

# A REPORT ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE QWAQWA MUSEUM SITE\*

J. DREYER

National Museum, P.O. Box 266,  
Bloemfontein, 9300

\* Accepted for publication October 1992

## ABSTRACT

The work originated from the building of a Southern Sotho Open-air Museum in Qwaqwa. The presence of stone-walled archaeological remains at the site seemed to warrant a closer investigation. The aim of the project was to describe the settlement pattern and to obtain a sample of the pottery assemblage and other material. These were limited and no final conclusions can be offered. The site represents the most easterly location of Late Iron Age archaeological work undertaken west of the Drakensberg escarp and produced material for comparison with future work.

## INTRODUCTION

The Qwaqwa Tourism and Nature Conservation Corporation is establishing an open-air museum outside Phuthaditjaba. The aim is to display in a contemporary settlement layout, the development of different hut structures used by Southern Sotho peoples. The first stage of the museum depicts a traditional Basotho village (*motse*), with the huts and other structures of a headman with three wives. The buildings are planned to include several domed grass huts (*mohlongwafatse*), rondavels, an oval house (*rolloheisi*) and various rectangular homes. To the rear of the settlement square houses will exhibit the well-known wall decorations, or *ditema*, made by farm labourers in the Orange Free State.

The site also contains remnants of a prehistoric occupation which clearly predates contemporary settlement in Qwaqwa. According to officials the site complex is claimed neither by the Tlokwa nor the Kwena as an ancestral living place. It is speculated locally that the site could have been a settlement of the Kgolokwe, the people of Oetsie (Witsie), who occupied Witsieshoek before their dispersion by the Free State Boers. Although several papers examine aspects of the later history of the region and its inhabitants, ethnographic information about the Kgolokwe remains scanty. The investigation is further hampered by the lack of archaeological descriptions of the area and the absence of a survey of sites. This investigation must therefore be regarded as a pilot venture, with efforts also made to put the site into a wider archaeological and historical context.

An archaeological survey was recently done at the site. The aim was to investigate certain visible features on the surface, to find and describe huts and to obtain a sample of the pottery. This paper describes the finds in

general and also highlights the differences from and similarities with other known archaeological sites in the Free State. It also describes the settlement pattern and in the discussion attempts to place the site in an historical context and to identify the occupants. It is presented as a description of a settlement in this specific ecological and geographical region.

## EARLY HISTORY

Early references to the history of the region are closely related to the arrival of the Kgolokwe in the area (Fig. 1). These people are of Kgatla origin and therefore

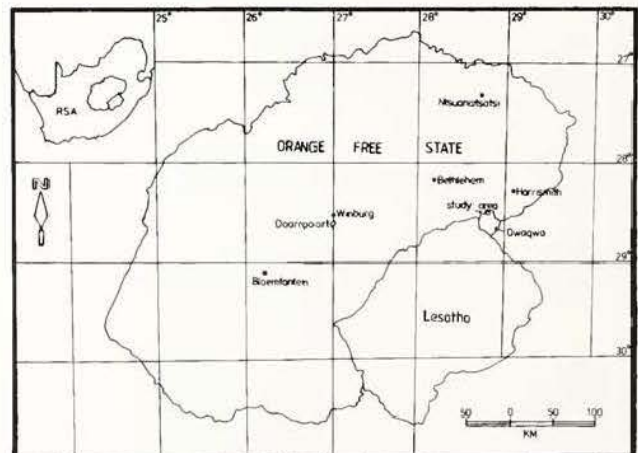


Fig. 1. Locality of names mentioned in the text.

related to the Pedi, Tlokwa, Phuting and Sia. The history of the Kgolokwe is interwoven with that of other tribes in the region, but from the writings of Ellenberger (1912), Steytler (1932), Mapena (1970), Kriel

(1976:182-83) and Maggs (1976) it is possible to trace their movements as part of the early occupation of Witsieshoek.

The Kgolokwe lived at Thaba Kgolokwe near the present-day town of Standerton for several generations, up to the end of the 17th century. Due to over-population and the lack of grazing they gradually moved to the area east of Ntsuanatsatsi (Tafelkop) where Type N and elongated Type V settlements are located (Maggs 1976:315-6). In 1853 Sekonyela of the Tlokwa and Gert Taabosch, a Koranna chief, joined forces and attacked the Kgolokwe of Oetsi at this locality. After this the Kgolokwe settled at Witsieshoek where they lived for some time. Their persistence in raiding stock from neighbouring farms led to their dispersal by a combined Free State and Tlokwa force in 1856.

In 1858 a group of Kgolokwe under Hlomise, the son of Oetsi, moved from Aasvoëlkrans (Thaba Kholo?) near Bethlehem to Swartklip 162, a farm of the well-known Commandant De Villiers (Mazothanyane) at the Meul River. They later joined the Commandant when he moved to Rietvlei near Nelsonskop, and from here gradually spread out as labourers to neighbouring farms. Another section of the Kgolokwe, who were living under Mota at Moteng, joined Lewatle, a grandson of Oetsi at Nqutu in Natal, while a third group went to Phosa Moletsi, near Standerton.

During the second Basotho War in 1865 some of the Kgolokwe of Hlomise served the Free State forces. They had to wear pieces of white cloth on their chests to identify them from the Basotho and were aptly called "Rinkhalse". The people under Paulus Mopeli Mokgatjhane arrived in Qwaqwa in 1867. Koos Mota came into the region in 1875 and settled at Matswakeng (also called Tsheseng) and Makgemeng. To the north of Matswakeng near the Namahali (Elands) River at Moeding another settlement was occupied mainly by Kgolokwe, probably from as early as 1839 (Steytler 1932:45).

## THE SITE

The complex is situated on the farm Korfshoek 193 in the district of Kestell (Fig. 2). It lies to the south of the prominent ridge of Witkrans, adjacent to Silasberg, with Rondawelkop further to the west. The archaeological remains are located against a sandstone hill on a north-facing plateau (28.29.23S; 28.44.34E.) on the 1800 m contour (2828BC 1987). Due to the topography, the soil surface slopes towards the north.

The site contains several large boulders, probably originating from the hill above the living area. Indigenous shrubs and trees (e.g. *Euclea*, *Rhus*, *Grewia*, *Cussonia*, *Olea* spp.) grow around the rocks.

The remains of stone walls can be seen on the surface but there is no clear indication of the presence of huts or middens. Soil mounds which could be either huts or middens are visible in certain places on the surface, but the site complex lacks surface scatters of pottery and lower grindstones.

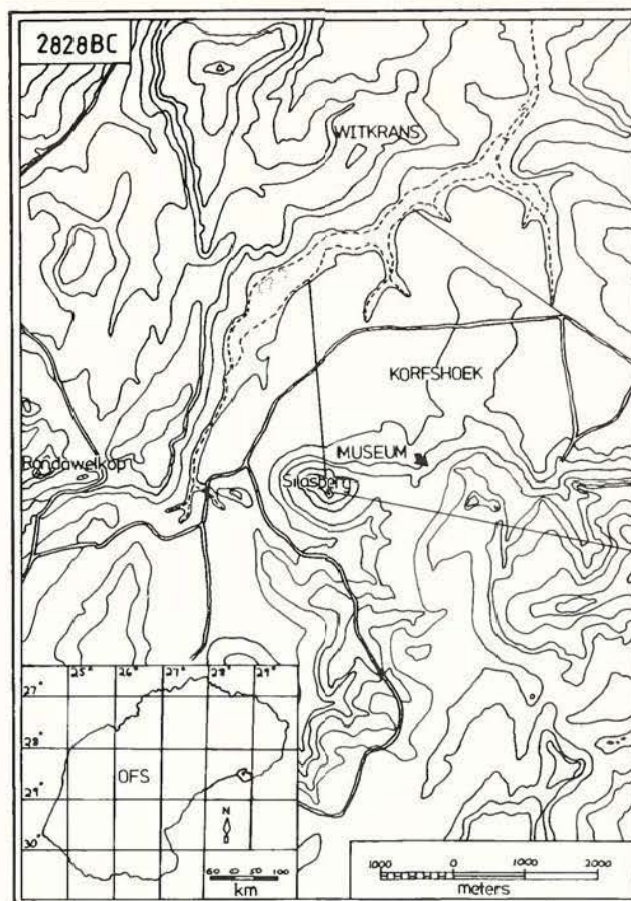


Fig. 2. Locality of the Qwaqwa Museum and study area.

## EXCAVATIONS

During September 1991 I conducted a preliminary survey, recording most of the visible features in the immediate building area of the proposed museum. This was followed in March and April 1992 by a series of excavations. Squares were laid over middens, as well as possible hut and stone features. The sizes of the individual excavations were adapted as necessary and all deposits were removed in arbitrary layers to bedrock, in this case sterile black clay. Excavations were numbered individually and are shown on the site plan (Fig. 3).

## FEATURES

### Stone Walls

The stone features consist of isolated stone-walled enclosures and clusters of up to three enclosures, in some cases linked together by short connecting walls (Fig. 3). A number of these enclosures have floor levels below the surrounding surface. These concave floors indicate trampling by livestock and the removal of dung for fuel (Maggs 1976:60,133,175; Pistorius 1984:177). Their locality and size (>10 m diameter) indicate that they were stock byres. In some cases an additional stone wall forms a major enclosure with its ends abutting the cattle byres (Fig. 3). It is notable that these additional enclosures do not have concave profiles but appear to have been levelled (cf. Maggs 1976:214).

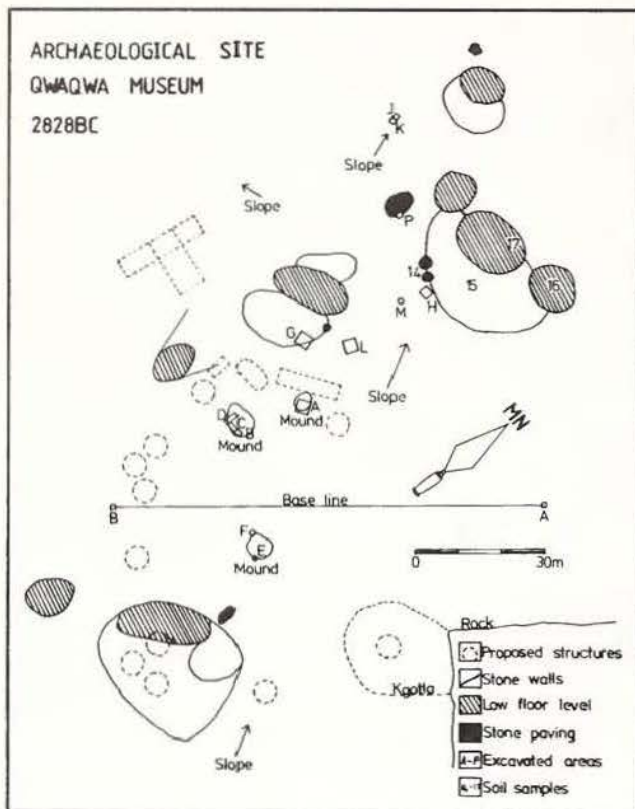


Fig. 3. Site plan showing excavated area.

Soil samples (14-17) from outside and inside the stone enclosures (Fig. 3) were submitted for chemical analysis to the Glen Agricultural College. The results are summarised below (Table 1).

Table 1. Soil analysis

| SAMPLE | PH  | CA   | K   | P  | ZN  |
|--------|-----|------|-----|----|-----|
| 14     | 4,9 | 1055 | 293 | 19 | 4,3 |
| 15     | 4,7 | 641  | 370 | 3  | 2,0 |
| 16     | 4,6 | 708  | 314 | 17 | 5,6 |
| 17     | 4,9 | 1055 | 314 | 21 | 5,7 |

### Stone mounds and paving

Stone paving is found at various places on the surface away from the stone walls, and raised circles of paving occur as part of the additional walls (Fig. 3). At two locations (G & P) the stones were cleared of vegetation and cleaned for inspection (Fig. 4). The walls were built in the traditional way (Fig. 5) of piled stones with rubble infill (Walton 1958:135; Maggs 1976:51), but no indication of the function of these paved surfaces could be found. They could have been bases for grain-storage containers as suggested by various authors concerning other sites (cf. Van Hoepen & Hoffman 1935; Maggs 1976; Taylor 1984).

### Soil mounds

Several squares (A-F) were excavated to investigate the soil mounds (Fig. 3). The finds were embedded in a hard matrix of solid black clay which crumbled into



Fig. 4. Cleared stone mound in Block G.



Fig. 5. Block G showing stone mound as part of the traditional stone-wall building.

coarse pellets when loosened. The process of excavation resulted in the breaking of the already highly fragmented potsherds. Block A produced potsherds, pieces of a charred mealie cob and some rusted netting wire. In Blocks E and F the deposit was similar but produced only a few fragments of pottery and bone. The soil in these mounds was clearly not indicative of midden deposits and the finds indicated a more recent occupation.

### Middens

Middens clearly fall into two periods as judged by the finds. The later phase is represented by wire, nails, glass beads and cartridge shells from Blocks A and M. Blocks B, C and D produced potsherds and bone, as did Blocks H, M, K and J which were clearly in the remains of an ash heap (Figs 6, 7 & 8).

## FINDS

### Fauna

The faunal analysis was done by J.S. Brink of the Quaternary Research Station at Florisbad. Domestic cattle and sheep/goat were present and Cape hare, dassie, aardwolf, grey duiker and various bovinds represented the non-domestic species (Brink & Holt 1992, this issue).

Block M is part of the more recent occupation and produced bone material of a wider range of animals, indicating an extended utilisation of resources compared

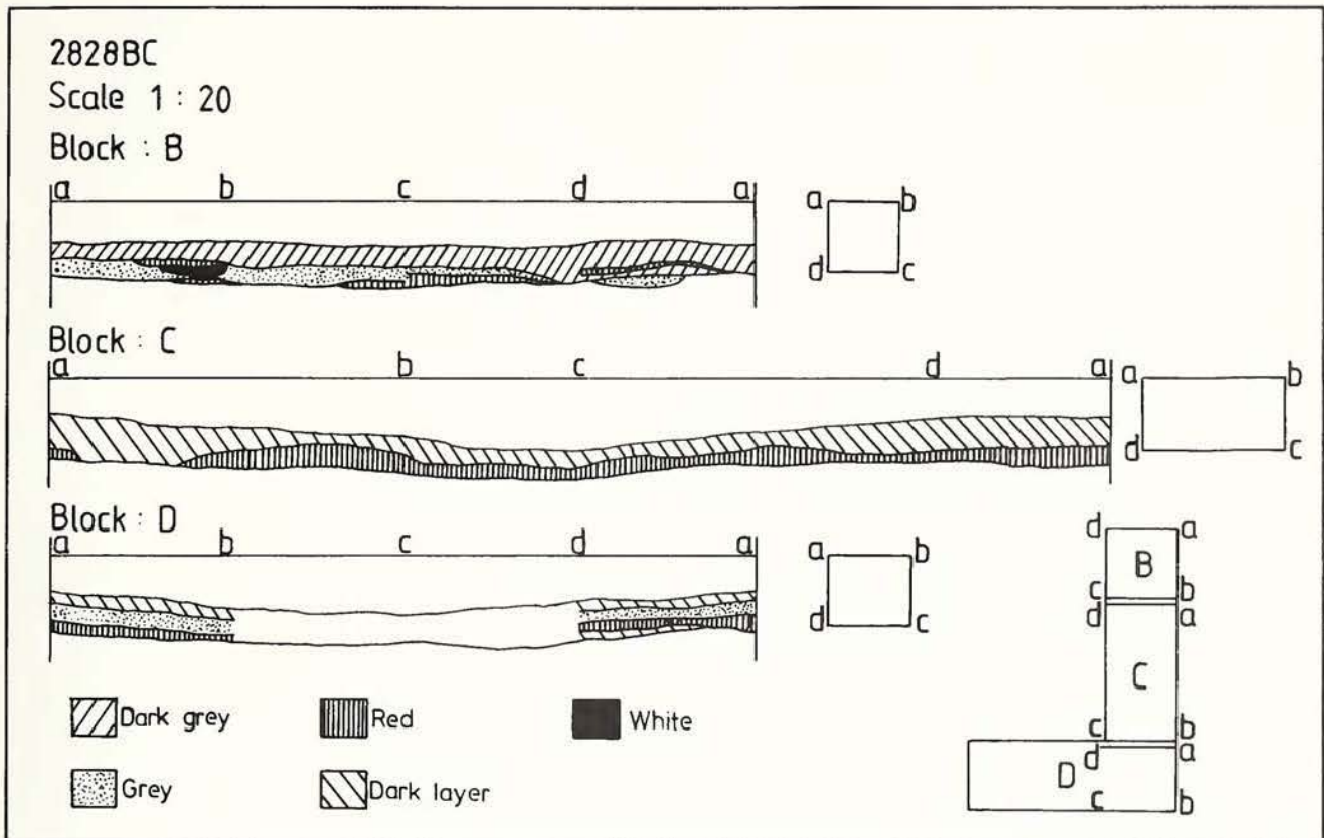


Fig. 6. Plan and profiles of Blocks B, C & D.

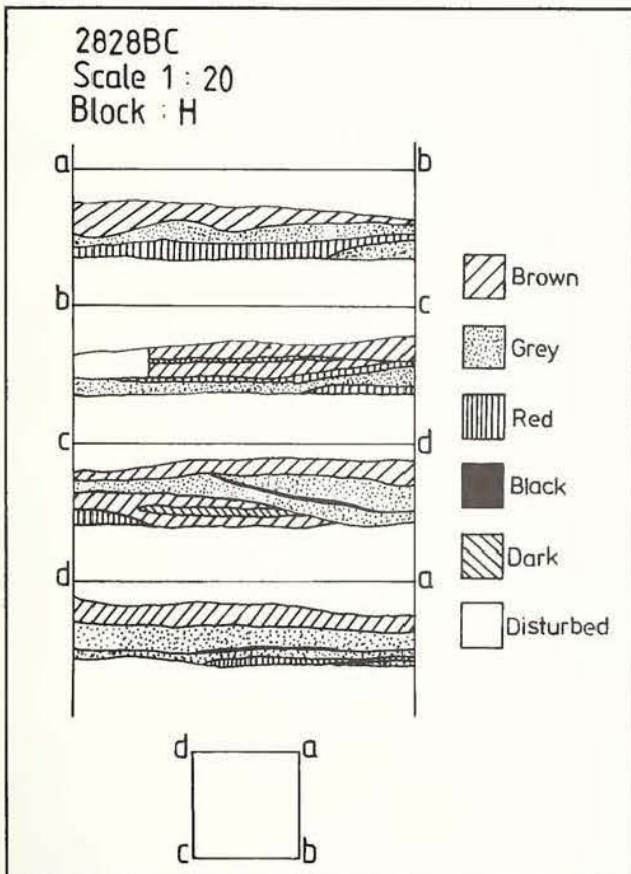


Fig. 7. Profile of Block H.

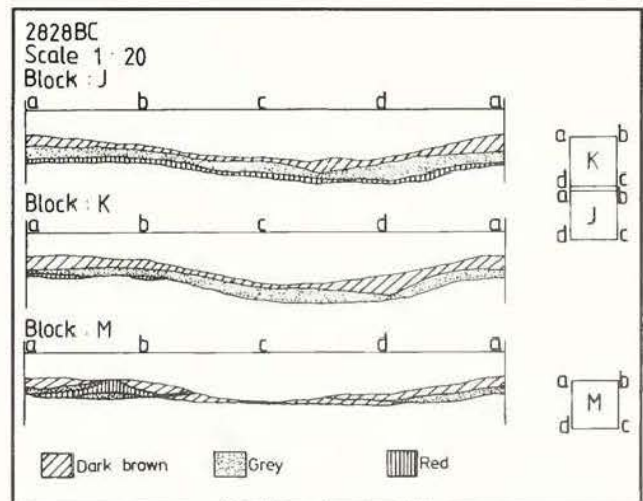


Fig. 8. Plan and profiles of Blocks J, K & M.

to the older localities. The presence of a small goat in the sample is noteworthy. These animals were of small stature, possibly similar to the dwarf goat from Ndongondwane in Natal (Voigt & Von den Driesch 1984:98). There is no direct evidence for the presence of sheep, although certain indeterminate examples could be either sheep or goat. Numerous bone specimens show damage due to carnivore chewing, probably indicating the presence of domestic dogs. The intensity of damage on some specimens also points to the presence of dogs,

although no dog remains were found.

### Pottery

Potsherds were recovered from all the excavations (Fig. 9). In a few instances sherds were collected on the surface. The distribution and decorations of the pottery finds are discussed below.

which included finger-pinching on applied band and in parallel rows "forming corrugations" on the body of the vessel. Three (4%) of the sherds were comb-stamped in rows or in pendant triangles. Eighteen (24%) were stylus incised and 36% (27) ochre burnished. Out of a total of 105 rim pieces, 36 (34%) were decorated. From the surface collection none were decorated and only six rim

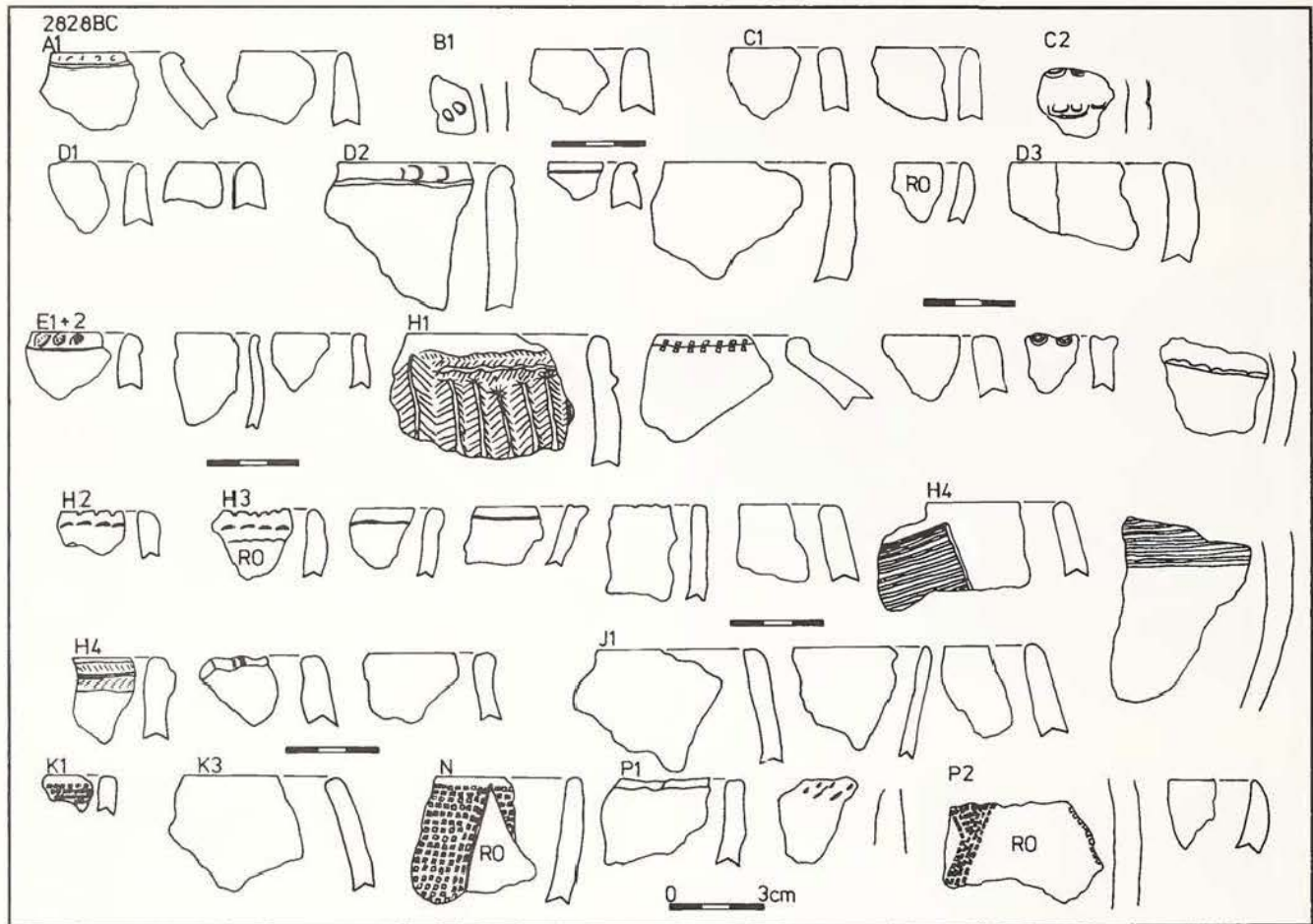


Fig. 9. Pottery finds and decoration.

Table 2. distribution and decoration of pottery

| EX.  | TOTAL | DEC. | NAIL/<br>FINGER | COMB<br>STAMP | INCISED<br>STYLUS | OCHRE | RIM | DEC. |
|------|-------|------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|-------|-----|------|
| A    | 130   | 5    | 3               |               | 1                 |       | 6   | 4    |
| B    | 86    | 1    |                 |               | 1                 |       |     | 2    |
| C    | 110   | 2    | 1               |               |                   | 1     | 5   |      |
| D    | 163   | 5    | 3               |               | 1                 | 1     | 17  | 5    |
| E    | 192   | 5    | 2               |               | 2                 | 1     | 12  | 4    |
| F    | 11    |      |                 |               |                   |       |     |      |
| G    | 23    |      |                 |               |                   |       | 1   |      |
| H    | 470   | 45   | 13              |               | 12                | 18    | 44  | 20   |
| J    | 85    |      |                 |               |                   |       | 8   |      |
| K    | 69    | 1    |                 | 1             |                   |       | 5   | 1    |
| M    | 17    | 2    |                 |               |                   | 2     |     |      |
| N    | 4     | 1    |                 | 1             |                   | 1     | 1   | 1    |
| P    | 108   | 7    | 2               | 1             | 1                 | 3     | 4   | 1    |
| TOT. | 1469  | 74   | 24              | 3             | 18                | 27    | 105 | 36   |
| S*   | 37    |      |                 |               |                   |       | 6   |      |

\* Surface Collection (not included in the total).

excavations. Of these only 74 (5%) were decorated. Of the total decorated 32% (24) were finger decorated,

pieces were retrieved.

Similarities in pottery decoration with sites excavated by Maggs (1976) and Dreyer (1990) are compared below.

Table 3. Comparison of pottery decoration

|                       | TOTAL<br>DEC | NAIL/<br>FINGER | COMB<br>STAMP | INCISED/<br>STYLUS | OCHRE |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-------|
| <b>TYPE V</b>         |              |                 |               |                    |       |
| OO1                   | 38,6%        | 42,0%           | 24,0%         | 10,0%              |       |
| OU2(2)                | 11,6%        | 37,0%           | 7,0%          | 53,0%              |       |
| OND3                  |              |                 | 24,0%         | 62,0%              |       |
| <b>TYPE N</b>         |              |                 |               |                    |       |
| OU1                   | 14,3%        | 2,0%            | 93,0%         | 5,0%               |       |
| OU2(1)                | 1,2%         | 24,0%           | 69,0%         | 6,0%               |       |
| <b>TYPE Z</b>         |              |                 |               |                    |       |
| OXF1                  |              |                 |               | 55,0%              | 45,0% |
| OMB1                  | 1,7%         |                 | 18,0%         | 20,0%              |       |
| <b>CALEDON VALLEY</b> |              |                 |               |                    |       |
| OND2                  |              | 98,0%           |               |                    | 2,0%  |
| <b>DOORNPOORT</b>     | 6,6%         | 50,8%           | 32,2%         |                    | 17,7% |
| <b>QWAQWA</b>         | 5,0%         | 32,0%           | 4,0%          | 24,0%              | 36%   |

There is a preference for finger decoration over combstamping/incision at the Qwaqwa Museum site, which is in accord with finds at Type V, Caledon Valley (Maggs 1976) and the Doornpoort sites (Dreyer 1990). Similarities in pottery decoration exist between sites excavated by Maggs (1976) and Dreyer (1990). Certain modes of decoration, such as finger-pinching on applied bands and in parallel rows "forming corrugations", also corresponds with the Type V, Caledon Valley and Doornpoort, sites excavated by Maggs (1976) and Dreyer (1990). Incisions as found in Block H, layer 4 (Fig. 9), could be an interesting variation but are still different from Type Z.

#### Clay figurines

Block D produced two broken pieces of tapered clay objects resembling the horns of cattle. The pieces were less than 15 mm long and were clearly from different figurines. Nothing concerning the size and characteristics of the figurines could be derived from the fragments.

#### Beads

A total of 121 glass beads was recovered in Blocks G and M. Table 4 displays the distribution and description of the glass beads in more detail.

The glass beads of various colours ranged from 1-10 mm in diameter. It should be stressed that the term "round" as used in the description could be misleading as oblate could also be applicable. The ends could have been worn to create this shape. The glass beads came from Blocks G and M together with burnt mealie cobs, pieces of wire and cartridge shells, suggesting a recent date. It is also notable that no ostrich eggshell beads were found on the site.

Glass beads are described by Maggs (1976) from his OOI (Lindley) and OND3 sites and are associated with the Type V occupation. It is argued that they represent a later date during the 18th or 19th century and are accepted as part of the trade between the Sotho occupants and people from east of the Drakensberg. Glass beads were totally absent from Caledon Valley (OND2) (Maggs 1976:211-) and the occupation at Doornpoort, near Winburg (Dreyer 1990).

Five metal beads of 4,5 mm diameter, together with one bead made out of a tooth (8 mm diameter), came from Block M.

#### Metal objects

Pieces of rusted barbed- and netting-wire were located in Blocks A and M. A 60 mm nail and two pieces of thin metal, 24 mm and 27 mm in length respectively, came from Block M. A 40 mm long, corroded tapering shaft was found in Block H.

Four .303-calibre cartridge shells, of which some were unfired, were collected on the surface at the site. Headstamps indicated Mark II with Cordite driving powder, manufactured by the Royal Laboratory, Woolwich, and the Birmingham Metal Company. Another three Mark II shells of .303-calibre, recovered from the excavation in Block M, were manufactured by Royal Laboratory and Kynoch. The Mark II shells are

known to date from the Anglo-Boer War. One fired-shell from Block M was of Mauser origin, 7x54mm-calibre, manufactured by Kynoch.

Table 4. Distribution and description of glass beads

| LOCALITY | No. | COLOUR       | SHAPE     | DIAM.mm |
|----------|-----|--------------|-----------|---------|
| G1       | 1   | ruby         | round     | 2       |
| G1       | 1   | royal blue   | round     | 2,5     |
| G1       | 1   | black        | round     | 2       |
| G1       | 1   | green        | round     | 2       |
| G1       | 1   | white        | oblate    | 4       |
| M1       | 1   | white        | round     | 4,5     |
| M1       | 1   | transp.green | round     | 3,5     |
| M1       | 1   | crystal      | round     | 2       |
| M1       | 4   | black        | round     | 2-3     |
| M1       | 2   | white        | round     | 2       |
| M1       | 5   | green        | round     | 2       |
| M1       | 4   | royal blue   | round     | 2-3     |
| M1       | 9   | pink         | round     | 2       |
| M1       | 8   | orange       | round     | 2-3     |
| M1       | 3   | light blue   | round     | 2       |
| M1       | 1   | sky blue     | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 1   | red on white | round     | 3,5     |
| M2       | 5   | red on white | round     | 2,5     |
| M2       | 1   | lemon        | round     | 10      |
| M2       | 1   | green        | round     | 9       |
| M2       | 2   | royal blue   | round     | 5       |
| M2       | 1   | black        | cut glass | 5       |
| M2       | 12  | black        | round     | 2,5     |
| M2       | 1   | red          | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 16  | light blue   | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 2   | royal blue   | round     | 2,5     |
| M2       | 5   | dark blue    | round     | 3       |
| M2       | 6   | green        | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 4   | pink         | round     | 3       |
| M2       | 1   | crystal      | round     | 3       |
| M2       | 1   | yellow       | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 1   | chrome       | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 2   | white        | round     | 2       |
| M2       | 1   | mustard      | cylinder  | 2       |

#### Bone and shell

Bone fragments were retrieved from all excavations excluding Blocks A and G. One bone point (24 mm) was found in Block H. This excavation also produced four spatulate fragments of worked bone ranging from 7-23 mm in width and 35-62 mm in length. A flat piece of bone resembling the former objects, 17 mm in length and 14 mm wide, came from Block D. One complete freshwater mussel shell of 68 mm length was found in Block H.

#### Other finds

A split half of a slate-pencil, the tip of a pipe stem and two fragments of dark translucent glass together with a piece of white porcelain were found in Block M. A broken upper grinding stone (55 x 40 mm) was found in Block K and a complete one (90 x 70 x 35 mm) in Block P. Two pieces of burnt mealie cob were recovered from Block A. Burnt hut plaster with impressions of reeds and

grass came from the excavation in Block K and on the surface nearby. This is probably an indication that some of the huts were burnt down.

## DISCUSSION

From the finds it is clear that there were at least two different phases of occupation on the site. The wire, glass beads, cartridge shells and mealie cobs found in Blocks A, G and M clearly indicate a more recent occupation.

The presence of cartridge shells dating from the Anglo-Boer War does not contribute much to the chronology of the more recent occupation of the site. The .303-calibre, Mark II shells on the surface and from the excavations only indicate that shooting took place in the vicinity probably during or after the War. The shells could also have been collected and carried to the site at a later date, especially as some of the cartridges were still unfired. The occupation of the site could therefore be either contemporary with or just after the War.

Blocks B, C, D, H, J, K, N and P produced finger-pinched and combstamped pottery, bone, clay figurines and burnt hut plaster, representing an earlier settlement. A charcoal sample was recovered from Block B but was not considered sufficient for radio-carbon dating. It is accepted that the early habitation of the site fits in with the general Late Iron Age occupation of the Free State during the 16th to 19th centuries. This assumption, however, does not bring us any closer to a date for the site, and clarification will have to await further work in the area.

To link the site complex with other known Later Iron Age settlements of the central Highveld on the basis of surface observations would be premature. Nevertheless, the basic layout from the Qwaqwa Museum site can still be contrasted with the standardised arrangement of structures at sites characterised by connecting walls at Type V, outer walls at Type N and bilobial courtyards at Type Z settlements (Maggs 1976). The site complex can also be contrasted with settlements with a less characteristic and repeated arrangement of structures in the Caledon Valley, as found at OND2 (Maggs 1976) and Doornpoort, Winburg (Dreyer 1990).

The significant information to identify the settlement pattern could be the position of the entrances to the various enclosures. However, due to wall-robbing and the collapsed state of the stone walls the entrances to the byres could not be located. If it should appear that the added enclosures did not have an entrance from the outside, this could indicate a protective wall for huts as found at Type N sites, providing that the byres do have openings to the outside. An outside entrance into the added enclosure, with access through to the other structures, would resemble a Type V settlement and might have been for handling stock (*lepallelo*, see Ashton 1967:141).

An analysis of the Qwaqwa soil samples do not support the assumption that the enclosures were used as cattle byres. In this case it is only the obvious low count of phosphate in sample 15 from the additional enclosure, that is of interest. It could be argued that most of the

dung had been removed or that this type of enclosure had another function, probably as the milking area (*lepallelo*). As this site bears no direct resemblance to other previously described sites, it is very tempting to conclude that the pattern found at the Qwaqwa Museum site could represent a new and undescribed type of settlement layout.

Pottery decoration appears to support the classification of sites based on settlement patterns (Maggs 1976:288, 290). An analogy with other sites is therefore essential, but in this case, the absence of an adequate ceramic sample prevents such a comparison. The sample of decorated sherds is small at 5%, of which 32% are finger decorated, 4% combstamped and 24% incised ware. This differs from the bigger sample at Doornpoort, near Winburg, which produced 6,6% decorated, with 50,8% finger decorated and a combined total of 32,2% combstamped and stylus incised pottery (Dreyer 1990). The pottery sample is clearly Sotho/Tswana but needs a finer division.

One of the main aims of the project at the Qwaqwa Museum site was to find and describe huts on the site. Unfortunately no hut locations were discovered. The burnt clay in one area clearly indicates that there were huts of perishable materials on the site. This conforms with finds at Late Iron Age sites elsewhere (cf. Maggs 1976, Dreyer 1990).

The pattern of ash disposal could not be determined. It was also not possible to ascertain from the ethnographic record whether the middens would have been placed in front of or behind the huts.

Group identity is reflected in hut type, settlement layout and ceramic style. These aspects can be used to trace, identify and follow large-scale ethnic units (Huffman 1982, 1989). From the written records it is clear that the ancestors of the contemporary groups in Qwaqwa could have been responsible for the erection of the site but nothing can be confirmed by the archaeological investigation due to the lack of detailed comparative information on the Kgolokwe. Although there is still a strong possibility that the Kgolokwe could have been the early occupants of the Kestell and Witsieshoek area, no final conclusions can yet be made. No huts have been found, and a larger pottery sample is needed for comparison. Further work could correlate the settlement pattern as described at the Museum site. The sites mentioned by Kriel (1983:46) which are situated inside Qwaqwa, or any other locality connected to the Kgolokwe historically, could be important to extend the research. At the moment the Museum site represents the most eastern archaeological site yet investigated west of the escarpment. It could produce crucial information on the influence of people and animals from east of the Drakensberg, on Lesotho and the surrounding area.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work was financed by the Qwaqwa Tourism Corporation and was undertaken as an official project of

the National Museum, Bloemfontein. Thanks are due to the Qwaqwa Museum Advisory Committee for the opportunity to do the survey and for permission to publish the report. I am also indebted to Johan Meiring and Melinda Bekker of the former Department of Development Aid for their involvement and valuable discussions on the site.

I was assisted by Klaas and Daniel Mphafi during the fieldwork and processing of the material and by Sharon Holt who was also responsible for the illustrations. The faunal analysis was ably done by James Brink. Tom Huffman, Sandra Bishop and Zoë Henderson are thanked for comments on the script.

#### REFERENCES

- Ashton, H. 1967. *The Basotho*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Brink, J.S. & Holt, S. 1992. A small goat, *Capra hircus*, from a Late Iron Age site in the Eastern Orange Free State. *Southern African Field Archaeology* (this issue).
- Dreyer, J. 1990. The Iron Age prehistory of the Winburg area, Orange Free State. Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Ellenberger, D.F. 1912. *History of the Basuto*. London: Caxton Publishing Co.
- Huffman, T.N. 1982. Archaeology and ethnohistory of the African Iron Age. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11:133-150.
- Huffman, T.N. 1989. Ceramics, settlements and Late Iron Age migrations. *The African Archaeological Review* 7:155-182.
- Kriel, J.D. 1976. Die herkoms en geskiedenis van die Tlokwa van Qwaqwa. Uittreksel uit: Die funksionering van die politieke en judisiële organisasie van die Tlokwa van Qwaqwa. Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Pretoria.
- Maggs, T.M. 1976. Iron Age communities of the southern Highveld. Pietermaritzburg: Natal Museum.
- Mapena, I.O.H.M. 1970. The Witzieshoek native reserve: description of the administration. Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of South Africa.
- Pistorius, J.C.C. 1984. 'n Etno-argeologiese interpretasie van 'n Sotho-Tswana vestigingseenheid op Selonskraal. Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Pretoria.
- Stals, E.L.P. 1971. Die geskiedenis van Witsieshoek en Thaba 'Nchu. *Tydskrif vir Rasse-aangeleenthede* 22(1): 27-33.
- Steytler, F.A. 1932. Die geskiedenis van Harrismith. Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers.
- Taylor, M.O.V. 1984. Southern Transvaal stone wall sites: a spatial consideration. In: Hall, M.J., Avery, G., Avery, D.M., Wilson, M.L., & Humphreys, A.J.B. (eds.) *Frontiers: Southern African archaeology today*: 248-251. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 207.
- Van hoepen, E.C.N. & Hoffman, A.C. 1935. Die oorblyfsels van Buispoort en Braklaagte, noordwes van Zeerust. *Argeologiese Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum Bloemfontein* 2(1).
- Voigt, E.A. & Von Den Driesch, A. 1984. Preliminary report on the faunal assemblage from Ndongondwane, Natal. *Annals of the Natal Museum* 26(1):95-104.
- Walton, J. 1958. Sotho Cattle-kraals. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 13:133-134.