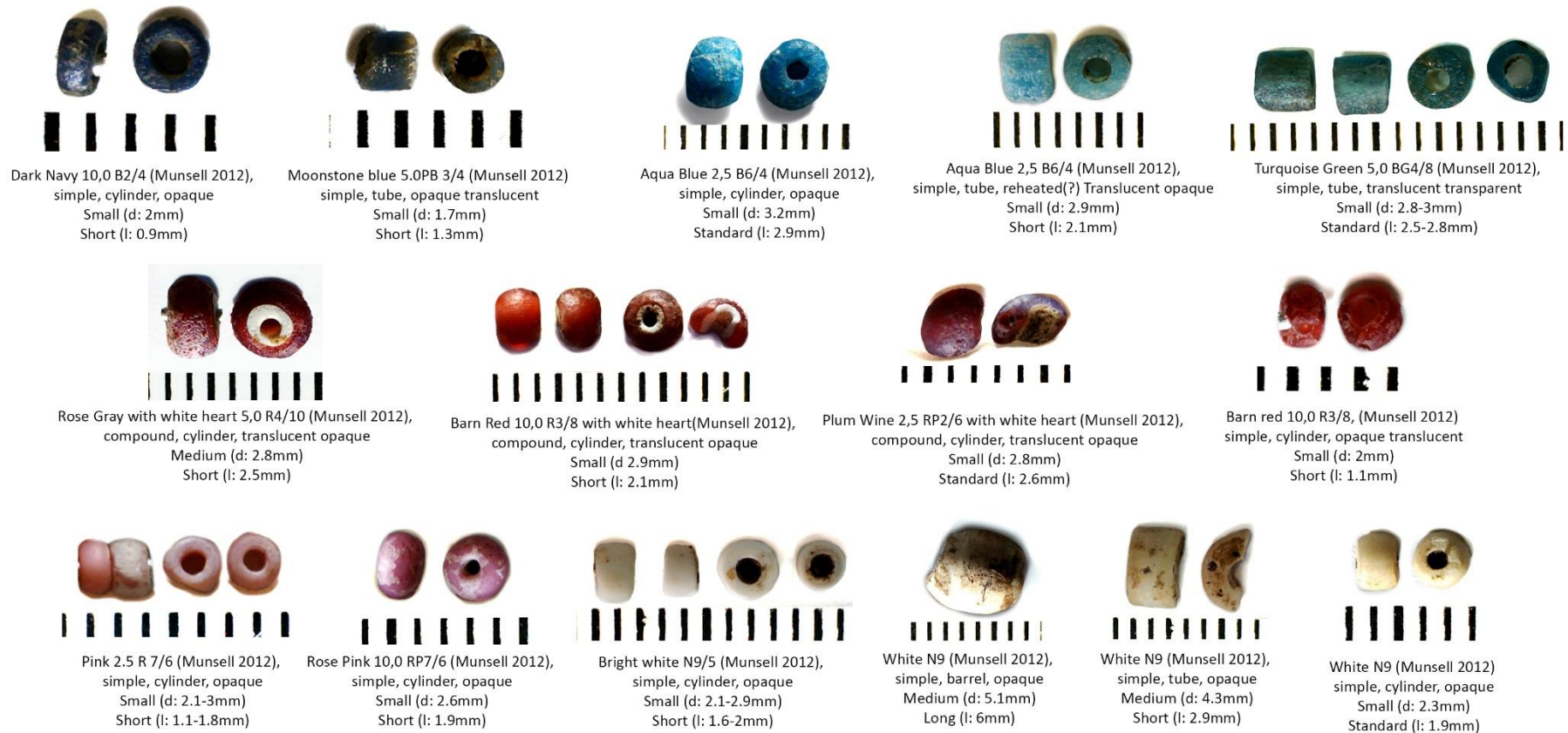


Figure 6.43 Glass beads from Midden 5 A3 – layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

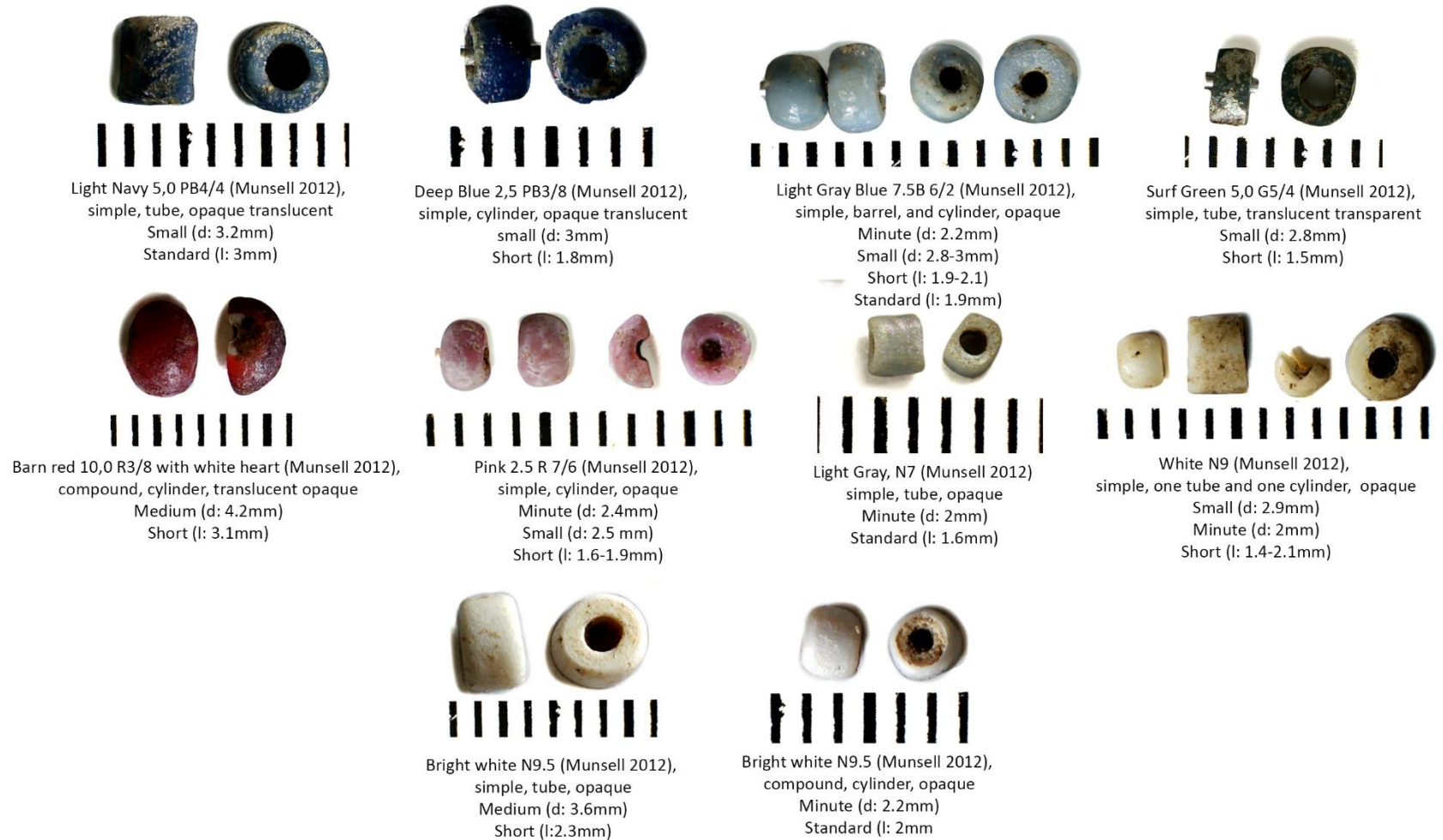


Figure 6.44 Glass beads from Midden 5 A3 – layer 2 (10-20 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

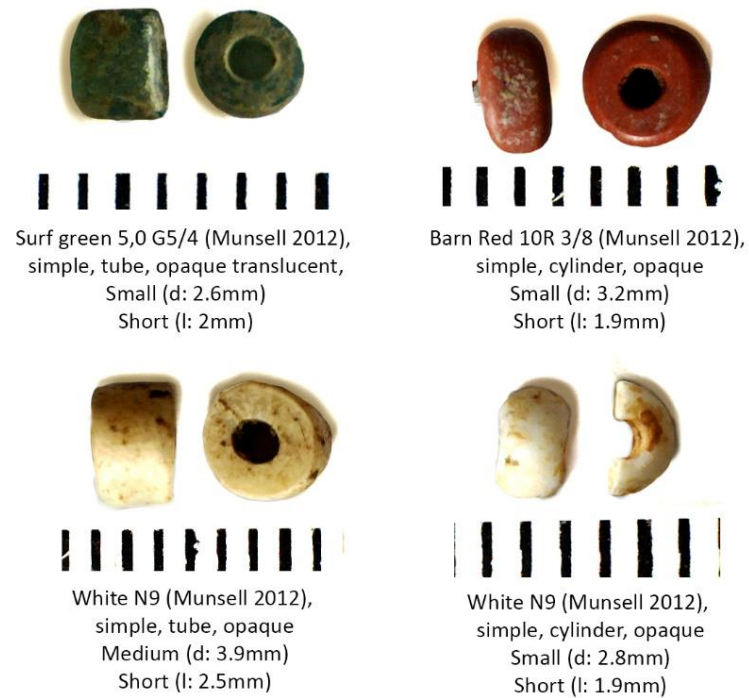


Figure 6.45 Glass beads from Midden 5 A3 – layer 3 (20-30 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

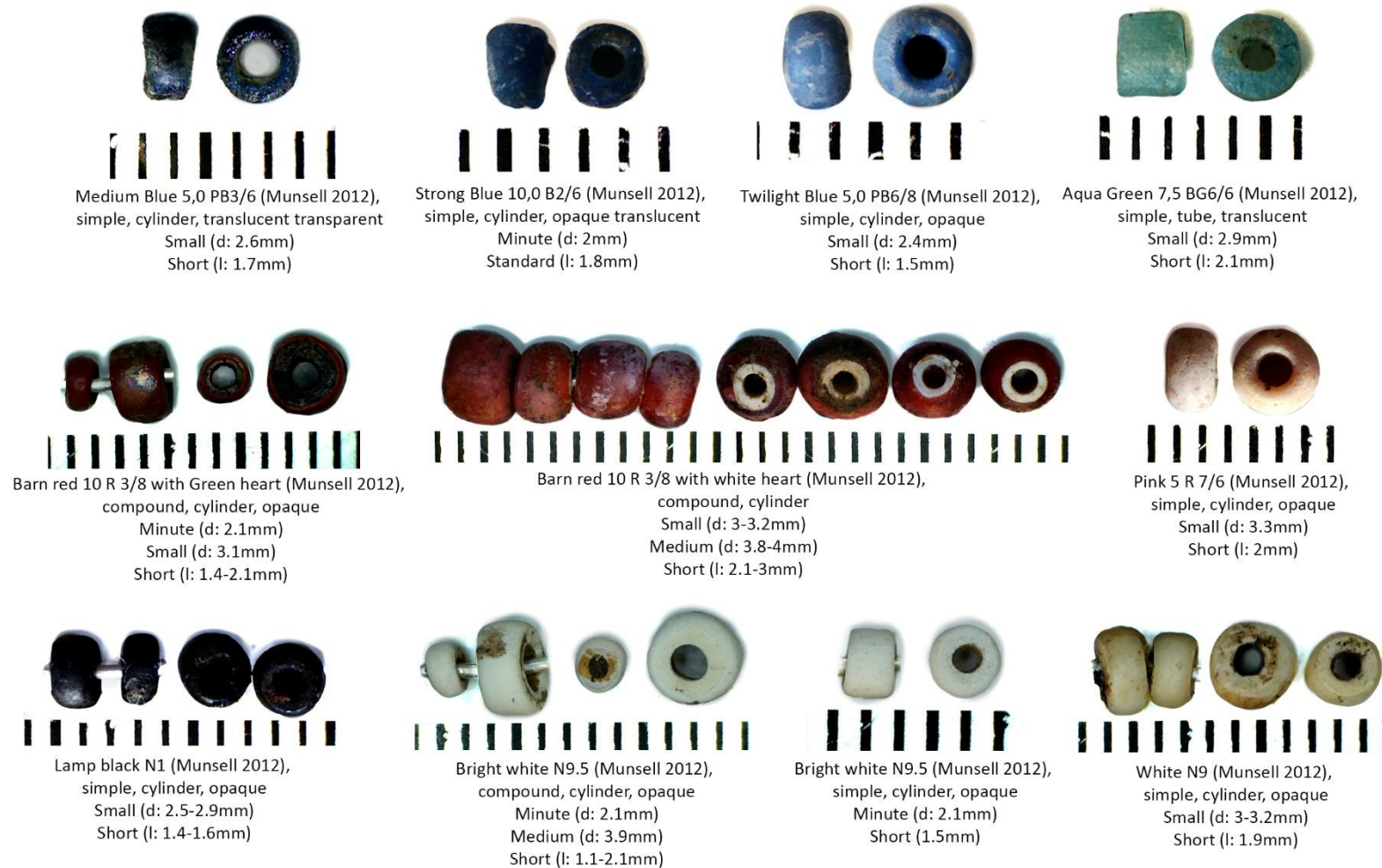


Figure 6.46 Glass beads from Midden 5 A4 – layer 1 (0-10 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.47 Glass beads from Midden 5 A4 – layer 2 (10-20 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.48 Glass beads from Midden 5 A4 – layer 3 (20-30 cm) (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.2.2.2 OES beads

There were a total of 35 OES beads recovered from Midden 5. Some are full beads, while others are broken (Figures 6.49 to 6.52).



Figure 6.49 OES beads at Midden 5 A1 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.50 OES beads at Midden 5 A2 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.51 OES beads at Midden 5 A3 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.52 OES beads at Midden 5 A4 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

Table 6.19 Glass beads from Midden 5 Unit A1.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
0-10 cm	2,5 B6/4	Aqua blue	1	Tube	2.5 mm	Small	2 mm	Standard			Translucent
	N9/5	Bright white	1	Cylinder	2.8 mm	Small	1.8 mm	Short			Opaque
	10,0 R3/8	Barn red	1	Cylinder	2.2 mm	Minute	2.1 mm	Standard			Opaque
	10B 4/6	Dark cerulean blue	1 broken	Unclear, could be cylinder or oblate	4.1 mm	Medium	5.8 mm	Long			Opaque
	5BG 3/6	Teal green	1 broken	Unclear	5.5 mm	Large	5.9 mm	Long			Opaque
	N1	Lamp black	1 broken	Cylinder	2.5 mm	Small	1.5 mm	Short			Opaque
	7,5 B 6/2	Light grey blue	1	Cylinder	2.8 mm	Small	1.7 mm	Short			Opaque
	10,0 GY4/4	Dark palm green	1	Tube	2.8 mm	Small	2 mm	Short			Opaque
	2,5 PB3/8	Deep blue	1	Cylinder	1.9 mm	Minute	1.4 mm	Short			Opaque-translucent
					1.9 mm	Minute	1.1 mm	Short			
Subtotal			9								
Total			9								

Table 6.20 Glass beads from Midden 5 Unit A2.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
0-10 cm	5,0 B4/6	Medium blue	1	Tube	2.4 mm	Small	1.9 mm	Short			Opaque-translucent
	10,0 GY4/4	Dark palm green	1	Cylinder	2.8 mm	Small	2 mm	Short			Opaque
Subtotal			2								
10-20 cm	7,5 R3/8	Brick red	1	Cylinder	3 mm	Small	2.1 mm	Short			Translucent
	5,0 YR2/4	Unclear but appears to be Fawn	1	Cylinder	3.1 mm	Small	1.8 mm	Short			Opaque
Subtotal			2								
Total			4								

Table 6.21 Glass beads from Midden 5 Unit A3.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
0-10 cm	10,0 R3/8	Barn red with white heart	2	Cylinder	2.9 mm 2.9 mm	Small Small	2.1 mm 2.1 mm	Short Short			Translucent-opaque
	5,0 R4/10	Rose grey with white heart	1	Cylinder	3.8 mm	Medium	2.5 mm	Short			Translucent-opaque
	N9/5	Bright white	2	Cylinder	2.9 mm 2.1 mm	Small Small	2 mm 1.6 mm	Short Short			Opaque
	N9	Off-white	1	Cylinder	2.3 mm	Small	1.9 mm	Standard			Opaque
	N9	Off-white	1 broken	Tube	4.3 mm	Medium	2.9 mm	Short			Opaque
	N9	Off-white	1 broken	Barrel	5.1 mm	Medium	6 mm	Long			Opaque
	2,5 B6/4	Aqua blue	1	Cylinder	3.2 mm	Small	2.9 mm	Standard			Opaque
	5,0 BG4/8	Turquoise green	2	Tube	2.8 mm 3 mm	Small Small	2.5 mm 2.8 mm	Standard Standard			Translucent-transparent
	2,5 B6/4	Aqua blue	1	Tube	2.9 mm	Small	2.1 mm	Short			Translucent-opaque
	2.5 R 7/6	Pink	3	Cylinder	3 mm 2.1 mm 2.1 mm	Small Small Small	1.8 mm 1.5 mm 1.1 mm	Short Short Short			Opaque
	10,0 RP7/6	Rose pink but could also be pink (it is deteriorated)	1	Cylinder	2.6 mm	Small	1.9 mm	Short			Opaque
	10,0 B2/4	Dark navy	1	Cylinder	2 mm	Small	0.9 mm	Short			Opaque
	5,0PB 3/4	Moonstone blue	1	Tube	1.7 mm	Small	1.3 mm	Short			Opaque-translucent
	10,0 R3/8	Barn red	1	Cylinder	2 mm	Small	1.1 mm	Short			Opaque-translucent
	2,5 RP2/6	Deteriorated: plum wine with white heart, but it is more likely that it is a barn red with white heart	1	Cylinder	2.8 mm	Small	2.6 mm	Standard			Translucent-opaque
Subtotal			20								
10-20 cm	N9/5	Bright white	1	Tube	3.6 mm	Medium	2.3 mm	Short			Opaque
	N9/5	Bright white	1	Cylinder	2.2 mm	Minute	2 mm	Standard			Opaque
	10R 3/8	Barn red with white heart	1	Cylinder	4.2 mm	Medium	3.1 mm	Short			
	2,5 PB3/8	Deep blue	1	Cylinder	3 mm	Small	1.8 mm	Short			Opaque-translucent
	2.5 R 7/6	Pink	2	Cylinder	2.4 mm 2.5 mm	Minute Small	1.6 mm 1.9 mm	Short Short			Opaque
	N9	Off-white	2	Tube	2.9 mm	Small	2.1 mm	Short			Opaque

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
				And one appears to be cylinder	2 mm	Minute	1.4 mm	Short			
	5,0 G5/4	Surf green	1	Tube	2.8 mm	Small	1.5 mm	Short			Translucent-transparent
	5,0 PB4/4	Light navy	1	Tube	3.2 mm	Small	3 mm	Standard			Opaque-translucent
	7,5B 6/2	Light grey blue	3	Cylinder And perhaps a barrel	3 mm 2.8 mm 2.2 mm	Small Small Minute	1.9 mm 2.1 mm 1.9 mm	Short Short Standard			Opaque
	N7	Light grey	1	Tube	2 mm	Minute	1.6 mm	Standard			Opaque
Subtotal			14								
20-30 cm	N9	Off-white	1	Tube	3.9 mm	Medium	2.5 mm	Short			Opaque
	10R 3/8	Barn red	1	Cylinder	3.2 mm	Small	1.9 mm	Short			Opaque
	N9	White	1	Cylinder	2.8 mm	Small	1.9 mm	Short			Opaque
	5,0 G5/4	Surf green	1	Tube	2.6 mm	Small	2 mm	Short			
Subtotal			4								
Total			38								

Table 6.22 Glass beads from Midden 5 Unit A4.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
0-10 cm	10R 3/8	Barn red with white heart	4		3 mm 4 mm 3.8 mm 3.2 mm	Small Medium Medium Small	2.1 mm 3 mm 3 mm 2.5 mm	Short Short Short Short			Opaque
	N9/5	Bright white	2	Cylinder	2.1 mm 3.9 mm	Minute Medium	1.1 mm 2.1 mm	Short Short			Opaque
	N9	Off-white	2	Cylinder	3.2 mm 3 mm	Small small	1.9 mm 1.9 mm	Short Short			Opaque
	2,5 R 7/6	Pink	1	Cylinder	3.3 mm	small	2 mm	Short			Opaque
	N9/5	Bright white	1	Cylinder	2.1 mm	Minute	1.5 mm	Short			Opaque
	10R 3/8	Barn red with green heart (Compound)	2	Cylinder	3.1 mm 2.1 mm	Small minute	2.1 mm 1.4 mm	Short Short			Opaque
	N1	Lamp black	2	Cylinder	2.5 mm 2.9 mm	Small Small	1.6 mm 1.4 mm	Short Short			Opaque
	5,0 PB3/6	Medium blue	1	Cylinder	2.6 mm	Small	1.7 mm	Short			Translucent-transparent
	10,0 B2/6	Strong blue	1	Cylinder	2 mm	Minute	1.8 mm	Standard			Opaque-translucent
	7,5 BG6/6	Aqua green	1	Tube	2.9 mm	Small	2.1 mm	Short			Translucent

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
	5,0 PB6/8	Twilight blue	1	Cylinder	2.4 mm	Small	1.5 mm	Short			Opaque
			18								
10-20 cm	7,5 BG6/6	Aqua green	2	Tube	2 mm 3 mm	Minute small	1.7 mm 1.9 mm	Standard short			
	N1	Lamp black	2	Cylinder	2.5 mm 2.1 mm	Small minute	1.9 mm 1.8 mm	Short Standard			Opaque
			4								
20-30 cm	N9/5	Bright white	1	Cylinder	2.1 mm	minute	1.1 mm	Short			Opaque
Subtotal			1								
Total			23								

Table 6.23 OES beads from Midden 5.

Depth (cm) and Unit	Bead	Amount	Diameter	Thickness
A1 0-10 cm	OES bead	3	7.5 mm 7.5 mm 5.3 mm	1.9 mm 1.9 mm 1.8 mm
Subtotal		3		
A2 0-10 cm	OES bead	4	8 mm 6 mm 7.2 mm 5.9 mm	1.3 mm 1.5 mm 1.1 mm 1.6 mm
A2 10-20 cm	OES bead	1	6.1 mm	1.5 mm
A2 30-40 cm	OES bead	1	8.8 mm	1.5 mm
Subtotal		6		
A3 0-10 cm	OES bead	7	4.5 mm 5 mm 5.8 mm 6.5 mm 5.7 mm 5.6 mm 4.9 mm	1.1 mm 1.2 mm 1.1 mm 1 mm 1.1 mm 1 mm 1.5 mm
A3 10-20 cm	OES bead	5	7.5 mm 8.1 mm 7 mm 7 mm 4.9 mm	2 mm 1.9 mm 2 mm 1.9 mm 0.9 mm
A3 20-30 cm	OES bead	2	6 mm 4.5mm	1.1 mm 1.5 mm
Subtotal		14		
A4 0-10 cm	OES bead	10	6.5 mm 6.1 mm 5.3 mm 6.5 mm 7.9 mm 5 mm 6 mm 6.3 mm 6.5 mm 5 mm	1.2 mm 1 mm 1.1 mm 1.05 mm 1.9 mm 1 mm 1.1 mm 1.1 mm 1.2 mm 1.5 mm
A4 10-20 cm	OES bead	2	6.6 mm 5.9 mm	1.1 mm 1.1 mm
Subtotal		12		
Total		35		

6.3.2.3 Fauna

Among the faunal material at Midden 5 there is a total of 57 (11.56%) identifiable species/taxa and a total of 436 (88.44%) unidentifiable faunal fragments. Eighty-six (17.44%) out of the 493 faunal material had taphonomy present. Several fragments (n=29) are weathered, while the majority of the fragments with taphonomy are burnt (black or white) (n=43). A worked bone point was recorded in layer 1 of A1, there are also several fragments with evidence of cut/chop marks on them.

The species and larger taxa identified include bivalve (freshwater mussel), aves, reptilian, small mammal, small rodent, *Lagomorpha* (hare), cf. *Sylvicapra grimmia* (common duiker), cf. *Raphicerus*

campestris (steenbok), cf. *Ovis aries* (pedi sheep), *Redunca arundinum* (reed buck), *Bos taurus* (cattle), cf. *Taurotragus oryx* (eland), cf. *Equus quagga* (zebra), and carnivore. There were also several faunal fragments that could only be identified to size and not species and include Bovid II and Bovid III. Tables 6.24-6.27 provides more details on the faunal fragments recovered from Midden 5.

Table 6.24 Faunal remains of Midden 5 Unit A1. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Bov I – cf. <i>Sylvicapra grimmia</i>	Fragment head of femur - juvenile	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	7	2	2 white-burn
		Fragment	-	1	1	1 worked (bone point)
Subtotal			1	8	3	
Total			1	8	3	

Table 6.25 Faunal remains of Midden 5 Unit A2. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Bivalve		2	-	-	
	<i>Lagomorpha</i>	Phalange	1	-	-	
	Bov II – cf. <i>Ovis aries</i>	Third phalange (hoof) left right toe	1	-	-	
	Bov II - <i>Redunca arundinum</i>	Front right bottom incisor	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Vertebrae fragment	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Long bone shaft	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	11	-	
		Fragments	-	48	19	5 black-burn; 5 weathered; 9 white-burn
Subtotal			7	59	19	
10-20 cm	Bivalve		1	-	-	
	Small mammal	Long bone	1	-	-	
	Small rodent	Atlas	1	-	-	
	Bov II - <i>Redunca fulvorufula</i>	Juvenile – right hind – femur head	1	-	-	
		– radius – lateral portion of humeral articular surface including coronoid process and radial tuberosity, medial portion of humeral articular surface including glenoid cavity and radial tuber	1	-	-	
	Bov II – cf. <i>Ovis aries</i>	Jaw left – 1st 2nd and 3rd molars – tooththrow and portion of diastema	1	-	-	

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
		including mental foramen				
		First phalange fragment – proximal articulation	1	-	-	
	Bov III – <i>Bos taurus</i>	Juvenile – 2nd phalange – distal articulation fragment and portion of shaft region	1	-	-	
		Left hind – <i>Capra</i> – 2nd and 3rd	1	-	-	
		Tibia – fragment of lateral malleolus	1	-	-	
	Bov IV- cf. <i>Taurotragus oryx</i>	Juvenile – Phalange – proximal articulation fragment	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Lower molar	1	-	-	
		Radius – medial portion of distal shaft fragment	1	-	-	
		Vertebrae – left articular and transverse process	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Radius – lateral portion of distal shaft -portion of ulna styloid process	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	50	12	8 black-burn; 2 weathered; 1 white-burn; 1 cut
	Subtotal		15	50	12	
20-30 cm	Bov III – <i>Bos taurus</i>	3rd molar still erupting possible juvenile	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Mandible left fragment of coronoid process and condyles mandibulae	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Molar	1	-	-	
		Skull fragment	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel fragments	-	8	-	
		Fragments	-	28	2	1 black-burn; 1 white-burn
	Subtotal		4	36	2	
30-40 cm	Unknown	Enamel fragment	-	1	-	
	Subtotal			1		
	Total		26	146	33	

Table 6.26 Faunal remains of Midden 5 Unit A3. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Small rodent	Incisor	1	-	-	
	Carnivore	Incisor	1	-	-	
	Bov II – cf. <i>Ovis aries</i>	Astragalus - medial half of distal articulation	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Fragment of femur head	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	13	5	3 black-burn; 2 weathered
Subtotal			4	13	5	
10-20 cm	Reptilian	Vertebrae fragment	1	-	-	
	Small rodent	First phalange	1	-	-	
		Metapodial	1	-	-	
	Aves	Radius - proximal end (capital tuberosity) medium size	1	-	-	
	Bov I – <i>Raphicerus campestris</i>	Left scapula fragment of anterior and posterior glenoid cavity	1	-	-	
	Bov II – cf. <i>Ovis aries</i>	Tibia – lateral malleolus + medial malleolus + distal portion of shaft – cut bone – also appears to have tooth marks on it	1	-	1	1 cut
	Unknown	Enamel	-	8	-	
		Fragments	-	57	6	1 black-burn; 3 weathered; 1 white-burn; 1 chopped
Subtotal			6	65	7	
20-30 cm	Bov II	Capral	1	-	-	
	Equidae – cf. <i>Equus quagga</i>	Tarsal	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	1	-	
		Fragments	-	28	10	4 black-burn; 5 weathered; 1 white-burn
Subtotal			2	29	10	
Total			12	107	22	

Table 6.27 Faunal remains of Midden 5 Unit A4. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Unknown: micro Fauna	Fragments	-	2	-	
	Bov III	Femur head	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	3	-	
		Fragments	-	44	9	2 black-burn; 3 weathered; 1 white-burn; 3 chopped
Subtotal			1	49	9	

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
10-20 cm	Bivalve		1	-	-	
	Aves	Ulna fragment - olecranon + process + semi-lunar notch + partial shaft	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Phalange fragment proximal articulation	1	-	-	
		Juvenile – radius	1	-	-	
	Bov III – <i>Bos taurus</i>	Pre-molar right	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Molar	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	25	8	2 black-burn; 1 weathered; 1 white-burn; 4 chopped
Subtotal			6	25	8	
20-30 cm	Bov II	Juvenile: radius proximal portion of shaft incorporating proximal interosseous space	1	-	-	
	Bov III – <i>Bos taurus</i>	3rd phalange fragment	1	-	-	
		3 rd molar	1	-	-	
		Pre-molar left	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Vertebrae fragments	4	-	-	
		Long bone fragment	1	-	-	
		2nd Phalange – distal articulation portion of shaft region	1	-	-	
		Enamel fragments	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel fragments	-	6	-	
		Fragments	-	95	11	8 weathered; 3 chopped
Subtotal			11	101	11	
Total			18	175	28	

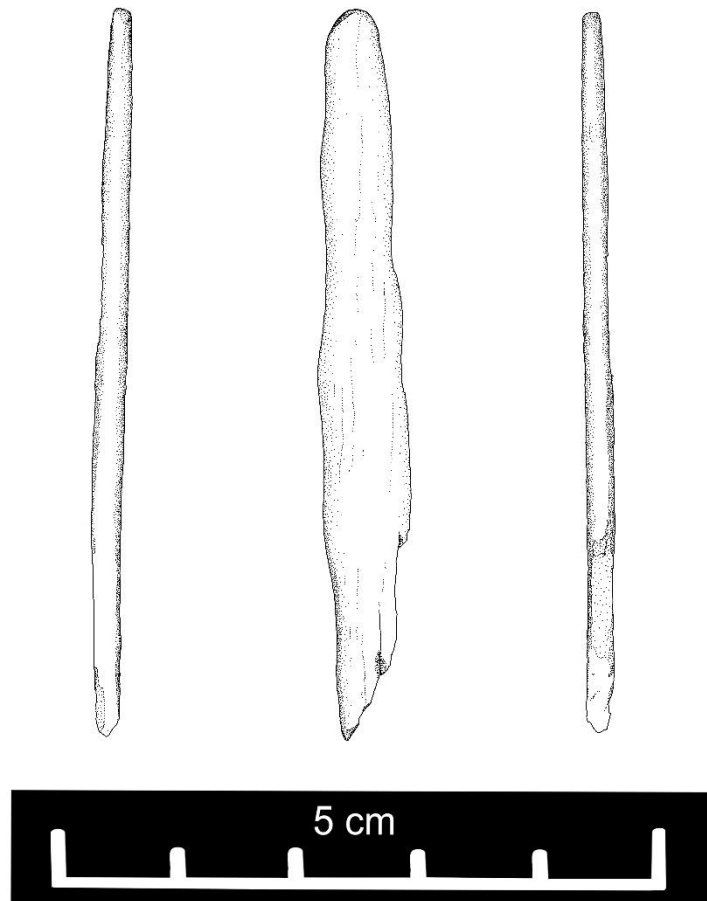


Figure 6.53 Possible bone point from Midden 5 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.2.4 Metal

One copper wire A1 (10-20 cm) and a piece of metal which appears to be a part of a buckle.

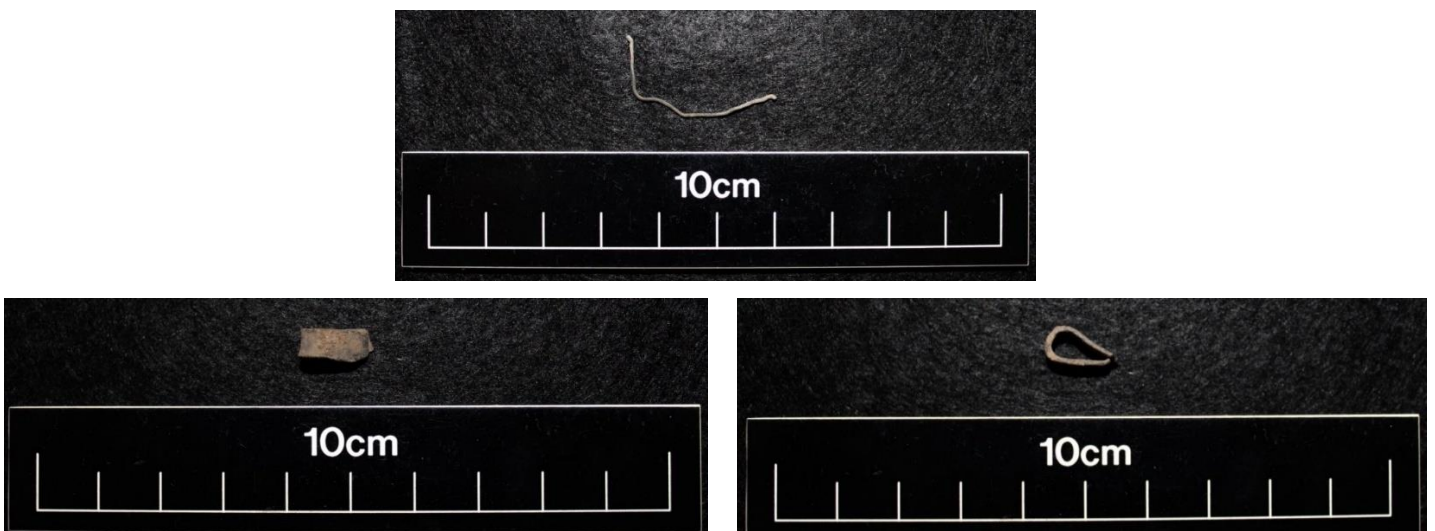


Figure 6.54 Copper wire (top) and piece of possible buckle prong (left and right) from Midden 5 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.2.5 Figurines

There were a total of 13 figurine fragments recovered from Midden 5. Unit A2 yielded three fragments (layer 1=2 and layer 2=1), Unit A3 yielded five fragments (layer 1=4 and layer 2=1), and Unit 4 yielded five fragments (layer 1= 5). The figurine fragments appear to belong to animal shapes, such as legs and horns.

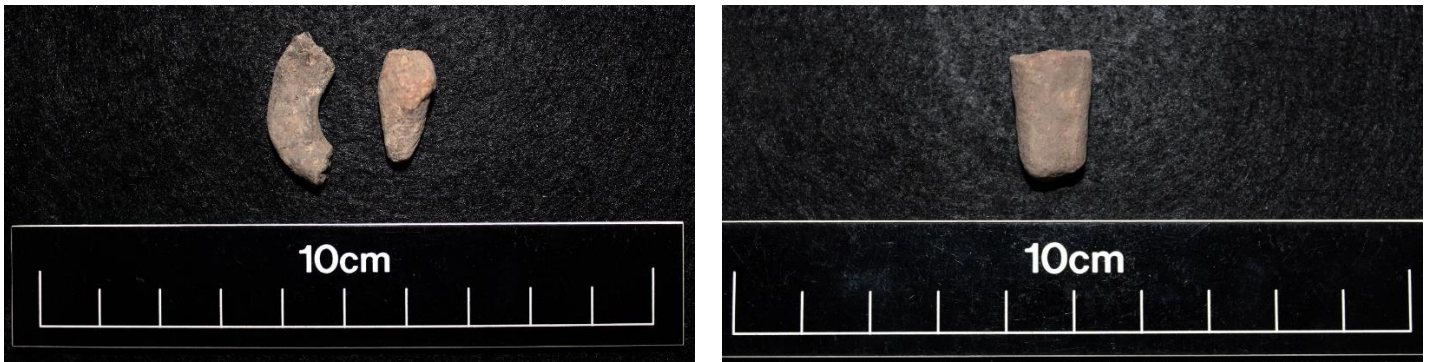


Figure 6.55 Midden 5 A2 0-10 cm and 10-20 cm figurine fragments (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

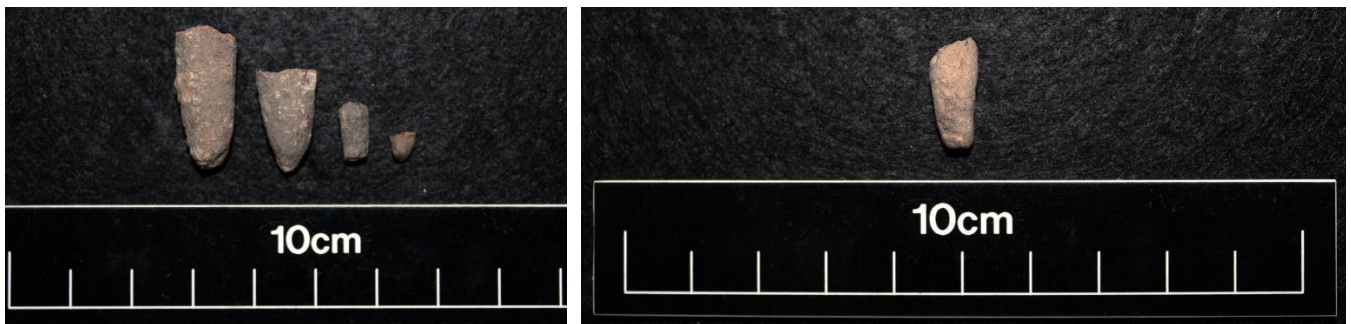


Figure 6.56 Midden 5 A3 0-10 cm and 10-20 cm figurine fragments (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.57 Midden 5 A4 0-10 cm figurine fragments (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.2.6 Other material

Some of the other cultural material recovered from the midden feature included seeds, glass and samples of charcoal.

6.3.2.7 Seeds

A total of three seeds were recovered from Midden 5. The identification of the botanical material is beyond the scope of this study, and therefore the seeds were documented, counted, and separated but not analysed. It is also likely that these seeds may be more recent, as they were recovered from the top layer (0-10 cm) of Midden 5 (Chapter 3 provides a discussion of vegetation in the Pilanesberg region). The seeds recovered from this layer are un-charred. In terms of archaeobotanical research on seeds and charring, charred seeds (on dry sites) reflect past activities, while un-charred seeds are often considered to be “recent contamination” or modern intrusions (Fiorentino et al. 2014; Miller 1989; Mueller-Bieniek et al. 2020). Uncharred seeds found at archaeological sites and in deposits can often be the result of small mammal activity. Though, I should mention that un-charred seeds do not always mean that they are modern intrusions. It has been suggested that in the event of certain circumstances where “physical, chemical or biological degradation has been slowed”, and suitable environments, prehistoric un-charred seeds may be preserved (Miller 1989).

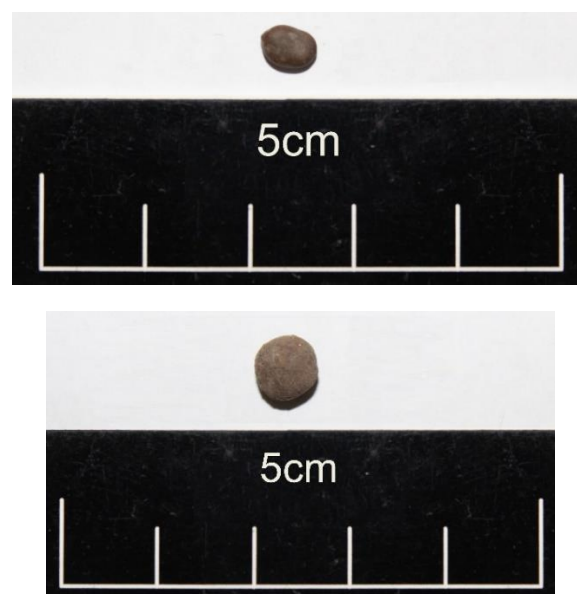


Figure 6.58 Seeds from Midden 5 Unit A2 0-10 cm (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).



Figure 6.59 Seeds from Midden 5 Unit A3 0-10 cm (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

6.3.2.8 Other

Two fragments of green glass were recovered from the top layer (0-10 cm) at A1 and A3. The glass appears to be contemporary.

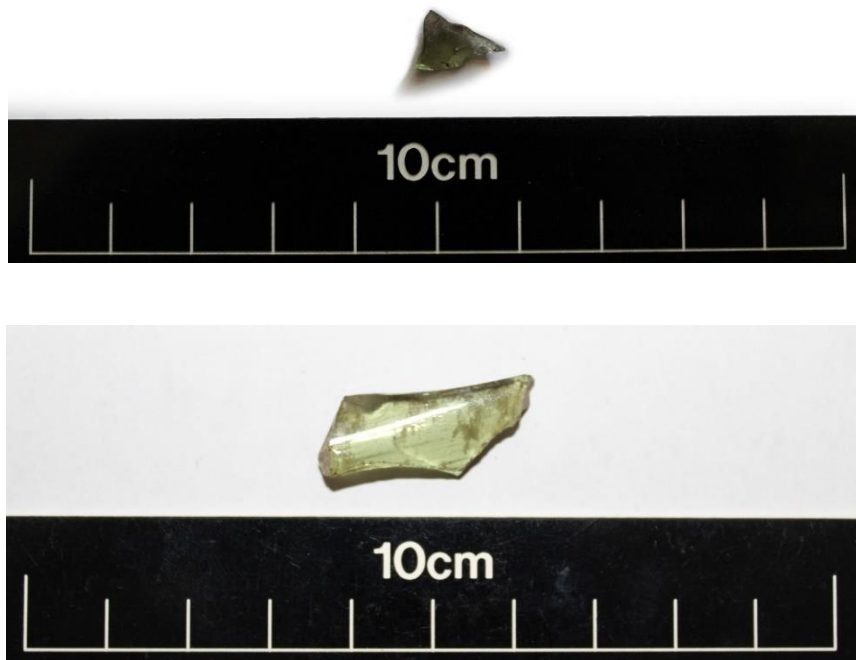


Figure 6.60 Glass from Midden 5 A1 and A3 0-10 cm (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

6.4 Tshukudu: Middens 6.1 and 6.2

6.4.1 Midden 6.1

The finds from the Midden 6.1 (A1-A4) excavation yielded a representative sample of cultural material (Appendix D). The cultural material recovered from Midden 6.1 consists of ceramic sherds, a glass

bead, faunal remains, crystals, a lithic scraper and flake, charcoal samples, hut rubble, as well as small stones.

6.4.1.1 Potsherds

There are a total of 68 potsherds from Midden 6.1 (A1-A4). Out of this assemblage, 33 (48.53%) are decorated (for example, rim-notching and/or ochre), while a total of 35 (51.48%) are undecorated. Nineteen (27.94%) have evidence of blackening. Furthermore, the assemblage consists of four rim sherds, two of which have a diagnostic curve, making it possible to identify the vessels' shape, diameter, and functions. The vessels with diagnostic profiles and/or decoration are depicted in Figures 6.61-6.63. The diagnostic vessel types include jar rims (n=3), jar neck (n=1), jar shoulder (n=6) and jar body sherds (n=24).

Table 6.28 Potsherds recorded at Midden 6.1 Unit A1.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Shoulder	-	2	-
	Jar	Body	2	-	-
Subtotal			2	2	
10-20 cm	Jar	Body	-	5	5
	Unknown	Unknown	1	1	-
Subtotal			1	6	5
20-30 cm	Jar	Body	1	-	-
Subtotal			1		
Total			4	8	5
Total %			33.33%	66.67%	41.67%

Table 6.29 Potsherds recorded at Midden 6.1 Unit A2.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Shoulder	-	1	1
	Jar	Body	1	1	1
	Jar	Unknown	1	2	-
	Unknown	Unknown	-	1	1
Subtotal			2	5	3
10-20 cm	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	1
	Jar	Body	1	-	-
Subtotal			2	0	1
Total			4	5	4
Total %			44.44%	55.56%	44.44%

Table 6.30 Potsherds recorded at Midden 6.1 Unit A3.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	7	1	-
	Jar	Unknown	-	3	-
	Unknown	Body	1	8	3
	Unknown	Unknown	-	4	-
Subtotal			9	16	3
Total			9	16	3
Total %			36%	64%	12%

Table 6.31 Potsherds recorded at Midden 6.1 Unit A4.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
Surface Layer	Unknown	Unknown	1	-	-
Subtotal			1	0	0
0-10 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	3	-	-
	Jar	Unknown	2	-	-
Subtotal			7	0	0
10-20 cm	Jar	Rim	1	-	1
	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	1
	Jar	Body	2	-	-
	Unknown	Rim	1	-	-
	Unknown	Unknown	2	6	5
Subtotal			8	6	7
Total			16	6	7
Total%			72.72%	27.28%	31.82%

6.4.1.1.1 Vessel decorations

The decorated vessels from Midden 6.1 are mainly decorated with ochre. There is, however, one instance of rim-notching. Rim-notching is typically from the Urewe tradition, specifically Buispoort ceramic style.

Table 6.32 Vessel decorations present at Midden 6.1.

Depth (cm) and unit	Vessel type	Rim	Neck	Shoulder	Body	Decoration type	Ochre/graphite interior and/or exterior
Unit A3 0-10 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
Unit A4: 0-10 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	I, E
Unit A4: 10-20 cm	Jar	X				Rim notching, ochre	I, E
	Jar		X			Ochre	E

6.4.1.1.2 Vessel functions

Table 6.33 provides the possible functions of the vessels with a distinct rim diameter and profile.

Table 6.33 Possible vessel functions present at Midden 6.1.

Depth (cm) and unit	Function	Vessel Type	Rim Diameter	Rim	Neck
A3 0-10 cm	Storage vessel: possibly for storing traditional beer	Jar	20 cm	Rounded	Everted
A4 10-20 cm	Storage vessel: <i>setsaga</i> (small) <i>nkgwana</i> (small) for storing water, <i>mokgakwana</i> (small pot) container for keeping water cool.	Long-necked jar	10 cm	Rounded	Everted

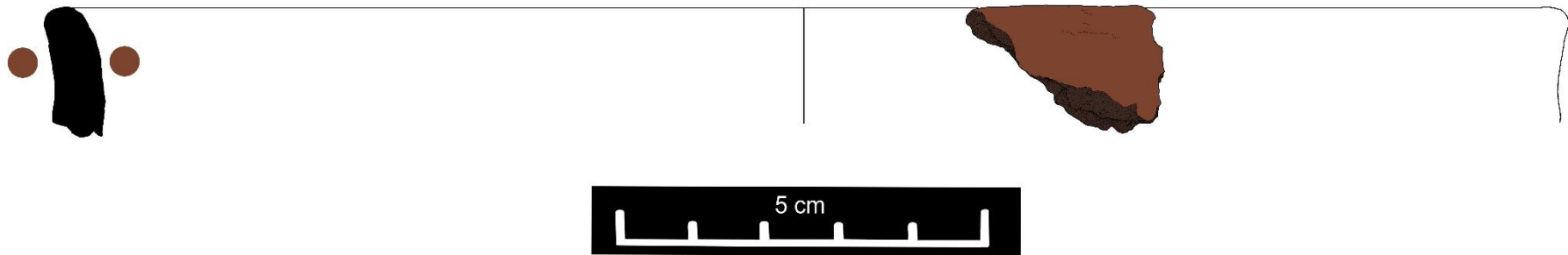


Figure 6.61 Midden 6.1 A3 0-10 cm: jar rim, storage vessel, possibly used for storing beer, decorated with ochre (interior and exterior) (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

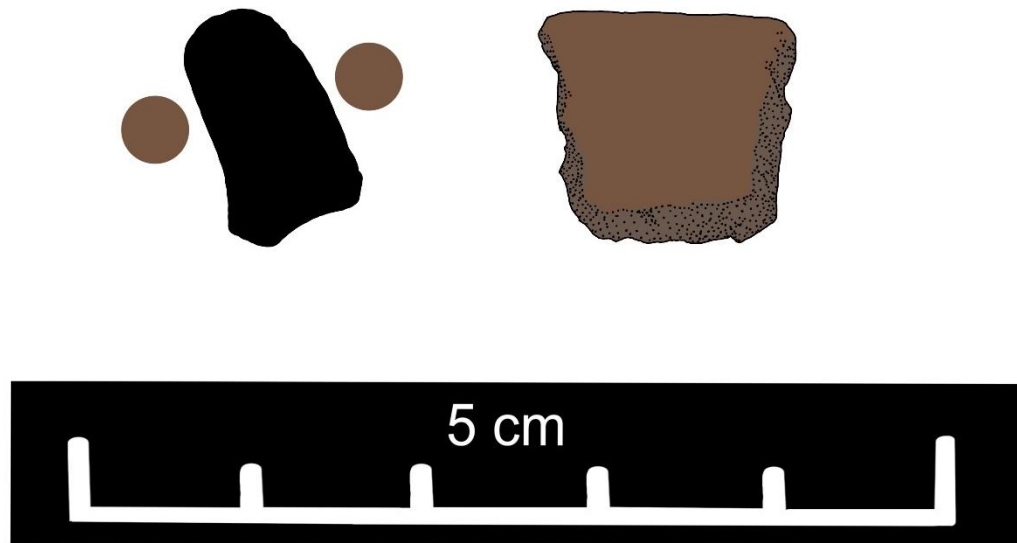


Figure 6.62 Midden 6.1 A4 0-10 cm: jar rim sherd, decorated with ochre, interior and exterior (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

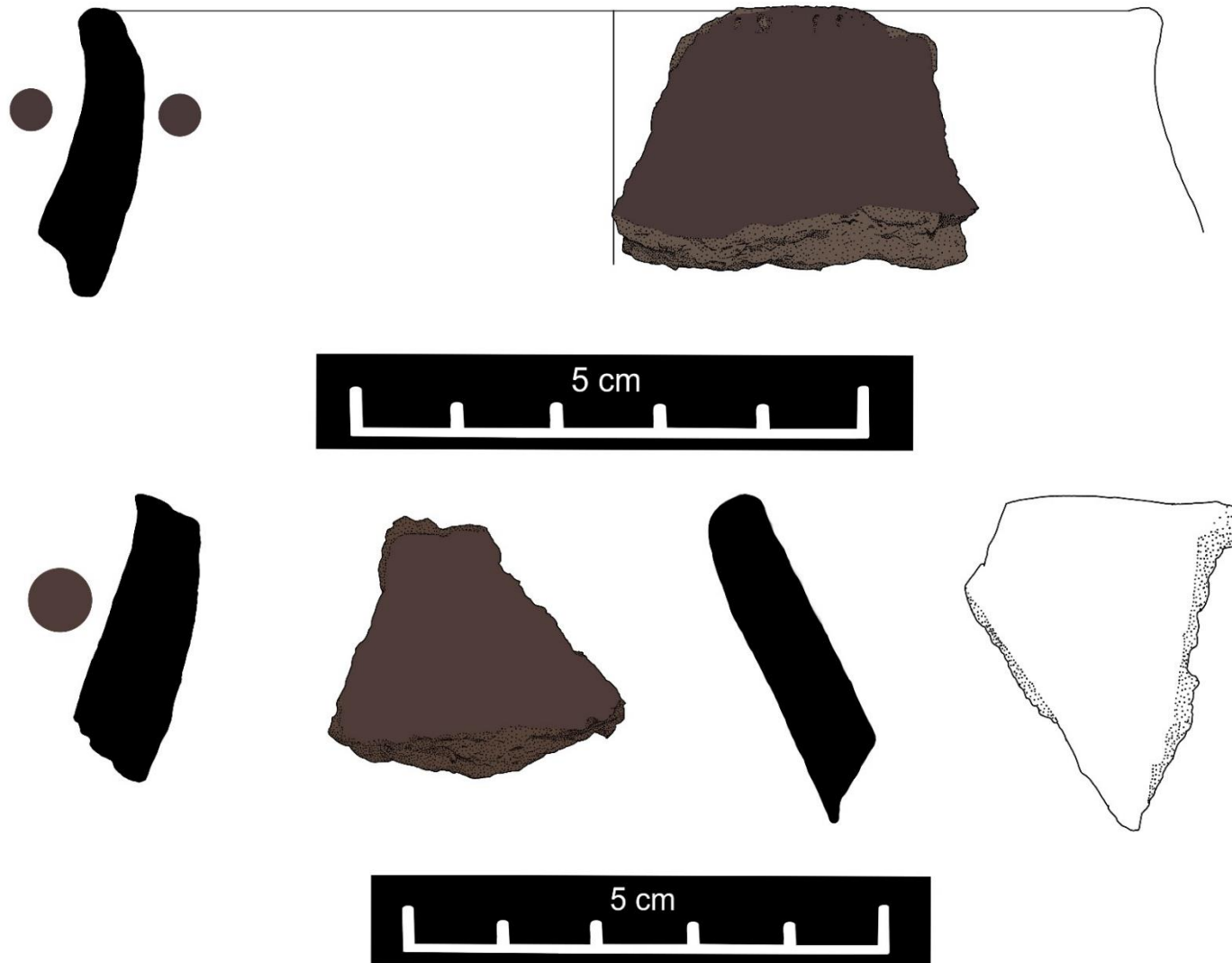


Figure 6.63 Midden 6.1 10-20 cm: i) long-necked jar, possible storage vessel, *Sešaga* (small) *Nkgwana* (small) likely used for storing water, or it is a *Mokgakwana* (small pot) container for keeping water cool, decorated with rim-notching and ochre (interior and exterior); ii) jar neck, decorated with ochre (exterior); iii) appears to be a bowl rim sherd, no decoration present (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.1.2 Beads

Only one glass bead was recovered from Midden 6.1 (A3 10-20 cm).



Figure 6.64 Glass bead at Midden 6.1 A3 – layer 2 (10-20cm) (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

Table 6.34 Glass beads from Midden 6.1 Unit A3.

Depth (cm)	Munsell Colour Code	Colour	Amount	Shape	Diameter		Length		Drawn	End-treated	Diaphaneity
					4.2 mm	Small	2.6 mm	Short			
10-20 cm	7.5BG 6/6	Aqua Green	1	Cylinder	4.2 mm	Small	2.6 mm	Short	1		Opaque-translucent
Subtotal			1						1		
Total			1						1		

6.4.1.3 Fauna

Among the faunal material at Midden 6.1, there is a total of 10 (8.33%) identifiable species/taxa and a total of 110 (91.67%) unidentifiable faunal fragments. Ten (8.33%) out of the 120 faunal remains had taphonomy present. There are four fragments with weathering, while several fragments are burnt (black or white) (n=3), as well as fragments with chop/cut marks, and evidence of working.

The following species and larger taxa were identified *cf. Capra hircus* (goat). Several skeletal parts could only be identified by size and not species *subulina* (land snail), Bovid II, Bovid III.

Table 6.35 Faunal remains of Midden 6.1 Unit A1. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Unknown	Fragments	-	2	-	
Subtotal				2		
10-20 cm	Small mammal	Vertebrae	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	1	-	
		Fragments	-	25	2	1 white-burn, 1 worked
Subtotal			1	26	2	
20-30 cm	Bov III	Astragalus – medial half of trochlea – lateral half of trochlea – medial half of distal articulation - lateral half of distal articulation	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	1	-	
Subtotal			1	1		
Total			2	29	2	

Table 6.36 Faunal remains of Midden 6.1 Unit A2. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Bov II	Vertebrae	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	2	-	
Subtotal			1	2		
10-20 cm	Small mammal	Tibia shaft fragment	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	-	-	
		Fragments	-	13	2	1 chopped, 1 worked
Subtotal			1	13	2	
20-30 cm	Bov II	Vertebrae fragment	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	1	-	
Subtotal			1	1		
Total			3	16	2	

Table 6.37 Faunal remains of Midden 6.1 Unit A3. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Unknown	Fragments	-	5	1	1 weathered
Subtotal			0	5	1	
10-20 cm	Subulina	Shell	1	-		
	Bov II - <i>Capra hircus</i>	Left first phalange	1	-	1	1 weathered
	Bov II	Astragalus - lateral half of distal articulation	1	-	1	1 weathered
	Unknown	Fragments	-	7	-	
Subtotal			3	7	2	
20-30 cm	Unknown	Fragment	-	1	1	1 weathered
Subtotal			0	1	1	
Total			3	13	4	

Table 6.38 Faunal remains of Midden 6.1 Unit A4. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
0-10 cm	Bov III	Vertebrae: right articular and transverse process and piece of spinous process	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	28	-	
Subtotal			1	28		
10-20 cm	Bov III	Radius: Juvenile (left), medial portion of distal articulation and lateral portion of distal articulation	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	2	-	
		Fragments	-	21	2	2 white-burn
Subtotal			1	23	2	
20-30 cm	Unknown	Fragment	-	1	-	
Subtotal				1		
Total			2	52	2	

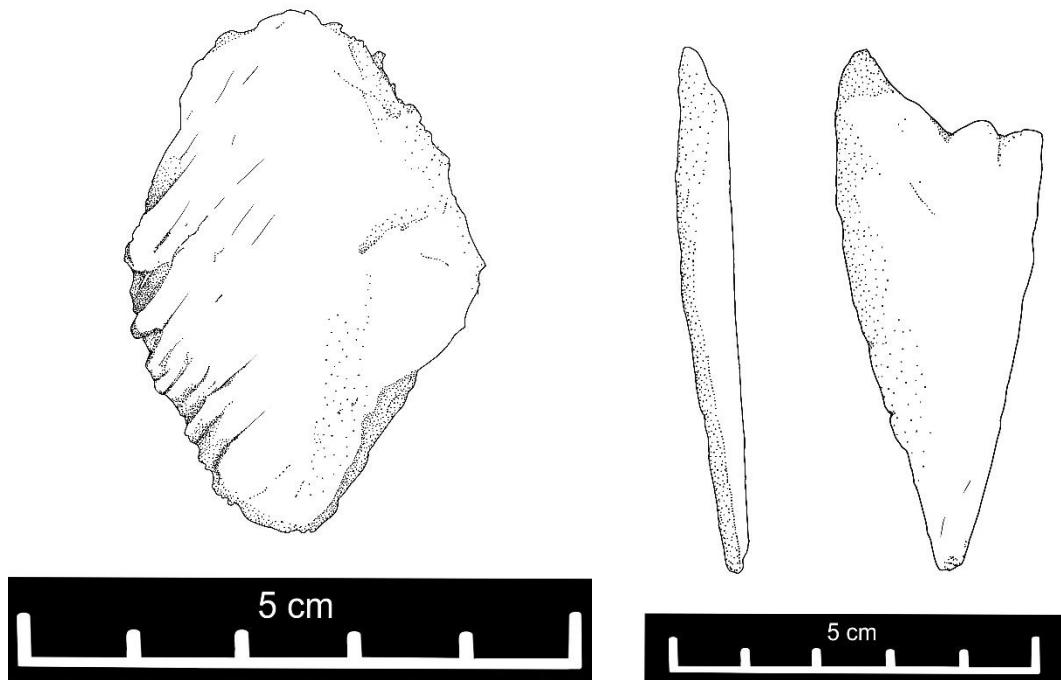


Figure 6.65 i) Bone scraper (Midden 6.1 A1 10-20 cm); ii) worked bone fragment (Midden 6.1 A2 10-20 cm) (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.1.4 Stone

A lithic scraper (Figure 6.66) as well as a flake was recorded in Midden 6.1 (A4 20-30 cm). A total of four crystals (two from A2 20-30 cm and two from A4 20-30 cm), an abundance of quartz (n=103) and several small stones were also recovered from Midden 6.1.

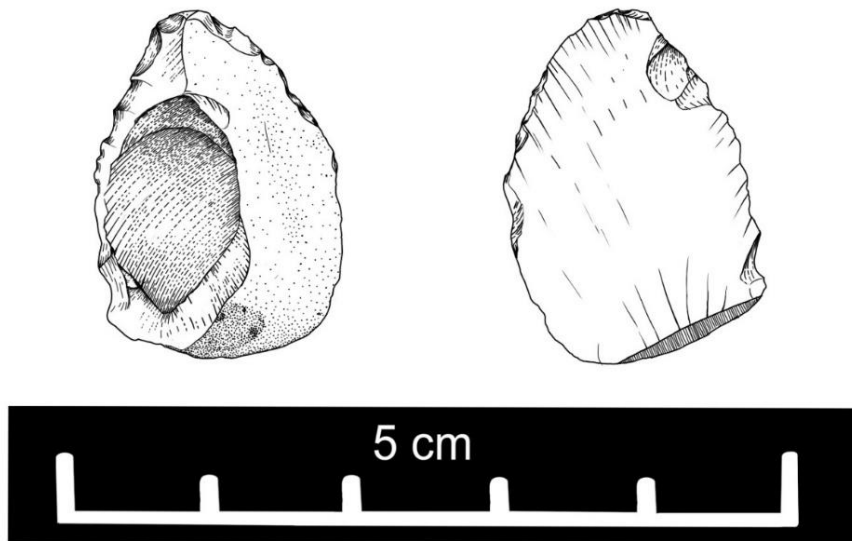


Figure 6.66 Stone tool (stone scraper) from Midden 6.1 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

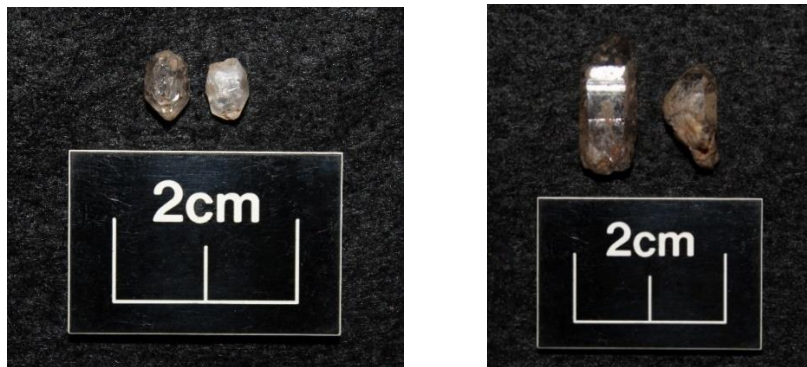


Figure 6.67 Crystal recovered from Midden 6.1 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.1.5 Other

Several charcoal samples were collected from Midden 6.1, as well as four pieces of hut rubble.



Figure 6.68 Hut rubble from Midden 6.1 (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.2 Midden 6.2

The finds from the Midden 6.2 excavation yielded a representative sample of cultural material (Appendix D). Briefly, the cultural material recovered from Midden 6.2 consists of ceramic sherds, a clay bead, faunal remains (including worked faunal material), seeds, vitrified thatch/organic material, charcoal samples, an upper grindstone, as well as small stones.

6.4.2.1 Potsherds

There are a total of 95 potsherds from Midden 6.2. Out of this assemblage, 33 are decorated (for example, with comb-stamping, line incisions, and/or red/yellow/orange ochre/graphite), while a total of 62 are undecorated. Thirty-seven (38.95%) have evidence of blackening. Furthermore, the assemblage consists of eight rim sherds, several of which have a diagnostic curve making it possible to identify the vessel shape. The vessels with diagnostic profiles and/or decoration are depicted in Figures 6.69-6.67. The diagnostic sherd types (Table 6.39) include jar rims (n=9), jar neck (n=2), jar shoulder (n=3) and jar body sherds (n=19); bowl rims (n=4) and bowl body sherds (n=2).

Table 6.39 Potsherds recorded at Midden 6.2.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Sherd type	# of Decorated sherds	# of Undecorated sherds	# of Blackened sherds
0-10 cm	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	2	1	3
	Bowl	Rim	1	1	1
	Unknown	Body	5	11	10
	Unknown	Unknown	1	4	-
Subtotal			10	17	14
10-20 cm	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	1	1	-
	Jar	Unknown	-	1	-
	Unknown	Rim	-	1	-
	Unknown	Body	1	5	-
			3	8	
20-30 cm	Jar	Rim	2	-	2
	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Shoulder	1	-	-
	Jar	Body	3	3	3
	Bowl	Rim	1	-	1
	Unknown	Rim	2	-	-
	Unknown	Body	6	27	11
			16	30	17
40-50 cm	Jar	Neck	1	-	-
	Jar	Base	1	-	1
	Unknown	Body	1	5	4
			3	5	5
50-60 cm	Unknown	Body	1	2	1
			1	2	1
Total			33	62	37
Total %			34.74%	65.26%	38.95%

6.4.2.1.1 Vessel decoration

Table 6.40 presents the various decorations present in the ceramic assemblage of Midden 6.2. These include the sherds that are decorated with comb-stamping, rim-notching, thumbnail impressions with line incisions, as well as ochre and/or graphite.

The decorated sherds recovered from Midden 3 can be attributed to the Urewe tradition, namely the Uitkomst and Buispoort ceramic styles (see Huffman 2007).

Table 6.40 Vessel decoration present at Midden 6.2.

Depth (cm)	Vessel type	Rim	Neck	Shoulder	Body	Decoration type	Ochre/graphite interior and/or exterior
0-10 cm	Spherical pot/ constricted jar	X				Comb-stamping, ochre, graphite	E, I
	Unknown				X	Thumb nail impressions and incised lines, ochre, graphite	I, E
10-20 cm	Jar	X				Ochre	E, I
20-30 cm	Unknown				X	Ochre, comb-stamping	E
	Jar	X				Graphite	E, I
	Bowl	X				Comb-stamping, graphite	E, I
	Jar	X				Rim-notching, graphite	E, I
	Unknown	X				Comb-stamping, graphite	E, I
	Bowl	X				Comb-stamping, graphite	E, I

6.4.2.1.2 Vessel function

Unfortunately, not all of the rims were clearly defined. However, Table 6.41 provides the possible functions of the vessels with a distinct rim diameter.

Table 6.41 Possible vessel functions present at Midden 6.2.

Depth (cm)	Function	Vessel Type	Rim Diameter	Rim	Neck
20-30 cm	Serving bowl	Bowl	20cm	Flattened	N/A

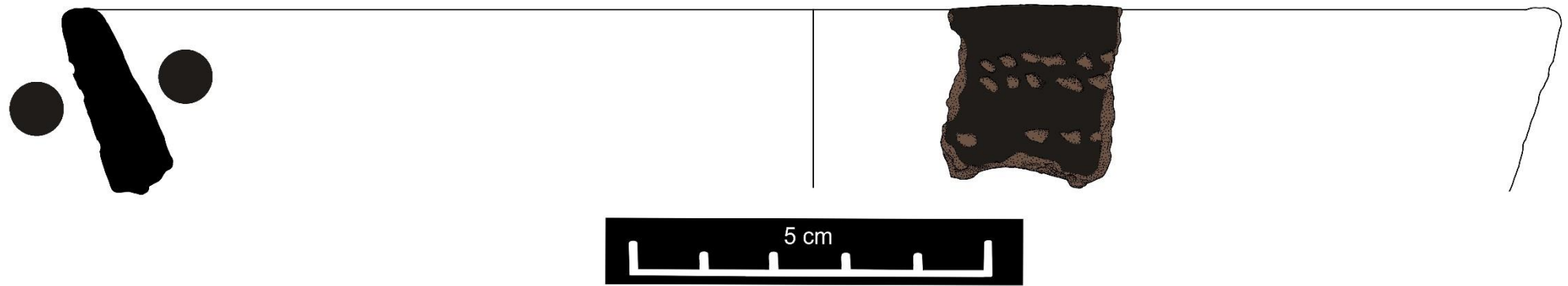


Figure 6.69 20-30 cm: serving bowl, decorated with comb-stamping and graphite (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

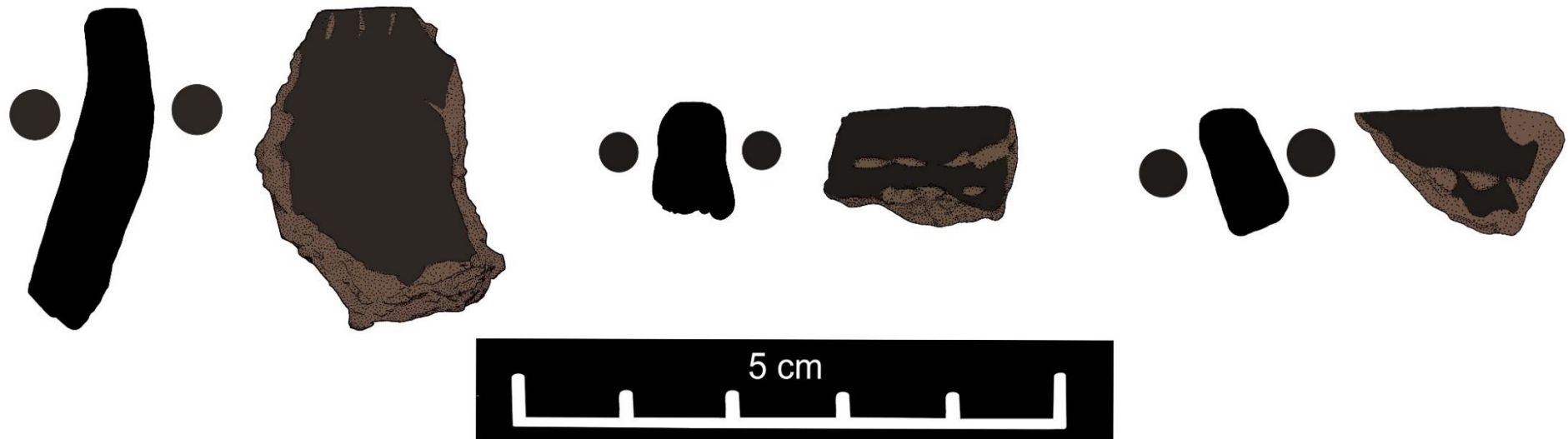


Figure 6.70 20-30 cm: i) jar decorated with rim-notching, and graphite; ii) unknown sherd rim decorated with comb-stamping and graphite; iii) bowl rim decorated with comb-stamping and graphite (Illustrations: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.2.2 Beads

Only one bead was recovered from Midden 6.2. This bead is a large clay bead (Figure 6.71).

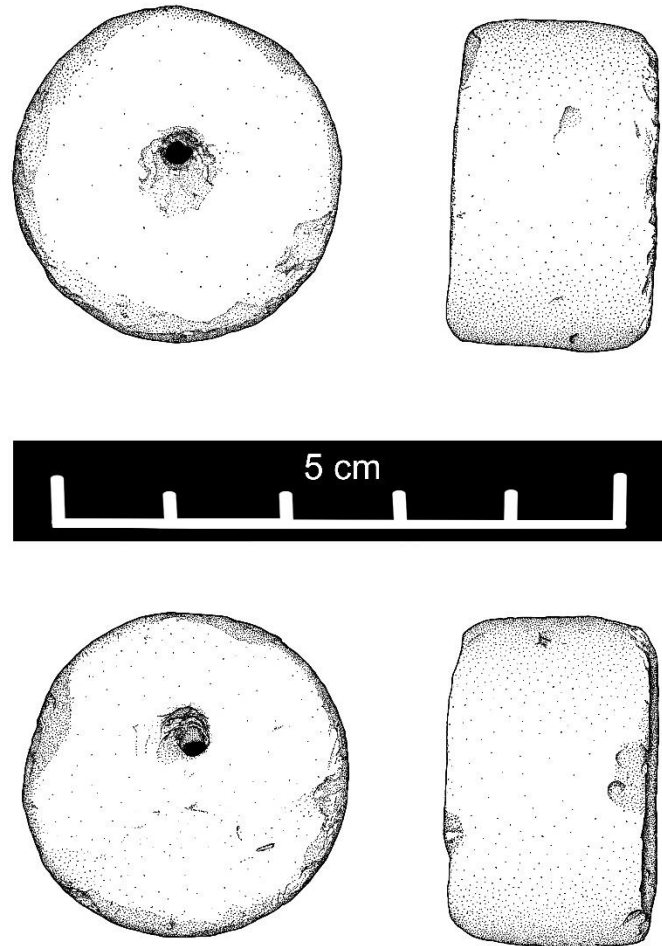


Figure 6.71 Clay bead from Midden 6.2 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.2.3 Fauna

Among the faunal material at Midden 6.2 there is a total of 17 identifiable species/taxa and a total of 248 unidentifiable faunal fragments. Out of the 265 faunal fragments, 60 had taphonomy present. The majority (n=48) are weathered, while several fragments are burnt (black or white) (n=6). There were also

several fragments that have evidence of cutmarks/chop marks on them and one that has evidence of being worked. There is also a bivalve shell, which appears to have been an indentation tool.

The species and larger taxa identified include bivalve, *Redunca Arundinum*, cf. *Capra Hircus* or *Ovis aries*, cf. *Bos taurus*, cf. *Taurotragus oryx*. There were also several faunal fragments could only be identified to size and not species and including Bovid II and Bovid III. Table 6.42 provides more details on the faunal fragments recovered from Midden 6.2.

Table 6.42 Faunal remains of Midden 6.2. NISP=number of individual specimens present; NUSP=number of unidentifiable specimens present.

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
Surface	Unknown	Fragments	-	3	1	1 black-burn
Subtotal				3	1	
0-10 cm	Bivalve	Shell fragment	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	1	-	
		Fragments	-	39	1	1 weathered
Subtotal			1	40	1	
20-30 cm	Bov II cf. <i>Redunca Arundinum</i>	Tibia malleolus Right juvenile	1	-	-	
	Bov II	Metapodial – condyle fragment	1	-	-	
		Naviculo – cuboid fragment	1	-	1	1 weathered
	Bov III	Radius shaft	1	-	1	1 weathered
		Skull fragment	1	-	-	
		Capral	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	9	-	
		Fragments	-	105	31	3 black-burn, 25 weathered, 1 chopped, 2 worked
Subtotal			6	114	33	
30-40 cm	Bov III cf. <i>Bos Taurus</i>	Squamosal fragment (skull) right	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Skull fragment – Supra occipital (juvenile)	1	-	-	
	Bov IV cf. <i>Taurotragus Oryx</i>	Second carpal	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	2	-	
		Fragments	-	65	15	15 weathered
Subtotal			3	67	15	
40-50 cm	Bivalve	Shell	2	-	1	1 worked (indentation tool)
	Bov II cf. <i>Capra hircus/Ovis aries</i>	Upper tooth second pre-molar	1	-	-	
	Bov II <i>Redunca arundinum</i>	femur trochlea fragment	1	-	-	
	Bov III	Molar (second molar)	1	-	-	

Depth (cm)	Species/Taxa	Skeletal Part	NISP	NUSP	# of faunal material with Taphonomy	Taphonomy type
		Skull portion tooth row	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Enamel	-	1	-	
		Fragments	-	18	6	3 weathered, 1 white-burn, 1 cut/chopped, 1 worked
Subtotal			6	19	7	
50-60 cm	Bivalve	Shell	1	-	-	
	Unknown	Fragments	-	5	3	1 black-burn, 2 weathered
Subtotal			1	5	3	
Total			17	248	60	

6.4.2.3.1 Indentation tool

A bivalve freshwater mussel shell was recovered, which appears to be notched. It is likely that this may have been used as an indentation tool for decorating potsherds, specifically for the comb-stamping motifs.

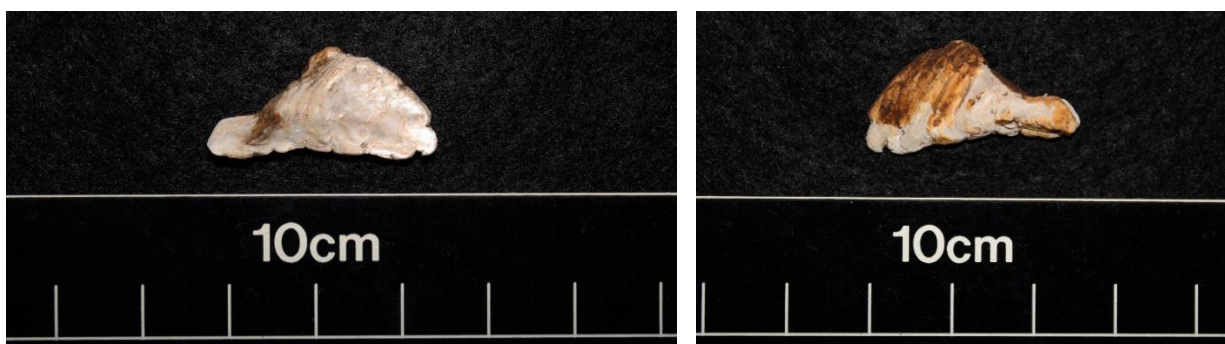


Figure 6.72 Bivalve (freshwater mussel) indentation tool from Midden 6.2 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.2.4 Stone

An upper grindstone (Figure 6.73) was recovered during the excavation of Midden 6.2, in addition to a lithic scraper (6.77), several small stones (n=30), and one piece of quartz.

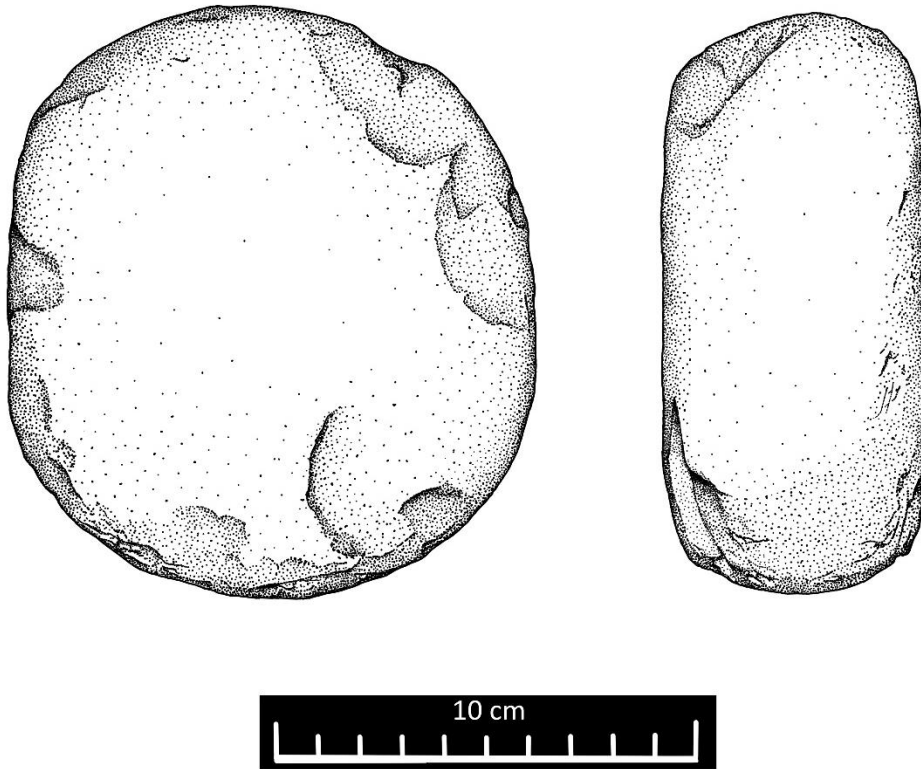


Figure 6.73 Upper grindstone from Midden 6.2 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

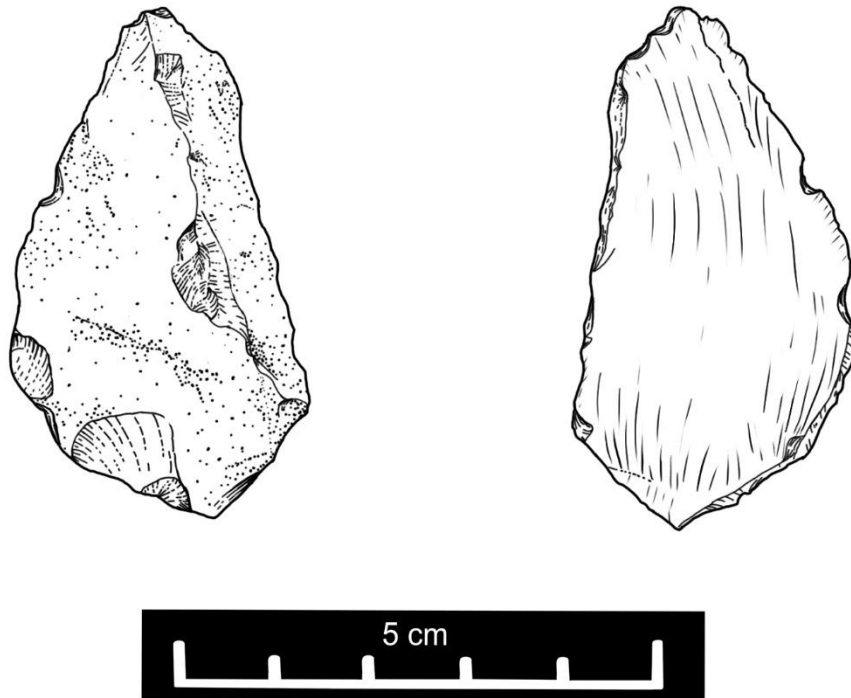


Figure 6.74 Stone tool (stone scraper) from Midden 6.2 (Illustration: S. Fairhurst).

6.4.2.5 Other

A piece of vitrified organic material, was recovered from layer 1 (Figure 6.75). Two seeds were recovered, photographed and documented from Midden 6.2. Several charcoal samples were taken from Midden 6.2. The second seed (Figure 6.76) does not appear to be highly charred, if at all, but it does have a slightly blackened appearance, which could be indicative of some fire activity. Due to its depth and the possibility of it being charred, it may be the result of human activity (Miller 1989), however, I cannot say for certain.



Figure 6.75 Vitrified organic material from Midden 6.2 (Photo: S. Fairhurst).

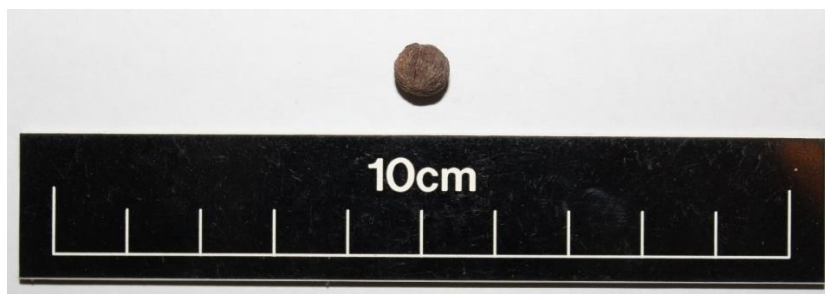


Figure 6.76 Seeds from Midden 6.2 (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

6.5 Summary

This chapter looked at the results of the analysis of the cultural material. The material recovered from the midden features is common at Mabeleapodi and similar sites, ranging from potsherds, glass, OES and clay beads, metal objects, faunal fragments (some of which have been worked), stone tools, figurine fragments, and hut rubble and so forth. These results will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter, in which I will provide an interpretation of the material.

C HAPTER 7

7 A HISTORY TOLD THROUGH CULTURAL MATERIAL: THE DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

Material culture is invested with special meaning and value among almost all communities. Material items in, for instance, culture contact situations (which involve worldview, social relations, and political affiliations) are regarded as “active symbols in broadcasting or even negotiating a person’s identity” (Lightfoot & Martinez 1995: 485). We can obtain considerable information about social relations or group alliances from various activities, even the mundane, everyday tasks that took place (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 485). These include activities such as the construction of houses and the use of space, food habits, the exchange of goods and the value placed on these items.

It has already been established that oral history, traditional accounts, and historical and documentary records are important in understanding various cultures and how they may have lived. However, these accounts and oral histories are not without flaws. They are filled with colonialist viewpoints or have been changed by the communities or groups to suit a narrative that best fits them. Therefore, as archaeologists, we should not only rely on these accounts. Additionally, we can obtain a reliable, if partial, picture of a group of people, or a settlement, if we excavate and analyse the archaeological features (for example, house structures or middens) and the material recovered from these features. They can provide a more accurate picture of the everyday lives of a community/group under study. The study of middens helps us understand what people may have consumed, collected, made and eventually discarded during the course of their daily lives.

Further, with reference to African agropastoral communities of the 19th century, a comparative approach between oral tradition, historical and documentary sources as well as the archaeological data is essential in attempts to reconstruct their history. The data sets may often have inconsistencies, and we should always keep in mind the strengths and weaknesses of each data set. Nevertheless, by using a comparative approach between these sources, we can attempt to bridge the gap in the history of precolonial and colonial southern Africa (Boeyens 2012). Even though we become confident in our interpretations when different data sets and pieces of evidence start to intersect with one another and are “verified in a coherent account”, as Boeyens (2012: 29) asserts, new insights and discoveries can also be obtained through inconsistencies between these sources.

For my research, I made use of different data sets and comparative approaches. Mabeleapodi is one of the many agropastoral SWS in the Pilanesberg region. An initial study was undertaken in 2018 on one of the house features in the *Kgosing* section of Mabeleapodi. However, the study only scratched the surface of the site, thus, prompting the current research in an attempt to understand the lifeways of the Kgafela Kgatla of Mabeleapodi. The research presented here focused on the material from five midden features that were excavated in 2006 during the annual UNISA student field school. The cultural material recovered from the middens are quite common at 19th-century agropastoral Sotho-Tswana sites, such as ceramics, glass and OES beads, metal, faunal material, figurines, stone and bone tools, and so on. The site can be divided into five sections, namely the *Kgosing*, *Morêma*, *Tshukudu*, *Manamakgôtê* and *Mabodisa*. There were a total of five middens excavated in 2006. Midden 3 is situated within the *Kgosing* section, Middens 4 and 5 are situated in the *Morêma* section, and Midden 6.1 and 6.2 are located within the *Tshukudu* section.

This chapter will present my interpretations of the various materials recovered from the middens, what possible activities may have taken place within the sections, and whether gendered activities are visible.

I will also discuss whether any of the recovered material may point to the presence of so-called custodians. Lastly, I will be looking at to what degree we can use the beads as chronological markers to assess the dates suggested by the oral history and other sources.

7.2 *Kgosing*

The *Kgosing* section is believed to be where the chief and his wives would have resided. It is in this section that the previous research (Fairhurst 2019) on the house structure was conducted. This house structure is presumed to be not only the residence of a royal female but possibly the residence of the senior/first wife of the *Kgosi*. Briefly, the material culture recovered from this feature is strongly associated with a woman of higher status, specifically the comb-stamped potsherds and the large number (n=613) of glass beads. The four storage platforms and two different lower grindstones (one pitted and one un-pitted) further suggest that this may have been the structure of the senior or first wife of the chief (since she would have had access to a variety of crops and would need more space to store them). Furthermore, there is a copper earring, which could possibly have been a *Nkitseng* (worn by a married woman) (Colman 2013: 80). The earring could suggest that the occupant was married. This house structure is not directly connected to the midden feature, as the house structure is situated in the southwestern portion of the *Kgosing*, while Midden 3 is located in the northern area. However, it does provide some insight into the occupants of the *Kgosing* (and Mabeleapodi); therefore, the analysed archaeological material from this excavated structure is compared to the excavated middens.

7.2.1 Midden 3: interpreting the artefacts

Since Sotho-Tswana pottery is generally decoratively very bland, it was not unsurprising that the majority of the sherds (n=83) recovered from Midden 3 were undecorated. However, there are sherds decorated with different motifs such as comb-stamping, line incisions and/or ochre. Several (n=53) of the sherds

were also blackened. However, it is unclear whether this blackening was done intentionally or unintentionally.

Since the sherds recovered from Midden 3 were decorated with various motifs, unlike at Hut 2 (where the sherds were decorated with comb-stamping motifs), I attempted to identify which ceramic facies the decoration motifs belonged to. The incised-line decoration motifs can be associated with the Buispoort decoration style, a known style for the Kgatla. The comb-stamping is generally typical of Uitkomst pottery styles, which are often associated with the Fokeng cluster (see Huffman 2007). It has been suggested that comb-stamped pottery from securely sealed hut floors and associated middens at Mabeleapodi is similar to the pottery from the slightly earlier 19th-century Tlokwa town of Marothodi. This, in terms of ceramic sequence, would place the Kgatla within the Fokeng/Uitkomst phase (Hall et al. 2008: 68).

The identified vessel functions include a possible beer brewing/cooking vessel, which is referred to as *Nkgwana* (fermenting beer [*bojalwa*] or *Tsagana* (used for sour porridge [*ting*])). The storage vessels are referred to as *Tsaga* (large) vessels and are used for storing/making beer, or they may be *Nkho/Nkgo* (large), a pot used for storing water. There is also a *Mokgakwana* which likely served as a container for keeping water cool (Lawton 1965: 316; Mphebotho Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct pers. comm. 2018). The Kgatla of Bechuanaland termed the water storage pots *Nkgwana*, whereas the contemporary Kgatla (based on oral tradition) refer to these pots as *Mokgakwana*. Some bowls appear to be serving vessels used for serving food/beverages. Unfortunately, there are no records of the Kgatla names for the open-mouthed deep bowls or washbasins. Vessel functions that are similar to these were also observed at Hut 2.

The number of beads recovered from Midden 3 (n=41) is substantially less than that recovered from the hut feature (n=613). However, this is to be expected, as beads were prized as a currency (Anderson 2009: 234) and would likely not have been thrown away purposefully but rather incorporated into the midden

through the daily sweeping of the house structure. Eight OES beads were recovered from the midden, a category of artefact that was not present at the hut feature. The reason glass beads were prized as a currency among Tswana people is that they could be stored, their value could be manipulated, and they could be traded for cattle. Beads were seen as the ultimate form of 'wealth' in the Tswana worldview (Anderson 2009: 134). The large variety of beads recovered from the *Kgosing* section is in accordance with Morton's (2010) statement that Kgamanyane (and, by implication, his father, *Kgosi* Pilane), and subsequently his wives, were considered wealthy by historical standards.

Several similar beads were recovered from Hut 2 and Midden 3. These include simple lamp-black beads, white beads, blue beads, and pink beads. No composite beads with overlaid stripes were recovered from Midden 3, and the compound beads that were recovered from Midden 3 were the red-on-white beads and a red-on-green glass bead. However, this red-on-green bead does not appear to be an Indian red-on-green bead (IROG).

I could not compare the faunal material recovered from the midden features to the faunal material from Hut 2 as the latter was not analysed, mainly due to the small amount recovered. I, however, analysed the faunal material from the middens. The species and larger taxa identified at Midden 3 include bivalve (freshwater mussel), goat, cattle, nyala, and eland. Several skeletal parts could only be identified by size and not species, namely, Aves, Bovid II and Bovid III.

Among agropastoral communities, bones that have been broken or fragmented could be the products of processing and preparation activities or, often, due to depositional or post-depositional events. Fragmented faunal material recovered from agropastoral sites could have been caused by bones that were fitted into cooking pots, broken for bone marrow extraction, processed for various preservation techniques, manufacturing of bone tools, or different disposal habits (Grody 2016: 63). Apart from one Bovid III molar that appears to have been ground down, there was no evidence of worked bone (i.e. bone

tools) in Midden 3. Several fragments (n=3) do have evidence of being chopped/cut, which would be suggestive of food preparation.

Two pieces of flattened oval-like clay objects were recovered from Midden 3. Unfortunately, their function is unclear. They neither resemble a specific animal nor a human-like shape. I do, however, believe that they may have been part of or an attempt at an animal figurine, eventually discarded by the maker.

The other materials recovered from Midden 3 were hut rubble, which is not uncommon, as hut rubble can be found on the surface of many such sites. The fact that it is in the top layer and that there is only one fragment would also suggest that it may not have been intentionally disposed of in the midden but perhaps be due to post-depositional events over the course of almost 200 years.

Several fragments (n=13) of copper ore were recovered from Midden 3. The Kgafela Kgatla and the Tlokwa were not only neighbours (Boeyens & Hall 2009: 477) but shared a common interest in copper (Jordaan 2016: 40). At Marothodi, the Tlokwa worked copper (Boeyens & Hall 2009: 477). Copper was also used for intra-regional trade (Jordaan 2016: 40). A tin-bronze earring recovered from Marothodi is believed to suggest that long-distance trade links existed between Marothodi and the Rooiberg tin mines. In addition, oral history claims that the Kgafela Kgatla also had connections with the Rooiberg mines. They may have had a close relationship with one another since it is believed that they held joint initiation schools (Boeyens & Hall 2009: 477). The copper ore (among other metal objects from Mabeleapodi) could suggest a trade relationship among these groups.

7.3 *Morêma*

Since no previous research has been done on Mabeleapodi's *Morêma* section, a comparison of the material with that from the two middens situated within the *Morêma*, as well as the midden feature and house structure situated within the *Kgosing* will be presented. The comparison of the *Morêma* and

Kgosing may shed light on whether or not the former section is indeed linked to the *Kgosing*. Similarities in the material culture may point to a connection between the two and, thus, possibly, the presence of a custodian. Middens 4 and 5 are the two features that were investigated in the *Morêma* section.

7.3.1 Midden 4: interpreting the artefacts

Midden 4's assemblage yielded significantly fewer potsherds (n=46) compared to Midden 3 and Hut 2. The majority of Midden 4's ceramics were undecorated (n=25). The decorations in Midden 4's assemblage are comb-stamping and rim-notching. However, the comb-stamped sherd was not decorated with ochre or graphite (whereas those recovered from Midden 3 and Hut 2 are decorated with colour), while the rim-notched sherds are decorated with ochre (rim-notching was not present at Midden 3). Again, the comb-stamping is typical of Uitkomst pottery styles. The rim-notching is typical of Buispoort ceramic styles, similar to the incised lines, which can be associated with the Kgatla (Huffman 2007).

Unfortunately, it was not clear what the exact vessel functions were of the two rim sherds recovered from Midden 4. It is speculated that one may have been a storage pot, either a *Tsaga* (large) (*Setsaga* and *Nkgwana*), which would have likely been used for making and/or storing traditional beer (*Bojalwa*) or even a *Nkho/Nkgo* (large) pot used for storing water. While the other sherd could have come from a vessel that was used for beer brewing or possibly cooking, that is, the vessels known as *Nkgwana* (fermenting beer [*bojalwa*] or *Tsagana* (used for sour porridge [ting]) vessels (Lawton 1965: 316; Mphebotho Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct pers. comm. 2018). *Bjalwa/Bojalwa* was a traditional beer made by women who would mix sorghum malt with clean water in pots and then leave the mixture to ferment for about 24-48 hours. This fermented mixture was then boiled and cooled to ambient temperature. The malt was added again, followed by fermenting the mixture for another 24-48 hours. Finally, the fermented product was filtered to remove any coarse particles and cooled to produce *bjalwa* (Gadaga et al. 2013: 2390). Similar vessels were recovered from Hut 2; however, those recovered and reconstructed are either

only decorated with ochre or are undecorated. Furthermore, two beads (one glass and one OES) were recovered from Midden 4. The glass bead is a red-on-green bead (also known as Indian-red-on-green).

The only identifiable faunal species were bivalves and cattle. The rest of the faunal fragments were identified to size, such as Bovid II and small mammal. Additionally, two faunal fragments have evidence of being worked. I believe that one is a broken spatula, while the other is a bone scraper. Bone spatulas are generally used for slicing fruit (Welbourne 1975: 13-14) and removing the seeds of marula. The scraper would have likely been used for animal hide working.

The exact function of the metal object from Midden 4 is unclear, mainly due to breakage and deterioration. However, during a site visit in 2021, I noted and identified an axe head within the *Manamakgôtê* section (Figure 7.1). Therefore, it is likely that they had other similar objects. There is a small possibility that this metal object from Midden 4 is part of an axe. However, based on the visible shape and size, I attempted to compare it to other objects and the items collected by Walton (depicted in Figure 7.2). The object appears to resemble a razor. Unfortunately, this cannot be stated with certainty and is merely speculation.

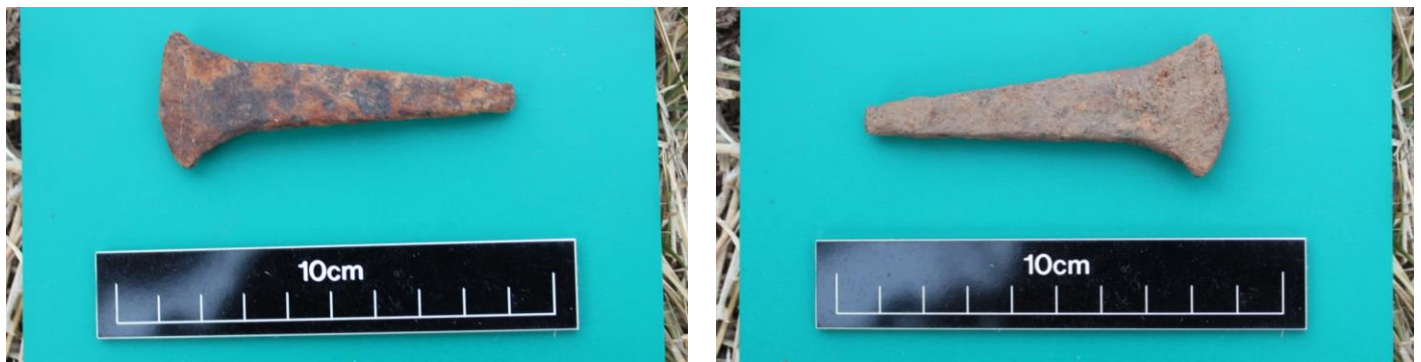


Figure 7.1 Axe recorded from the *Manamakgôtê* section (Photographs: S. Fairhurst).

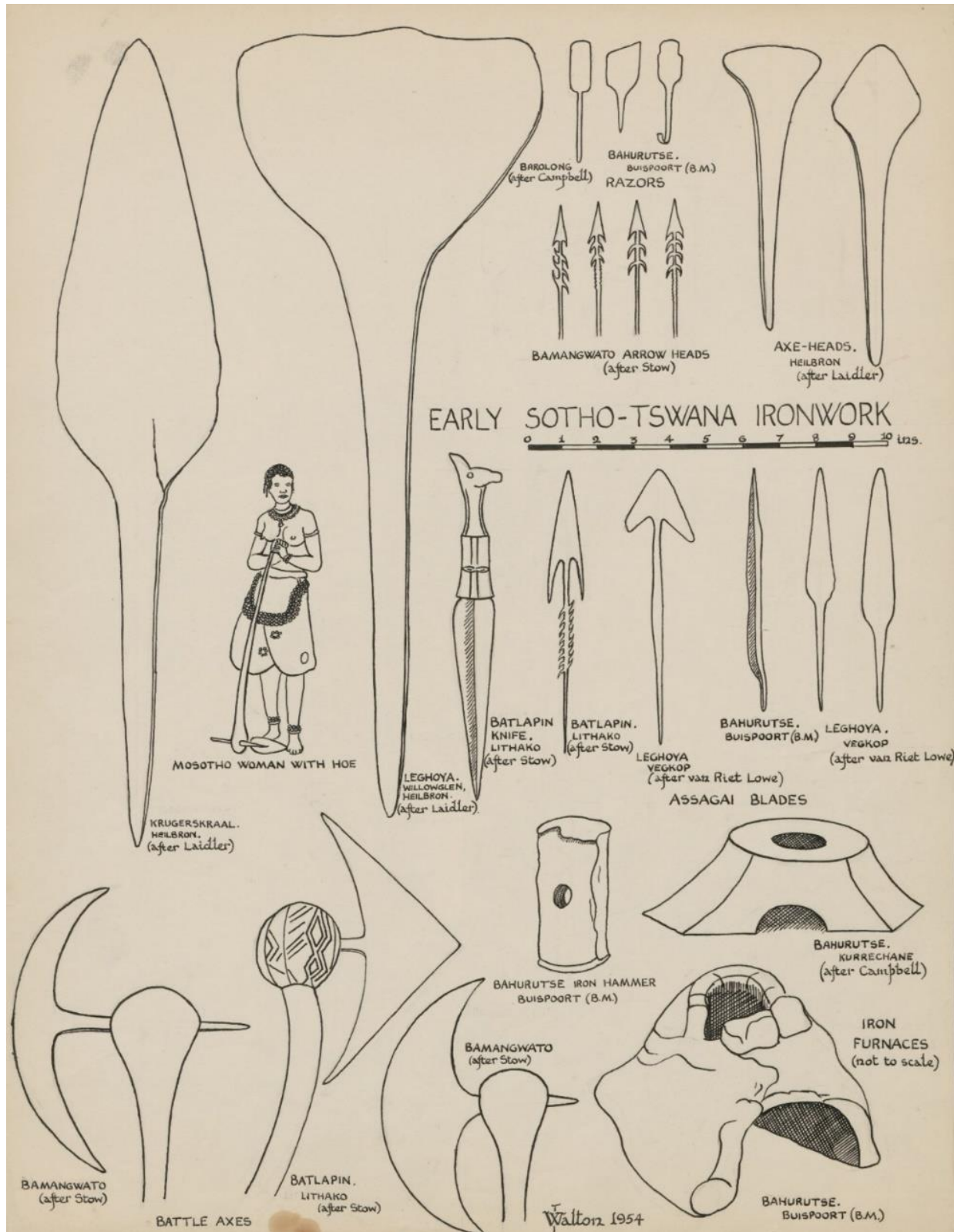


Figure 7.2 Early Sotho-Tswana ironworked objects in the James Walton collection (SUNDigital n.d.).

7.3.2 Midden 5: interpreting the artefacts

Although there was no exact reason given in the field notes and documentation as to why four units were excavated here, it is presumed that Midden 5 was larger than Midden 4. This interpretation is based on the vast amount and variety of cultural material recovered from this context.

What was quite striking about the potsherds recovered from Midden 5 is that most of the sherds are decorated (n=327), which is not generally common among Sotho-Tswana pottery. The decoration motifs present at Midden 5, which are similar throughout the site, are comb-stamping and rim-notching (Uitkomst and Buispoort). There is also a sherd decorated with line-incision and a thumbnail impression motif. This type of motif decoration is typical of Tswana pottery, especially more recent pottery. The Kgatla produced vessels with this decoration style (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2022).

The vessel shapes present at Midden 5 include jars and bowls, which appear to be consistent with the vessel shapes recovered from the other midden features. The vessel sherd functions observed at Midden 5 are beer serving vessels, storage vessels, food/beverage serving vessels, cooking vessels, and a possible wash basin.

A variety of glass beads (n=74) were recovered from Midden 5. The predominant colours range from red on white to red, pink, white, blue, greenish-blue, brown, and black. There are also several (n=35) OES beads. The bead similarities compared to Midden 3 and Hut 2 from Midden 5 include the red-on-white beads, the white beads, the pink beads, the black beads, and one of the green beads. The blue beads varied in colour and shape compared to Midden 3, therefore, no similarities were observed. Beads present in Midden 5, but not at Midden 3, 4 and Hut 2 are a brown bead, and three broken oblate-shaped beads.

Midden 5 contains the widest variety of faunal species out of all the excavated middens. The species and larger taxa identified include bivalve (freshwater mussel), Aves, reptilian, small mammal, small rodent, hare, common duiker, steenbok, pedi sheep, reed buck, cattle, eland, zebra, and carnivore. Several faunal

fragments could only be identified to size and not species, including Bovid II and Bovid III. Various fragments have evidence of chop/cut marks (n=13). One fragment appears to be a bone point. I came to this conclusion mainly because the end/point has been sharpened. Unfortunately, it was beyond the scope of this study to do a use-wear and residue analysis on the faunal material. It is worth mentioning that although bone points were initially interpreted as having been used primarily as hunting weapons, recent studies have indicated that they may have served several different functions, such as hunting, wood or plant working. Therefore, bone points are believed to be more versatile than initially thought during the last 2000 years (see Bradfield 2015).

One piece of copper wire, as well as a metal object, was recovered. Unfortunately, the use of the copper wire is unknown. The metal object, on the other hand, appears to be part of a belt buckle - possibly part of the prong. It is not uncommon to find metal objects such as belt buckles on 19th-century sites (for example, Loubser 1991). The Sotho-Tswana would traditionally not have worn belts with buckles, but one could have been obtained as a result of the relationship between the Boers and the Kgafela Kgatla. I would also like to note that it may not necessarily be a belt buckle, as other items from this time period, such as horse equipage and leather bags, have buckles as well.

Several figurine fragments were recovered at Midden 5 (n=13). Clay figurines are often associated with initiation rituals and/or fertility (Huffman 2012). However, it is also common (see Anderson 2009) to find clay figurines that served as toys in the shape of animals, such as cattle. Unfortunately, none of the figurines recovered from Mabeleapodi's excavated midden features are "whole body" figurines. The figurines recovered from Midden 5 are broken/fragmented. However, some of the figurine pieces appear to be legs or horns of a Bovine species, such as cattle. It is likely that these may have been created by a young child or even by a 'herdboy' during times of leisure, guard and play (Pistorious 1994: 50).

The green glass was recovered in the surface layer and appears to be contemporary glass, possibly from a modern beer bottle, and is therefore considered to be modern.

7.4 *Tshukudu*

Two middens were excavated in the *Tshukudu* section, namely, Midden 6.1 and 6.2. The results and material will also be compared to the other middens and previously excavated house feature, in order to obtain a comparison.

7.4.1 Midden 6.1: interpreting the artefacts

The majority of the vessels recovered from Midden 6.1 are undecorated (n=35). The decorated sherds consist of sherds decorated with ochre, and one sherd decorated with rim-notching. The rim-notching can be associated with Buispoort ceramic styles. The possible vessel functions include storage vessels, possibly for storing traditional beer and a *Setsaga* (small) *Nkgwana* (small) or *Mokgakwana* (small pot) for storing water. Furthermore, only one glass bead was recorded at Midden 6.1.

Two of the faunal fragments recovered from Midden 6.1's faunal assemblage have evidence of being worked or in the process of being worked and then discarded. The one identifiable worked bone is a bone-scraper. The fragment that is worked has an unclear function and appears to be incomplete. Among agropastoral Tswana communities, worked bone would have probably been used by men for preparing and working animal skin (Loubser 1985: 85). In other words, they could have been used as scraping tools (Anderson 2009). The only identifiable species was goat, while the rest were identified to larger taxa, such as Bovid II and Bovid III. Furthermore, a stone tool was recovered from Midden 6.1, which also appears to be a scraper. I speculate that this scraper had a similar function to the bone scraper, i.e. it would have been used for hide working.

The crystals recovered are likely to be quartz crystals, but their analysis is beyond the scope of this study. It is not uncommon to find quartz crystals with edge chipping at agropastoral sites in SA. Mason (1969) also recovered such crystals in one of the midden trenches at Olifantspoort.

7.4.2 Midden 6.2: interpreting the artefacts

The majority of the ceramic sherds are undecorated (n=62). Those that are decorated are decorated with comb-stamping, rim-notching, and what appears to be a thumbnail impression motif, as well as ochre and graphite.

No glass or OES beads were recovered from Midden 6.2. Although imported glass beads dominate the beadwork collection at Mabeleapodi, Midden 6.2 yielded a clay bead. Often objects of clay (not just earthenware vessels and figurines) were of great significance to Sotho and Sotho-Tswana women, such as *sefaha tsa letsopa* (clay beads), or ornaments of clay. Women who made the clay beads would often make a mixture of clay with milk and plant matter. This technique not only assisted in the hardening process, but in some instances, is believed to give the beads “cooling” capabilities. Among the South Sotho, for example, clay beads were worn by healers, while recently graduated women (from initiation school/*lebollô*) would often wear clay beads with a distinct pattern. Clay beads were generally associated with a specific purpose or activity, and each bead was given a name based on the characteristics and shape of the beads. Furthermore, the clay beads were useful as they aided in informing social interactions (Riep 2014).

The faunal assemblage from Midden 6.2 has faunal fragments of species ranging from Bovid II-sized animals such as reed buck, goat/sheep, Bovid III-cattle, and Bovid IV-elands. Several fragments have evidence of being worked (n=4), but their functions are unknown, while others appear to be chopped/cut (n=2). The most noteworthy faunal object recovered was the bivalve freshwater mussel shell. This shell may likely have been an indentation tool used to decorate ceramics. The comb-stamping (or compound-

stamped design) would have been done by stamping several impressions simultaneously. It is done by impressing a comb (in this case, the notched/comb-shaped shell) by rolling it across the surface or applying even pressure to the tool (Lawton 1965: 34). Lawton (1965:34) has noted that tools used for compound stamping are shells, bunches of grass stems, and bracelets.

The stone tool (scraper) recovered from this midden feature may have been used as a tool for hide working. A relatively large upper grindstone was recovered from Midden 6.2. Grindstones (both the upper and lower) are commonly utilised by women to grind, press, pulverize, pound or crush seeds and plant materials. The upper grindstone's use surface faces downward, while the lower grindstone has a table-like or concave use surface that faces upward. Lower grindstones are relatively fixed tools, as they are often large, elongated flat pieces of stone (Banning 2002: 152; Quin 1959: 138). Women would select and trim dolerite or granite slabs into a rectangular shape. Trimmed slabs are approximately 50 cm long and 30 cm wide, and 10 cm thick. The lower grinding stone would then be placed onto a clay platform, either in a cooking hut or the lean-to. When the stone wedges were used to ensure the necessary slant, the lower grinding stone may often be kept portable (Quin 1959: 138). The user would have the long axis of the lower grindstone slab orientated away, keeping the use surface upwards, sloping downward, with one end often placed on the user's knees. Once the lower grindstone is in the desired position, the user would then lean forward and push the upper grindstone across the surface of the lower grindstone, crushing seed/plant material between the two grindstones. The ground/crushed material would then be pushed off the furthest end of the lower grindstone into a container. Archaeologists are able to discern between the distal and proximal ends of the lower grinding stone. The proximal end (which generally rests on the knees of the user) may be thinner due to considerable use-wear. In contrast, the distal end (located away from the user) may show accentuated concavity or wear close to the edge. Furthermore, the use surface is present on the ventral side of the grinding stone, which is normally orientated upwards, while the

rougher and more unused surface of the lower grinding stone is located on the dorsal side (Banning 2002: 152).

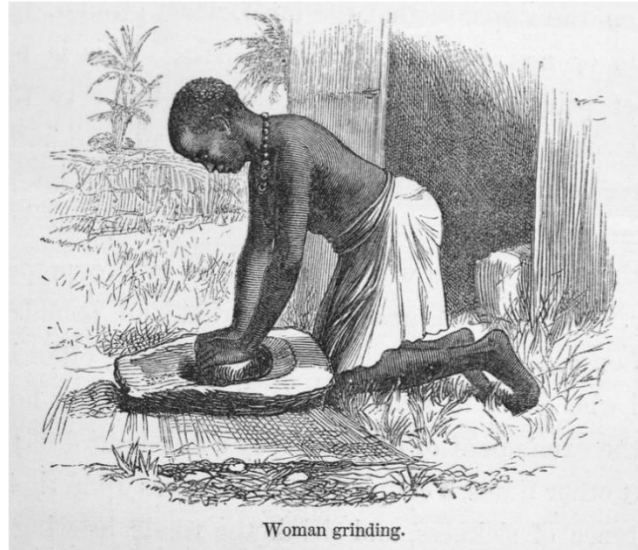


Figure 7.3 Example of a woman kneeling over a grinding stone from the Great Lakes region (Livingstone & Livingstone 1866).

7.5 Discussion

Through the use of various data sets, focussing on studying Mabeleapodi through a microscale lens, I was able to answer my research questions. My research focused on identifying whether there is archaeological material from the middens that can provide insight into the household and homestead-level activities (i.e. microscale), whether there are indications of a clear differentiation of male/female activities within the section, if so, what sort of activities (gendered and non-gendered) were performed. To investigate whether we can archaeologically discern the outsiders (*badintlha*) from the custodians (Schapera 1938: 25) at Mabeleapodi, the affluence of the latter, and inter-marriage between the Kgatla and other communities. Lastly, whether the archaeological evidence, ethnographic evidence, and/or oral history substantiates the original interpretation that Mabeleapodi was occupied during and after the *Difaqane*.

7.5.1 Archaeological material and a microscale lens

Middens can generally be categorised as follows: household middens, local midden and communal middens. The household middens are utilised by one household, while local middens often consist of debris from two to approximately five households, and a communal midden would be used by six or more households (Beck & Hill 2004: 308). Among agropastoral SWS household/domestic middens are commonly situated outside the back wall scallops of homestead boundaries (see Anderson 2009; Hall 2012). It is also not uncommon to find court middens near the *kgotla*. These middens are associated with men and would receive debris from court activities and ash from the court fire (Anderson 2009: 69). I believe that the study of middens and households/homesteads (and a comparison [i.e. a spatial comparison] of such features) can provide us with the information and data we need to understand a settlement on a microscale level.

I can say with certainty that there is indeed archaeological material from the excavated middens that can be used to provide insight (and inform on a microscale level) into the household and homestead-level activities. The archaeological material I analysed (discussed above) includes potsherds, faunal material, clay objects/figurines, beads, and stone and faunal tools. Unfortunately, due to the scope of this study, I was limited to only five midden features from a collection. I believe that more data is required from additional middens and structures to have a clear, conclusive understanding (a macroscale understanding) of Mabeleapodi, specifically to answer questions related to affluence and the custodians and outsiders.

A microscale approach that utilises comparisons with ethnographic, oral and historical sources (a direct historical approach) and intra-spatial analysis enabled me to recognise some of the daily activities of the Kgafela Kgatla (within the sections), it also gave me a brief glimpse into their diets. I confirmed that there are often inconsistencies between the various data sets, as was initially hypothesised. The analysed

archaeological data also aided in obtaining answers about the time period in which Mabeleapodi was occupied.

7.5.2 Gender and activities

Before I discuss gender and gendered activities that may have taken place within Mabeleapodi, it is essential to mention that I focussed on identifying both male- and female-gendered activities in my research. I am not arguing that women/men could or could not do a particular task. I personally feel that both genders could have participated in gendered activities. However, in many societies – especially among the Sotho-Tswana – there was generally a clear binary structure for gender and gendered activities (and in some cases taboos were apparent among them). For example, menstruating women were often seen as unclean and were typically excluded from certain activities or activity areas because of this belief. In late 18th - and early 19th-century Sotho-Tswana settlements, gendered activities and areas were spatially divided into “physically defined, activity-specific” locations (Hall 1998: 244). The domestic margin is believed to be divided at the homestead level to accommodate female labour. In other words, female tasks were generally spatially isolated from males. Gender played such an important role within Tswana communities that houses were often referred to by the name of the wife occupying them (Lane 1998: 188). Women were the builders as well as the principal occupants of these houses. Therefore, women’s bodies were both the source of practical and symbolic sustenance (Lane 1998: 188).

The archaeological data for my research was obtained from middens, and not house structures, thus, there is a possibility of finding material related to both male and female activities. Some of my gendered interpretations are inferences based on other archaeological material retrieved from the same midden feature. I believe some objects could be indicative of a male presence, but particular objects that are generally associated with men could have (and likely would have) been used by women in many societies. Furthermore, my speculations of gender-specific objects within this dissertation are mainly based on the

fact that other material found by said objects points to a specific activity that may be associated with or representative of one gender. Therefore, it can be speculated (but not necessarily concluded) that a specific gender used them. Many of the speculations about gender presented here cannot be considered conclusive since more comprehensive data is required.

7.5.2.1 Known gendered tasks among Tswana communities

Briefly, each household within Tswana communities would have built their own dwellings and granaries, grown their own food, and carried out their own housework (Schapera & Comaroff 1991: 22). Members of the same household assisted each other and, on occasion, other households through organised work parties (Hamilton 2012: 152). The men, women, and children all contributed towards various activities. Women would work the fields, build and repair the walls of houses, granaries, and courtyards, make thatch roofs out of grass they collected, prepare meals and manufacture beer. They would also care for the fowls and collect water, wood, and clay. Women harvested numerous food plants and performed housework. On the other hand, men herded cattle and hunted; they also performed the woodwork for building, cleared new fields, and assisted with planting, weeding, and harvesting. Children's labour was dependent on their age; they began with lesser duties, but by the time they were initiated, they were doing the same work as adults. Boys would herd the livestock at the cattle outpost (Schapera & Comaroff 1991: 22). A household's elders offered folktales, riddles, and proverbs for both pleasure and education (Hamilton 2012: 152-153). In addition, each household would produce its own clothes, utensils, ornaments, and tools. Community members shared the tasks of households that were too small (Schapera & Comaroff 1991: 22).

Among Sotho-Tswana societies, men would perform all tasks related to skinning, metal, wood, and bone production, while women produced pots. However, both men and women assisted in basketwork, each crafting a distinct type of item. The majority of these tasks were specialised, and it is worth noting that

metalworking and pottery manufacture were generally limited to certain families, where the skill was passed down through generations (Schapera & Comaroff 1991: 22). Although most men would work with skin, wood etc., some of the men were known for the superiority of their products, and could make certain products that others could not such as wooden food bowls and skin karosses (Schapera & Comaroff 1991: 22).

Pottery forms a significant part of Tswana culture and tradition. Traditionally women were specialist potters who would manufacture pottery either to sell or for their own use (Lawton 1965: 312; Mphebathe Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct pers. comm. 2018). The potters would craft pots of various sizes for brewing beer, storage, or even wedding gifts. According to oral tradition, pots resemble the cycle of life, and even the pieces of broken pots have been used in healing ceremonies. They would have been passed on from generation to generation. Pots and women, specifically the female body, had a rich symbolic connection. The Kgatla believe that the pot is a symbol of the womb that nurtures life. It is also considered to be a symbol of the home, where children would be conceived, born and cared for (Mphebathe Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct pers. comm. 2018). According to Kgatla beliefs, women have a strong relationship with the earth, and that is why they need to shape the moist clay into vessels. The vessels are transformed through heat into containers for ritual activities as well as for usage through daily life (Mphebathe Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct pers. comm. 2018).

7.5.2.2 *The Kgosing*

The material culture from Midden 3, particularly the potsherds, the beads, and the faunal material with chop/cut marks point to a female presence, the reason being is that these bones may be the product of food preparation and cooking activities, and women typically prepared the food (Lane 1998: 188). Unfortunately, it is not clear what the clay objects are. Nevertheless, as noted previously, clay objects,

adornments and ornaments played a significant role among women. If these objects were perhaps initially made for ritual/initiation purposes for a young girl, it would further substantiate the interpretation of a female presence. If it is part of a clay animal, it could perhaps be indicative of a male, such as a young “herdboy” (Pistorious 1994: 50). Despite this possibility, it should be kept in mind that children (both male and female) could have made clay animal toys.

The material, such as the various types of beads, and the decorated sherds, particularly the comb-stamped decoration, may suggest that the female of this household is of higher status. Furthermore, there have been instances where comb-stamped ceramics have been recovered on house floors that are associated with higher-status individuals among Tswana communities (see Fairhurst 2019). Comb-stamped pottery generally represents key marriages or associated political alliances (Mitchell & Lane 2013: 930-931). Among the Kgatla, newlywed women were often given pottery as gifts (Mphebatho Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct pers. comm. 2018). The previous research has indicated that Hut 2 was the residence of a royal female, possibly the head/first wife of the chief (Fairhurst 2019). The second and subsequent wives would have been located alternatively on either side of the first wife in descending order of importance (Frescura 1989: 161). The material culture from Midden 3 not only suggests a female presence but is likely the presence of one of the “junior” wives of the chief. The only activity that I was able to identify that may have taken place near Midden 3 is food preparation/cooking. This interpretation is based on the faunal fragments recovered from Midden 3 with taphonomic evidence of chop/cut marks.

7.5.2.3 *The Morêma*

Within the *Morêma* section’s middens there is evidence of different gendered activities. Midden 4’s cultural material indicates the presence of a female and a male. The female presence is substantiated by the potsherds, beads, and the broken spatula (which is a cooking/food preparation utensil). The worked faunal scraper indicates the male presence. As I have pointed out previously, men commonly did the

skinning/hide working with such tools. Therefore, this faunal scraper was likely used for an activity such as hide working. Moreover, the metal object appears to resemble a razor, which could possibly further substantiate this interpretation, however, since it is difficult to identify the exact function of the metal object, it cannot be used to accurately verify the male presence. Other metal items found at Mabeleapodi, such as an axe head, suggest that similar objects/tools would be present at the site. The possibility exists that the metal object may have had a similar use.

Midden 5's archaeological material suggests that the person(s) who used the midden may have been of higher status (discussed in more detail in section 7.5.3). One possibility would be that it was used by a household belonging to a headman, or this could be indicative of a custodian (and related family). The main reason I suggest a household and/or family is that the archaeological material suggests the presence of a possible male, female, and child(ren). This interpretation is substantiated by the pottery, beads, bone tools, as well as fragments of toy figurines. The female presence and related activity is, again, indicated by the faunal material related to cooking/food preparation activities, along with the potsherds and the beads. I should note that the bone point could be indicative of either a female or male presence. However, a high amount ($n=21$) of identifiable undomesticated (wild) animal species are present in the faunal assemblage of Midden 5. If these wild animal species were hunted, hunting tools would be required. Therefore, I speculate that this bone point could possibly be a hunting tool used by a male, however, a use-trace analysis would have to be conducted to confirm this speculation.

Furthermore, although the Kgafela Kgatla were agropastoralists, who farmed with domestic livestock such as cattle, goat and sheep, the faunal material, (such as the bone point [with the possibility of it being used as a hunting tool], as well as the various wildlife species, such as zebra, eland, nyala, reed buck and so forth), suggest that they not only farmed, but also hunted for meat, and hide. It has been pointed out (Chapter 4) that some of the lands the Kgatla occupied were unsuitable for arable farming, while others

had rich agricultural soils. In light of the faunal material, I should briefly mention that the domestic stock displays the nature of an agropastoral way of living and the importance of domestic stock in their dietary patterns. It has been determined that of the 120 identified (including size and/or species) faunal fragments 22.5% (identified species) of their protein diet was contributed by domestic stock, while 21.7% contributed to that of wild life. The number of large stock pens (as well as several smaller stock pens) located within the settlement also further indicates their dependence on domestic stock. However, it is clear from the faunal material that they also hunted for protein. The presence of undomesticated faunal species was not unsurprising, since hunting was not an uncommon practice among agropastoral groups in southern Africa (see, Badenhorst 2015, Mason et al. 1983, Morton 1997, Voigt 1986, among others). Morton (2008) postulates, the Kgatla took advantage of the diverse environments, which, I believe, could be one explanation as to why they continued to hunt in the Pilanesberg regardless of arable soils. In addition, it has also been suggested that agropastoral groups would hunt due to food shortages during certain times of the year, or for trade purposes (Badenhorst 2015; Morton 1997), another possibility could be linked to the importance and value of cattle among the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni societies as both symbolic and economic resources (Lane 1998: 182), or even personal preference and taste for certain meats and animal pelts. Even if this may not necessarily be the case at Mabeleapodi, it is not improbable to consider that one of these hypotheses, if not all, may have played a role in the need/desire for hunting among the Kgatla or 19th-century Sotho-Tswana agropastoralists.

Further investigation into their economy and dietary patterns, including plant foods were beyond the scope of this study. Even though there were only a total of five seeds founds throughout the middens, the presence of numerous lower and upper grindstones identified throughout the settlement indicate that it was likely more than just a supplementary food source. Furthermore, several storage platforms have been identified at Mabeleapodi, the Hut 2 structure in the *Kgosing* section (discussed earlier) yielded a total of four storage platforms, two different lower grindstones, as well as evidence of a grain bin lid. It was

determined that a variety of crops were stored at Hut 2 (due to the four platforms and the two different kinds of lower grindstones). Thus, it can be concluded that Kgafela Kgatla also cultivated and utilised plant foods.

7.5.2.4 The *Tshukudu*

The material culture indicates that various gendered activities took place within this part of the *Tshukudu*, such as cooking, food preparation and processing methods (grinding of maize etc. - not only was an upper grindstone recorded, but several lower grindstones were also recorded in the area). These materials are evidence of female activities. However, there is also evidence of hide working, thus suggesting male-related activities took place in this area.

The initial spatial maps indicate that very few house structures are situated within this area. This was also observed during the site visits in 2019 and 2021, and there is a clear spatial difference when compared to the other sections of Mabeleapodi. That is, there is more space in the general area. My current interpretation is that the area where the middens (Midden 6.1 and 6.2) are situated may point to some form of an activity area, where various activities (possibly communal), for men and women, may have taken place.

7.5.3 Outsiders and custodians

As noted earlier, the Kgatla are divided into *bakgosing* (people belonging to the wards of the royal section) and *badintlha* (people belonging to the wards of sections made up primarily of immigrant communities) (Schapera 1994: 24-25). Tringham (2012: 92-93) made an interesting statement, which I believe could be of some validity with regard to the custodians and *badintlha* at Mabeleapodi. Inequalities within and between domestic households are often present in the archaeological record. Archaeologists can identify inequalities through the differentiation of space, particularly related to the production process (i.e. the food and non-food resources' production, consumption, preparation, and distribution). According to

Tringham (2012: 93), the pattern of economic activity and inequalities should have a distinctive appearance. Although it is not necessarily the case that there was inequality between the custodians and the *badintlha* at Mabeleapodi, it is possible that (if Midden 5 is associated with a custodian) there was a clear difference in wealth.

Isaac Schapera has explained that the *Morêma* is connected to the ruling line of chiefs. The chiefs and ruling elite belonged to the *Kgosing*. Thus, theoretically, similar archaeological material could be recovered from the middens in the *Morêma* section that might indicate a person or persons of higher status, or wealth. This theory could explain the large amount of material culture associated with wealth, such as the decorated sherds and the variety and vast number of beads. However, I believe that Midden 5 provides evidence for the presence of a person or persons linked to the *Kgosing/elite* group of the chiefdom. Midden 4 has far less material, especially material indicating the possession of objects signifying wealth. My initial thought may have been that Midden 4 is more recent. However, the deposit was deeper than that in Midden 5, suggesting that it was used during the same timeframe (if not slightly earlier) than Midden 5.

The material recovered from Midden 3 and Midden 5 is indicative of the presence of higher-status individuals. Midden 3 would likely be associated with one of the royal wives. In contrast, the midden (Midden 5) in the *Morêma* section may very likely point to the presence of a custodian or a headman. In order to confirm this, investigations would have to be done on nearby house structures and other middens since apparent differences should be present not only within midden features but also the house structures.

The *Tshukudu* section is also believed to be of Kgatla members. However, it is said that they are of very remote origin. They likely came into existence after the Kgatla separated from the Hurutshe, but before

the Kgatla separated into further divisions, such as the Kgafela and Mosêtlha (Schapera 1994:24-25). The archaeological evidence does point to a Kgatla presence.

Regarding inter-marriage, I believe that the comb-stamped pottery from Mabeleapodi may indicate inter-marriage between the Kgatla and other groups, to form and/or strengthen alliances. Since the pottery is similar to the slightly earlier 19th-century Tlokwa town of Marothodi, as I mentioned earlier, in terms of ceramic sequence, this would place the Kgatla within the Fokeng/Uitkomst phase (Hall et al. 2008: 68). However, the comb-stamped pottery could also possibly indicate potters who came from outside or who were influenced by other groups.

7.5.4 Mabeleapodi – occupied during and after the *Difaqane*

It is believed that Mabeleapodi (Mmasebedule) was established after 1837 by *Kgosi* Pilane, and that his son and successor migrated to Moruleng (Saulspoort) after Pilane passed away in the mid-19th century and later to Mochudi. Although no house structures were excavated and analysed for this dissertation, the archaeological material recovered from the midden features do point to an occupation period from the early 1800s up until the 1870s. Glass trade beads have been extensively studied over the past few decades, the reason being is that beads can be used as chronological markers, thus we are able to determine the earliest dates of an assemblage (Wood 2008: 184). In addition, glass beads can provide insight into economic interactions, consumption patterns and changing tastes (Costa et al. 2019; Koleini et al. 2016; Moffett et al. 2020). The glass beads from the midden features that shed some potential light on the occupation dates are the pink and white opaque beads. They are known to have begun arriving in southern Africa in the early 19th century, possibly around the 1830s. They thus provide a *terminus post quem* for those layers. The opaque-translucent off-white (pearl/oyster) glass beads are the only white beads found in southern Africa prior to the 1830s, dating from c. 1580-1890 (Wood 2008). The Indian-red-on-green (IROG) glass beads originated in Venice and arrived in South Africa around the mid-1700s (Faria

2020). Translucent-red-on-white cylinders and oblates (known as white hearts) were first made in Venice in about 1835. They arrived in South Africa within a year or two of that date and often replaced Indian-red-on-green beads (Francis 1988:26). Although the IROG and the off-white beads are known to have been in South Africa prior to the 1800s, it is unlikely that those recovered from Mabeleapodi are indicative of an earlier occupation date, the reason being that there were no IROG beads recovered from the deeper deposits, the IROG bead recovered from Midden 5 is situated in the first level (0-10cm). The majority of the beads recovered from this level date from the 1830s onward, thus in terms of the archaeological principle of association, this layer, (and, therefore, the bead) dates to the 1830s or later. Furthermore, the off-white beads were recovered from various depths in the middens, as well as in the excavated surface (0-15 cm) layer of Hut 2, together with other beads dating to the 19th century. This, in turn, suggests that the off-white beads (from the deeper deposits) would likely date to the early 1800s but not earlier than AD 1830. If the glass beads were circulating in the area shortly after their introduction, the site may have been occupied from around AD 1830s until Kgamanyane and his Kgatla had left the country and migrated to Mochudi (Breutz 1953; Hall et al. 2008; Morton 2010; Schapera 1942) at approximately AD 1860s/1870s. This indicates that Mabeleapodi could possibly be one of the settlements in the Pilanesberg that were occupied during and after the *Difaqane*.

The possible prong of a buckle may be indicative of a post-*Difaqane* occupation because, as pointed out, the *Difaqane* period ended with the arrival of the Boers. This possible buckle prong would also suggest that the Kgatla did not leave Mabeleapodi after Pilane's death and may have remained here during Kgamanyane's reign. He had strong allegiances with the Boers before migrating to Mochudi. Moreover, Buispoort and Uitkomst styles are typical of 18th- and 19th-century Tswana groups. However, the decoration motifs with thumbnail impressions, which are typical Kgatla decorations, and later Tswana groups, also suggest that they may have remained at Mabeleapodi during and after the *Difaqane*.

I would like to point out that even if the evidence suggests that Mabeleapodi was occupied up until AD 1860s/1870s (long after *Kgosi* Pilane passed away), it is believed that the Kgatla had the habit of maintaining multiple settlements (see Morton 2008). Thus, it could perhaps explain the confusion in the oral and documentary records that Kgamanyane and his Kgatla settled in Saulspoort after the death of *Kgosi* Pilane, even though the archaeological data indicates that the former capital was still occupied. If the Kgatla did have multiple settlements during this time period, the Kgatla might have occupied both a settlement at Saulspoort and the Mabeleapodi settlement in the Pilanesberg during and after the reign of Pilane.

C HAPTER 8

8 CONCLUSION

One of the principal aims of this study was to demonstrate the importance of microscale approaches towards SWS and the combination of different research frameworks such as ethnography, historical and archaeological data, as well as oral tradition to interpret Sotho-Tswana settlements of the early 19th century. Microscale approaches are important as they do not simply focus on the general macroscale but focus on the mundane and the details of everyday life. Through utilising microscale approaches, we can understand a settlement better on the macroscale.

My research focused on pre-excavated material of five midden features (Midden 3, 4, 5, 6.1 and 6.2) at the 19th-century Kgafela Kgatla capital located in the Pilanesberg National Park, North West Province. Mabeleapodi has been divided into five different sections. Midden 3 is situated within the *Kgosing* section, Midden 4 and 5 are in the *Morêma* section, and Midden 6.1 and 6.2 are situated within the *Tshukudu* section.

In this dissertation, I have analysed the archaeological material retrieved from the middens that can give insight into the household and homestead-level activities (i.e. microscale), seeking indications of a clear differentiation of male/female activities within the sections. I further aimed to identify what sort of activities (gendered and non-gendered) were performed. I attempted to investigate whether I can archaeologically discern the 'outsiders' (*badintlha*) as opposed to the custodians (Schapera 1938: 25) at Mabeleapodi, the affluence of the latter, and inter-marriage between the Kgatla and other communities, and strived to substantiate the original interpretation that Mabeleapodi was occupied during and after the *Difaqane*.

The archaeological material excavated from the middens in 2006 provided data that informs our understanding of Mabeleapodi on a microscale level. Furthermore, I utilised various data sets such as ethnographic, oral and historical sources along with the archaeological data – keeping in mind that differences may arise from these data sets. A comparative approach is also utilised, comparing the middens from each section to one another (i.e. spatial analysis – intra-site spatial analysis). I could then make speculations and interpretations about the middens and sections.

Gender played a significant role among Tswana communities and the Kgafela Kgatla. It is known that various gendered labour tasks took place among these chiefdoms, where each gender, as well as age groups had various roles. The excavated midden material that I analysed that informed on gender and gendered activities included the potsherds, beads, faunal material, and stone tools. There are clear indications that gendered activities took place within the sections and artefacts that might be interpreted as indicative of the gender of their owners. The cultural material from Midden 3 is strongly associated with a female, specifically the pottery, beads, and faunal fragments with taphonomic evidence of being cut/chopped. The faunal material that has been chopped/cut is believed to be an indication of food preparation/cooking. Among the Kgatla and other Tswana communities, women would prepare and cook the meals for their families. None of the cultural material indicated the presence of a male, or male-related activities. Furthermore, the comb-stamped potsherds along with the variety of beads can be associated with a woman of higher status, possibly even royalty. In other words, it is likely that it may have been used by one of the junior wives of the *Kgosi*. There is a slight possibility that the moulded clay objects may be associated with a child. However, due to the shape of the clay, it is unclear what these moulded clay objects could have been used for. There is a higher probability that these clay objects were discarded as they may have been a “failed attempt” at a figurine, such as a fertility doll or animal toy. The only activities that are revealed in the archaeological material from Midden 3 are cooking-related. Interestingly, the

copper ore could be representative of trade networks between the Kgafela Kgatla and other groups, since it is known that copper was used for intra-regional trade (Jordaan 2013: 40).

The *Morêma* section's midden features depict a different story. Midden 4's cultural material indicates the likely presence of female and male inhabitants. The activities that took place near Midden 4 are believed to be cooking-related and working animal skin/hide. The female presence is substantiated by the potsherds, beads, and worked faunal material, such as the broken spatula (which is a cooking utensil). The worked faunal scraper indicates a male presence, likely used for hide working (a task generally done by men among Sotho-Tswana communities). The metal object appears to resemble a razor, which could further substantiate the interpretation of male presence and male-related tasks, however, since it is difficult to identify the exact function of the metal object, it cannot be used to accurately verify the male presence.

Midden 5's cultural material suggests the presence of a woman, possibly a man, and a child. Again, the woman's presence is substantiated by the potsherds, beads and faunal fragments that are cut/chopped (i.e. evidence of food preparation/cooking). The part of a belt buckle prong could have had various uses, either for a belt (one would wear), for horse equipment, or for a bag. I speculate that the part of the belt buckle prong could possibly be suggestive of a male presence. However, the main interpretation I was able to make about the belt buckle prong is that it could be associated with the Kgatla-Boer alliance (for example, it may be seen as evidence of interaction with the Boers or Boer influence at Mabeleapodi – especially since it is known from oral and historical accounts that the Boers had alliances with the Kgafela Kgatla). Further proof of a male presence and male-related activities could be the bone point. I speculate that the bone point could have been used for hunting purposes. Though, I should mention that bone points were more versatile than initially believed and that it is possible that individuals of both genders used them for various tasks. The main reason I believe that the bone point may have been used for hunting

purposes is due to the variety of wild animal species found in the midden, which would be indicative of hunting. If this bone tool was used for hunting, it could further be indicative of a male presence, but this is merely a speculation. The figurine fragments of animals are strongly associated with a child (unlike that of Midden 3, where the moulded clay objects are unclear). The possibility exists that some of the figurine fragments may belong to a fertility doll, which could be suggestive of a young girl, however, most of these fragments from Midden 5 appear to belong to an animal (likely cattle), pointing to a toy(s) made by a child. Toys were made by young children (male and female) and/or “herdboys”.

The material recovered from the *Tshukudu* section is associated with various gendered activities. Midden 6.1 has evidence of both a male and female presence, with associated activities. The female presence can be seen through the potsherds and glass beads. The activities identified here are possibly cooking/food preparation related (faunal with taphonomic evidence of being chopped/cut), and the hut rubble is suggestive of a house structure nearby, which would have been made by a woman, and the faunal scraper and stone-scraper are indicative of hide/skin working, which would have been done by a male (suggesting the presence of a male). While Midden 6.2 also has a female presence (potsherds, the freshwater mussel shell comb, an upper grindstone and the clay bead) as well as a male presence (the lithic scraper). Among various Sotho-Tswana communities, clay beads were worn by women, often to influence a specific task or activity. The material recovered from Midden 6.2 suggests that various activities and gender-related tasks were done near Midden 6.2. The faunal fragments and upper grindstone (along with the various grindstones recorded near the middens) suggest cooking and food preparation (grinding of maize and/or other plant foods). The freshwater mussel shell comb suggests that a woman (or women) made and decorated ceramic vessels in the *Tshukudu* section. The cultural material from Midden 6.2 that indicates a male-related activity (i.e. working of hide) is the lithic scraper. It is clear that various gendered activities took place near these two middens.

Moreover, the variety of wild species, as well as the bone tools (such as the scrapers and the possible bone point), recovered from the middens also suggests that the Kgafela Kgatla not only farmed with domesticated livestock but also often hunted for food and hide. The faunal material from the Middens at Mabeleapodi provides a brief glimpse into the diet of the Kgafela Kgatla at Mabeleapodi. It is clear that, even though there is evidence of hunting within their economy, the majority of their protein/meat diet consisted of domesticated animals. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to understand their plant food intake and cultivation practices. However, I can say with certainty that they make use of various plant foods/seeds, as is evident at Hut 2, and the various lower grindstones and storage platforms throughout the settlement. However, due to the lack of plant food within the middens, I cannot say which plant foods they cultivated in the various sections.

Midden 5's cultural material suggests that the persons who used this midden may have been related to the *Kgosing*, perhaps royalty (due to the vast number of decorated sherds and variety of beads); it is possible that the household may have been custodians placed in the *Morêma* section by the *Kgosi*. However, it may also be indicative of a headman. Although the cultural material (at Midden 5) does point to a person of a higher status, I cannot say with certainty that Midden 5 provides substantial evidence of the custodians – since the material could also be indicative of a headman. To obtain conclusive evidence of custodians and outsiders, further investigations would have to be done at various house structures and midden features in the different sections.

I was able to answer my final question concerning the original interpretation that Mabeleapodi was occupied during and after the *Difaqane*. The current ethnographic evidence suggests that Mabeleapodi was the capital of *Kgosi* Pilane from c. AD 1830s until his death in AD 1850. As a result, it is believed that Mabeleapodi was probably abandoned in the mid-19th century, soon after the death of *Kgosi* Pilane. His son, Kgamanyane, migrated to Moruleng (Saulspoort) and later to Mochudi (Botswana) after increasing

conflicts with administrators of the ZAR Republic. Previous research suggested that Mabeleapodi was not raided during the *Difaqane* period, confirming that the site was probably continually occupied during and even after the *Difaqane* period. The current research has further substantiated this interpretation. The abundant glass beads recovered from the various midden features at Mabeleapodi were likely deposited from the 1830s onward. Although there are beads of a type known to have been circulated in South Africa prior to the nineteenth century, such as the opaque-translucent off-white (pearl/oyster) beads and the Indian-red-on-green beads, the presence of pink and white opaque beads known to have only been introduced in the 1830s provide a *terminus post quem* for the contexts in which they were found. Furthermore, the various bead dates coincide with the ethnographic data and oral history that the site was occupied during AD 1830s. The cultural material further suggests that the site was occupied until about AD 1860/1870, which includes the period after the death of Pilane. I sought not only to determine whether or not custodians were present in the relevant sections, and what gendered activities may have taken place at Mabeleapodi, but also to determine whether Mabeleapodi was one of the few post-*Difaqane* sites in the region. Based on the available evidence, it can be concluded that Mabeleapodi is one of the few sites that were occupied during and after the *Difaqane*, and thus, is possibly one of the few post-*Difaqane* settlements in the Pilanesberg region. I argue that although it is said that the site was abandoned after the death of Kgosi Pilane, it was occupied during the reign of his son, and successor, Kgamanyane. It is also known that the Kgatla occupied multiple settlements at a time, therefore, it is not unreasonable to conclude (based on the archaeological evidence) that Mabeleapodi was occupied at the same time as Saulspoort.

I aimed to make use of a microscale lens throughout my research. Although there was not a substantial amount of data (that could provide clear and conclusive results), I could still use a microscale approach to effectively answer my research questions and obtain a more comprehensive understanding of intra-site relationships reflected in the material from the middens and sections. I was able to identify similarities

within some sections, while there is still a clear difference in affluence between the *Kgosing* and the other sections. However, Midden 5 does provide evidence of a person of higher status/affluence. I used this lens to answer questions that focus on the microscale, for example, gender, activities, custodians, and households. Using such a lens and focussing on the microscale aspects of a community or settlement can give us an answer to the “bigger picture” (macroscale). Not only was I able to determine that gendered activities that took place throughout Mabeleapodi’s sections, but I could also further substantiate the original interpretation that Mabeleapodi was not burnt down during the time of Mzilikazi and his Ndebele (as most communities were at the time), and that the settlement was occupied during and after the *Difaqane* period. The faunal material demonstrates that while they were an agricultural community with a domestic livestock-based economy, they also hunted. Their economy and diet thus not only consisted of domestic livestock but also of wildlife species.

As a final note, I would like to mention that through the use of a comparative approach and microscale lens, I realised that there are inconsistencies between the oral traditions, historical sources and the archaeological data. This study serves as an example of the importance and advantage of utilising different sources, and comparing them to one another. Regardless of inconsistencies, we need to be willing to look at all the data sets to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of a group or a settlement.

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APPENDIX A

1. Mason's 1968 classification:

- **Class 1:** Isolated circle or a few adjacent but isolated circles.
- **Class 2a:** Adjacent circles forming large circular enclosing (outer perimeter) wall with a blank interior.
- **Class 2b:** Two or more adjacent large circles formed by smaller interlocking circles.
- **Class 3:** Clear perimeter wall with interior circles.
- **Class 4a:** No perimeter wall; made up of scattered circles forming a closely related whole.
- **Class 4b:** No perimeter wall; made up of closely related circular structures covering a large area.
- **Class 4c:** No perimeter wall; made up of a dispersed set of isolated circles seeming to form a related whole.
- **Class 5:** Composed of scattered irregular walls, with no definite plan identified (i.e. no discernible settlement pattern).

2. Mason's 1986 classification:

- **Class 1:** Isolated enclosure with an even or roughly circular perimeter, with a few simple enclosures within the boundary. Settlement is visible on the edge of and apparently beneath later settlements.
- **Class 2:** These settlements are often large, with a perimeter wall formed by adjacent roughly circular enclosures separated by open stretches of curved wall.
- **Class 3:** An elliptical perimeter wall interspersed with circular stone enclosures enclosing a large blank space. Mason believes these are the cattle stations of Class 6 settlements.
- **Class 4:** An elliptical or circular perimeter wall immediately adjacent to an interior zone of smaller circular structures, with each circular structure related to an embayment and often connected to the perimeter wall.
- **Class 5:** Sites have a roughly elliptical perimeter wall with short straight sections of walling projecting at right angles along the interior of the perimeter wall, dividing various living spaces. The interior consists of smaller circles.
- **Class 6:** Usually identified as mega-sites. Very large settlements having a continuous perimeter wall consisting of embayments. Each embayment is a distinct household. Some sites have parallel walled paths from the interior to the exterior of the settlement, these are possibly kraals/byres.
- **Class 7:** Sites are characterized by a large boundary of separate semi-circular perimeter embayments facing inwards that do not connect with interior circular enclosures. There are clear openings between the embayments.
- **Class 8:** These sites have a smooth elliptical perimeter wall enclosing an interior of symmetrically placed circular enclosures (i.e. and interior circle of circles).
- **Class 9:** Sites also classified as mega-sites. These large sites have no single enclosing perimeter wall, and are a more sprawled out settlement. Mason suggests that these sites are in adaption of class 6 sites for larger populations.
- **Class 10:** Only one such site, it is characterised by the use of small pebbles in circular patterns to demarcate hut floors and paths. The structures were made of clay, poles and thatch.
- **Class 11:** These sites are located in caves. Sites were likely used for refuge or industrial purposes.



Class 1



Class 2



Class 3



Class 4



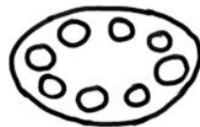
Class 5



Class 6



Class 7



Class 8



Class 9



Class 10



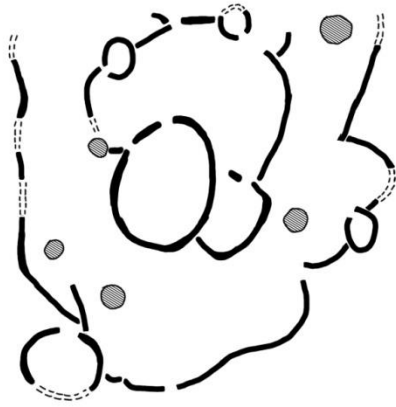
Class 11

Mason's (1986) 11 classes (redrawn by S. Fairhurst).

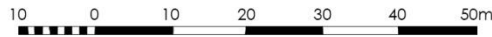
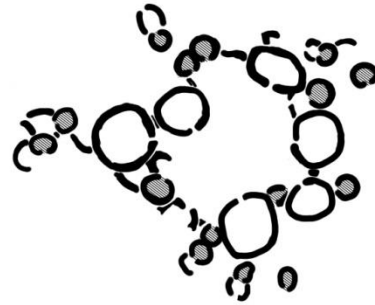
Tim Maggs' classification types:

- **Type N:** settlements have a group of primary enclosures arranged around in a ring and linked by secondary walling to form a large central secondary enclosure in the middle. The entire settlement surrounded by a perimeter wall. The perimeter wall occasionally has small scalloped sections incorporated in it. Huts were placed around the outside of the ring. Settlements are usually associated with the Early Fokeng, Kwena and possibly the Kgatla and are distributed in the eastern region of the southern Highveld, concentrated in the area along the Vaal River and Klip River. Dating from 14th to 15th century CE
- **Type V:** settlement units consist of a ring of primary enclosures linked by secondary walling around a secondary enclosure. The primary enclosures open into this central space which has only one exit. There is no longer an outer surrounding wall, there may be additional free-standing structures (usually huts) scattered around the central ring being in the open (Maggs 1976: 322). This type of settlement has the highest frequency of corbelled stone huts, but should not be taken as a distinguishing feature as these occur in other types of settlements. Type V settlements cannot be associated to one group, but rather attributed to the Sotho collective. They are distributed in the Eastern region of southern Highveld, spreading North, East and Southwest of type N settlement area and replace type N settlements before 17th century CE.
- **Type Z:** settlement unit is a group of large primary enclosures, usually from three to eight in number, with characteristically thickened walls on either side of their entrances. Smaller primary enclosures may be included in this type, which may be linked by secondary walling. A discontinuous ring of bilobial dwellings are arranged around the large stock pens (animal kraals). These dwellings are referred to as billobial dwellings because of their distinct arrangement of the front and back courtyards. This settlement type is attributed to the Kunung, and found in the Northwest region of the southern Highveld. Dating from 16th/17th to 19th century CE.

TYPE N



TYPE V



TYPE Z



Hut Floor	
Corbelled Hut	
Secondary Wall	
Primary Wall	

Maggs' 1976 Settlement types (redrawn by S. Fairhurst)

Taylor's (1979) type sites:

Group I: Group I is similar to Maggs' Type N; identified as having elliptical walls enclosing a group of smaller central enclosures (Taylor 1979). These are generally attributed to the 16th century.

Group II: Group II is similar to Maggs' Type Z; consist of an inner cluster of enclosures surrounded by numerous inwards facing semi-circular walls (Taylor 1979), described as a "discontinuous series of semi-circular walls (instead of a clear perimeter wall) facing inwards towards a central ring of smaller enclosures" (Taylor 1979: 10). Date to around the 18th and 19th centuries.

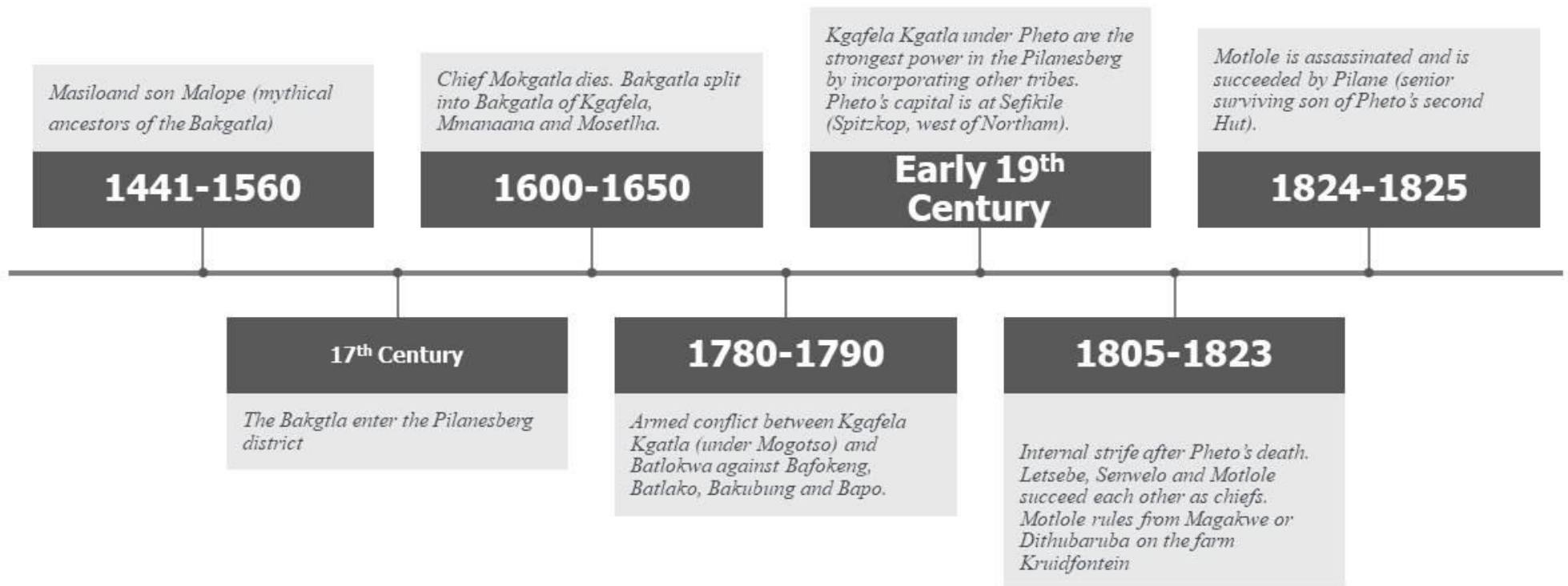
Group III: settlements are formed by a tight clustering of circular enclosures with an outer perimeter of curved walls and small enclosures (Taylor 1979). They are more complex in their construction, as they consist of numerous interlinked circles. Are agglomerations of circular enclosures with the outer boundary marked by varying lengths of curved walls and small circular enclosures. These date to 18th and 19th centuries (similar to Group II).

APPENDIX B: TIMELINE OF THE KGAFELA KGATLA AND EVENTS IN THE PILANESBERG

The following information in the timeline below was presented in Burger (2006) Bakgatla ba Kgafela: design proposal for the Cultural precinct of Saulspoort. It coincides with some of the histories of the Kgafela Kgatla. However, most of the timelines that have been adopted are often conflicting. Nevertheless, this timeline is included as it provides a brief insight into the Kgafela Kgatla's past.

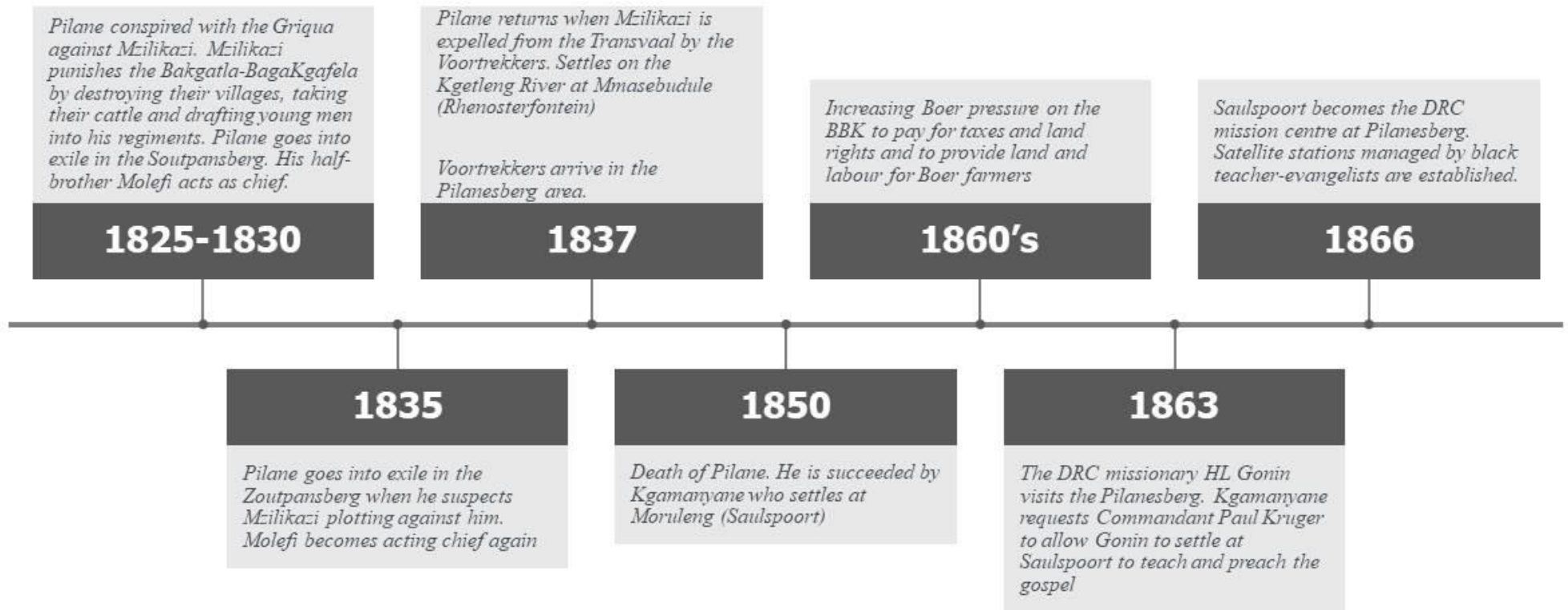
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history of the Kgafela Kgatla settlement (Saulspoort) and events in the Pilanesberg



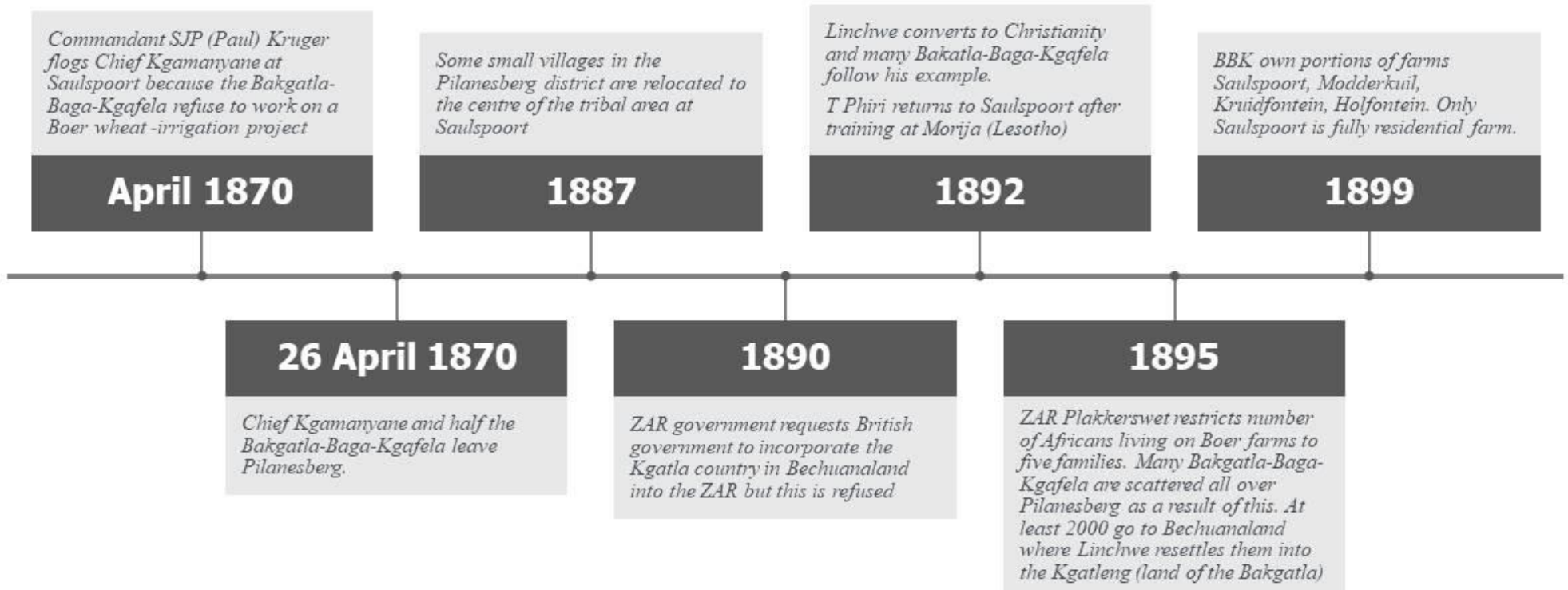
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history of the Kgafela Kgatla settlement (Saulspoort) and events in the Pilanesberg (Burger 2006)



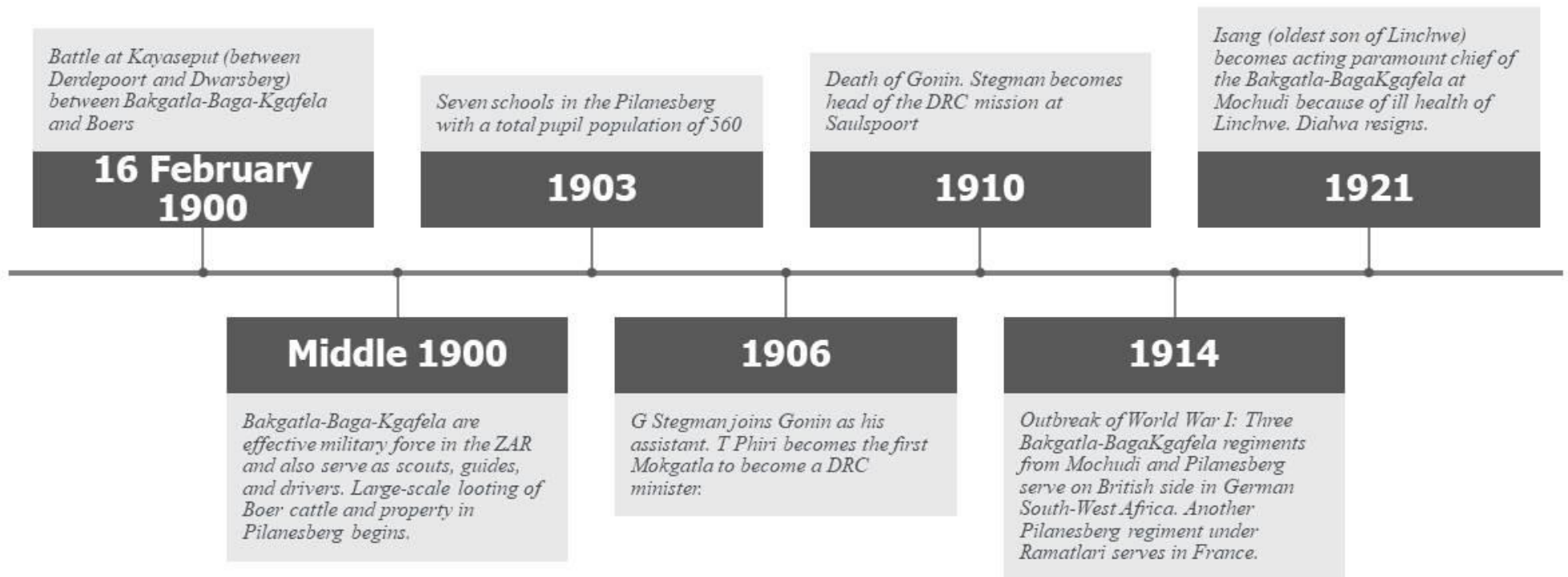
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history of the Kgafela Kgatla settlement (Saulspoort) and events in the Pilanesberg



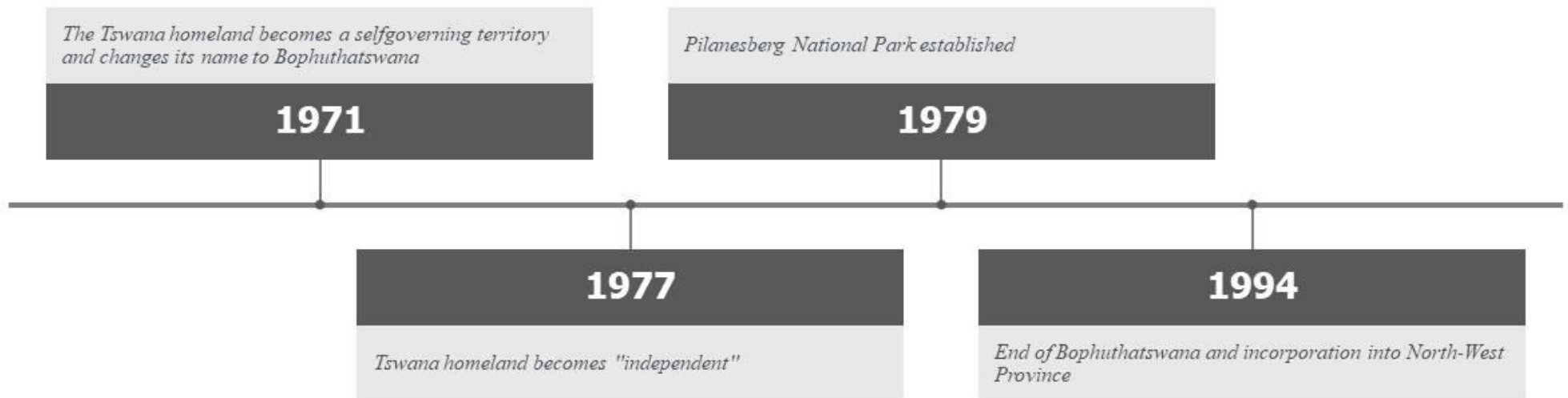
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history of the Kgafela Kgatla settlement (Saulspoort) and events in the Pilanesberg



Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history of the Kgafela Kgatla settlement (Saulspoort) and events in the Pilanesberg



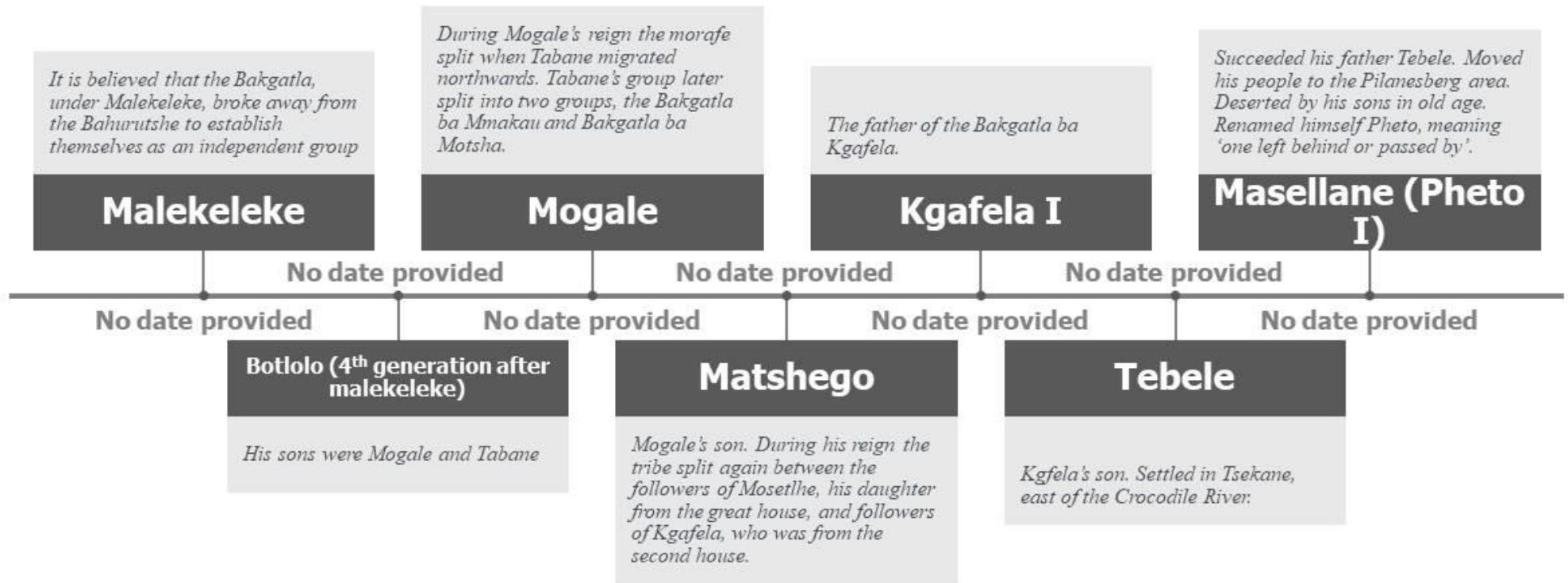
APPENDIX C: KGATLA CHIEFS AND REGENTS

As previously mentioned, the history of the Bakgatla бага Kgafela cannot be traced to certainty before the 19th century. Nevertheless, there are oral accounts of some of the events that occurred during the reign of various Kgatla chiefs and regents. The Mphebatho Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct provides a considerable amount of information on the Kgatla oral accounts that have been passed on through generations.

The following timeline is based on the timeline displayed at the Mphebatho Cultural Museum & Moruleng Cultural Precinct. This information was captured at the museum in 2018, for research during my BA Honours project. The timeline is supposedly based on oral tradition of the Kgafela Kgatla. Unfortunately, there is still some controversy about the accuracy of the timeline (F. Coetzee pers. comm. 2018). Nevertheless, I include this timeline in the current research, as it is one of the most complete timelines that have been created regarding the ruling elite of the Kgatla.

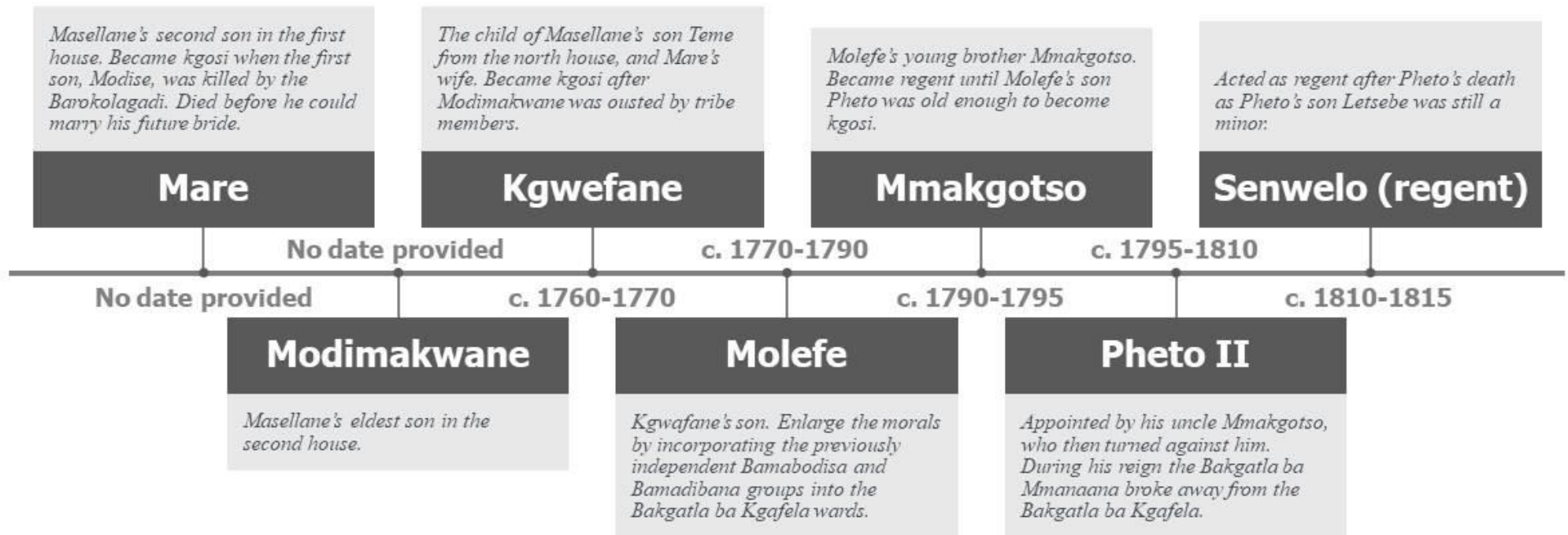
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history



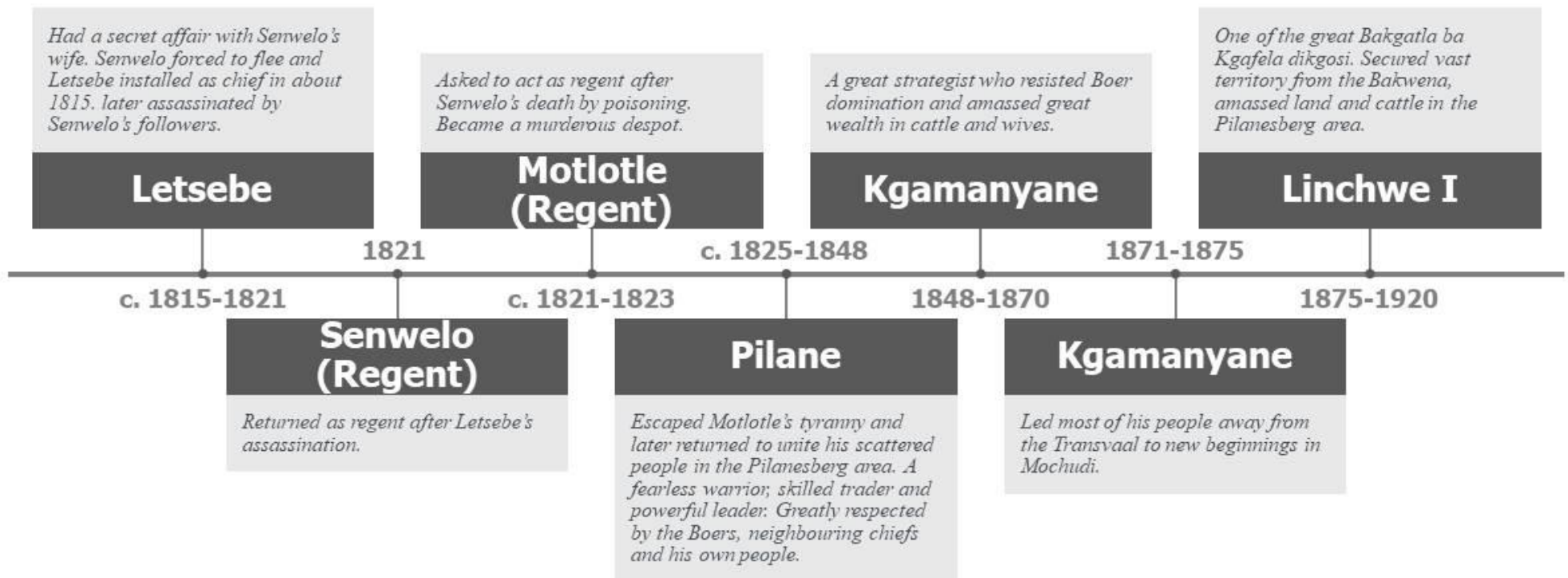
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history



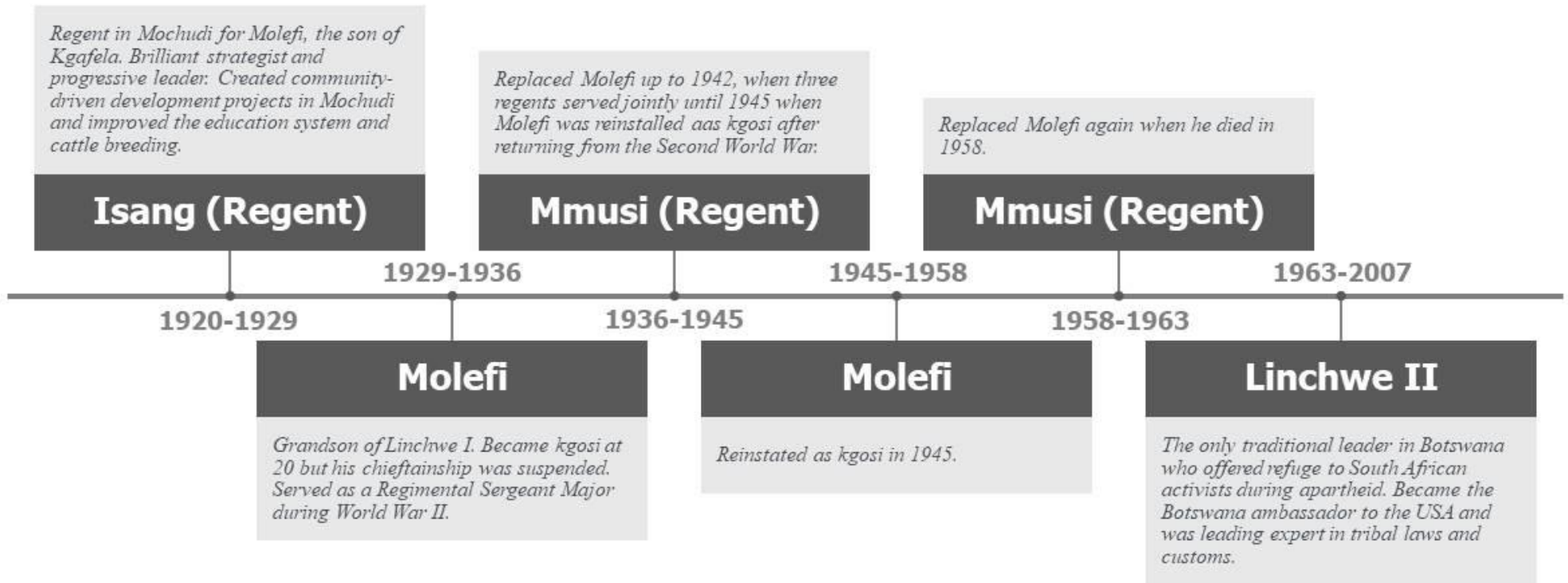
Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history



Timeline of the Kgatla

A brief history



THE SONS OF PILANE

PILANE married (in order of rank):

1. Mankube mother of Kgamanyane, Bogstswa
2. Mantshelana mother of Tau, Komane, Mainole
3. Mmadiptse mother of Tshomankane, Twenyane
4. Mmakgabo mother of Msntirisi
5. Modie mother of Letsebe, Kgabotswene, Bothoke, Diphotwe
6. Basetsana mother of Kgari, Molemi
7. Nkitwe mother of Rankooa
8. Kenntse mother of Rafswe
9. Mmakgomo mother of Moselakatse
10. Mmalebonye mother of Kautlwale
11. Sebolelo mother of Monamo
12. Sakalengwe mother of Kobedi, Pilane, Sekumane
13. Mmati mother of Dikope.

THE SONS OF KGAMANYANE

Kgamanyane married (in order of rank)

1. Dikolo mother of LENTSWE, Ramono
2. Nkomeng mother of Maganelo, Segale, Modise, Motshela
4. Nthebeng mother of Leshage, Matlapeng, Dialwa
5. Mpafi mother of Mokohe, Mpoela
6. Lepono mother of Toto
7. Mmalenare mother of Poni
8. Masotwe mother of Mothibe, Paul, Sekgoma
11. Selolwang mother of Motshwane
12. Mmantsesane mother of Masebane, Pete
13. Mmamogau mother of Kupakang, Maponyane
14. Mokgwethi mother of Rsmorajana

16. Mosetlhe mother of Mogale
17. Keiseng mother of Ramfolo, Diphotwe
19. Nkomeng mother of Rammenane, Jautse, Setsebo, Maganelo
20. Letlhabokwe mother of Ntita
21. Peete mother of Letsebe, Kgabotshwene, Mosweswe
22. Bagome mother of Rampedi
23. Mantlha mother of Rakanyane, Moji, Mokotedi, Loube
24. Mmadikeledi mother of Kgari, Molemi
25. Mapula mother of Molomowatau, Makgotso
26. Mmokatse mother of Mokgalagadi, Pheto, Masuge
27. Mosaye mother of Ramokokole
28. Mmaserufe mother of Ramona
29. Tseisne mother of Ramathari

(The names of wives with daughters only have been omitted from this list).

APPENDIX D: Artefact Inventory

Midden feature	Unit and depth	Decorated ceramics	Undecorated ceramics	Glass beads	OES beads	Clay beads	Identifiable fauna	Un-identifiable fauna	Stone	Worked stone	Metal	Organic	Glass	Figurines/clay objects	Hut rubble	Charcoal	Vitrified organics	Ore
Midden 3	0-10cm	44	20	16	3		9	58						2	1			
	10-20cm	16	37	13	5		5	36										
	20-30cm	5	5	4			11	44								1		
	30-40cm	16	21				3	67								1		13
Subtotal		81	83	33	8		28	205						2	1	2		13
Midden 4	0-10cm	7	6	1							1							
	10-20cm	6	1															
	20-30cm																	
	30-40cm						1	7										
	40-55cm	8	18		1		7	93								1		
Subtotal		21	25	1	1		8	100			1					1		
Midden 5	A1 surface	1	1															
	A1 0-10cm	74	9	9	3		1	8					1			1		
	A1 10-20cm	1	1								1							
	A2 0-10cm	47	3	2	4		7	59			1	2		2		1		
	A2 10-20cm	19	2	2	1		15	50						1		1		
	A2 20-30cm	5	1				4	36								1		
	A2 30-40cm	1			1			1										
	A3 0-10cm	43	7	20	7		4	13				1	1	4		1		
	A3 10-20cm	11	1	14	5		6	65						1		1		
	A3 20-30cm	12	1	4	2		2	29								1		

Midden feature	Unit and depth	Decorated ceramics	Undecorated ceramics	Glass beads	OES beads	Clay beads	Identifiable fauna	Un-identifiable fauna	Stone	Worked stone	Metal	Organic	Glass	Figurines/clay objects	Hut rubble	Charcoal	Vitrified organics	Ore
	A4 0-10cm	49	1	18	10		1	49						5				
	A4 10-20cm	38	1	4	2		6	25								1		
	A4 20-30cm	26	1	1			11	101								1		
Subtotal		327	29	74	35		57	436			2	3	2	13		9		
Midden 6.1	A1 0-10cm	2	2					2	3									
	A1 10-20cm	1	6				1	26	7									
	A1 20-30cm	1					1	1	55									
	A2 0-10cm	2	5				1	2										
	A2 10-20cm	2					1	13										
	A2 20-30cm						1	1	66									
	A3 0-10cm	9	16					5								1		
	A3 10-20cm			1			3	7								1		
	A3 20-30cm							1	9						4			
	A4 surface	1								1								
	A4 0-10cm	7					1	28										
	A4 10-20cm	8	6				1	23								1		
	A4 20-30cm							1	33	2								
Subtotal		33	35	1			10	110	174	2					4	3		
Midden 6.2	Surface							3										
	0-10cm	10	17				1	40	20			1					1	
	10-20cm	3	8						2							1		
	20-30cm	16	30				6	114	9	1						2		
	30-40cm						3	67				1				1		
	40-50cm	3	5				1	6	19							1		

Midden feature	Unit and depth	Decorated ceramics	Undecorated ceramics	Glass beads	OES beads	Clay beads	Identifiable fauna	Un-identifiable fauna	Stone	Worked stone	Metal	Organic	Glass	Figurines/clay objects	Hut rubble	Charcoal	Vitrified organics	Ore
	50-60cm	1	2				1	5		1						1		
Subtotal		33	62			1	17	248	31	2		2				6	1	
Total		495	234	109	44	1	120	1099	205	4	3	5		15		21	1	13