

A LATE IRON AGE/CONTACT PERIOD BURIAL AT STAND 1610, HILLSIDE STREET SILVER LAKES, TSHWANE

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ABSTRACT

During June 2003, archaeologists of the National Cultural History Museum (NCHM) excavated a LIA/Contact Period burial located in the Silver Lakes Estate east of Tshwane. The recovery of the skeletal remains was done at the request of South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) Gauteng, who had been called in by a private home developer whose construction team uncovered the remains in a trench dug for a column. The burial is possibly associated with the remains of a Late Iron Age (LIA) stone walled settlement situated less than 100 m from the burial pit. The pit was in a midden, with a grey ashy layer and associated artefacts evidence of this. Associated grave goods included a mix of typically Iron Age and European artefacts, such as glass and copper beads, copper bangles and ankle rings, copper snuff holder/tinderbox and a set of two enamel bowls and a metal spoon. The exact age of the burial is unknown, but most probably dates to the period after the first Europeans moved into the area (late 1840's to mid 1850's). The remains belonged to a possibly female individual of older than 50 years. She had advanced dental disease and degeneration of the spine.

INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND

During June 2003 the Archaeology Section at the National Cultural History Museum was informed by SAHRA Gauteng that a burial had been exposed during construction work on a private home in the Silver Lakes Estate to the east of Tshwane. The skeletal remains were found by workers who immediately informed the private developer, who in turn called on SAHRA. The archaeologists subsequently went to investigate, and it was decided to remove the skeletal remains through archaeological means in order to study it in detail.

As Iron Age-type pottery and glass beads were uncovered with the remains, and because some stone walling is situated nearby (less than 100 m), it was thought at first to be a burial of Late Iron Age (LIA) origin. Based on other grave goods recovered with the skeleton, it became evident that the burial probably belonged to the period of early European settlement in the area, during which LIA people came into contact with more recent settlers.

What follows is a discussion of the excavations and skeletal remains, as well as associated grave goods. The

history of LIA and early European settlement in the area will also be discussed briefly to place the burial in context.

DESCRIPTION OF AREA AND SITE

The burial site is located in the Silver Lakes Golf Estate situated to the east of Tshwane (Fig.1), between 25.45.59S and 28.22.30.4E. The skeletal remains were uncovered in a pit dug for a column for the second story of a house on Stand 1610, Hillside Street. Other features and objects on the site and in close proximity to the burial pit include pottery, upper and lower grinding stones and stone walling. This stone walling, located on the foot of a low hill a short distance to the northeast, is indicative of earlier Late Iron Age settlement in the area. An electrified fence and brick wall separated these stone walls from the burial site.

LIA AND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN THE AREA

Although detailed archaeological research has not been undertaken in the Silver Lakes area specifically, Tshwane

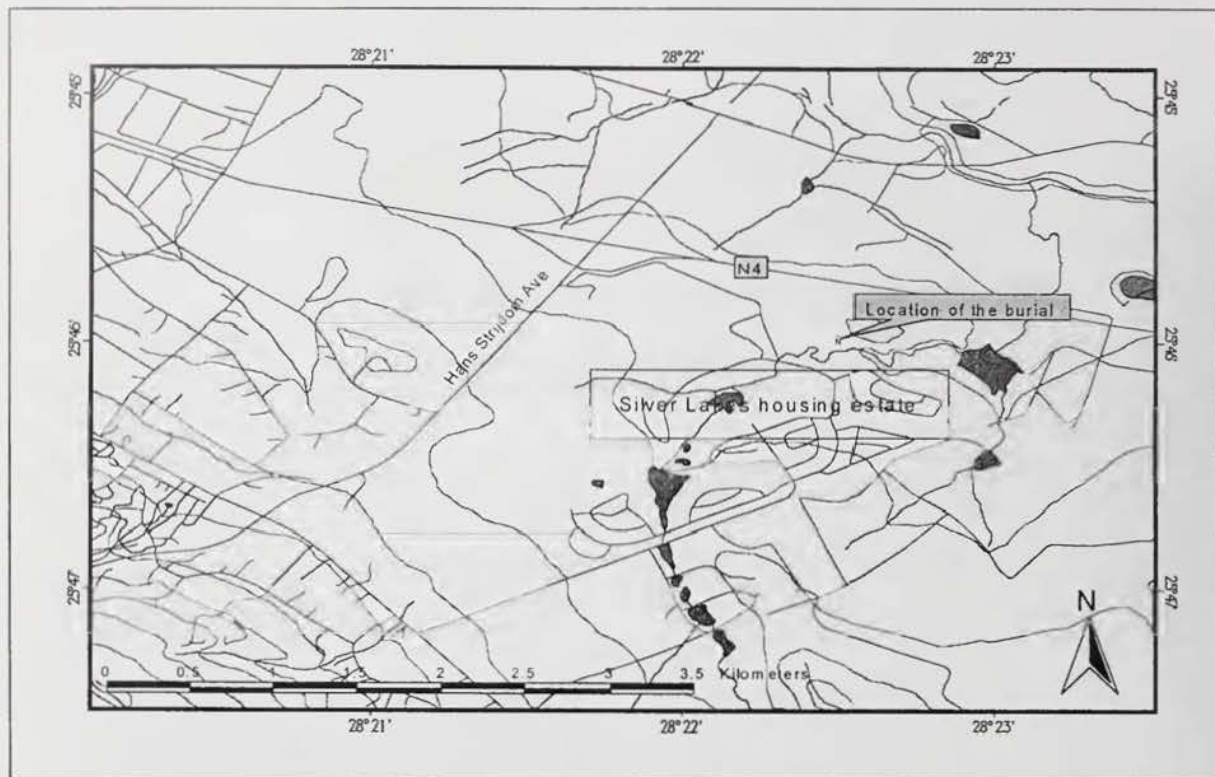


Fig. 1. Map showing the location of the burial site.

has a rich prehistory stretching back thousands of years to the Early Stone Age. For the purposes of this document we will, however, only concentrate on the Iron Age and historical European settlement in the area.

Before European settlement the area was inhabited by Late Iron Age groups of agro-pastoralists. The LIA in South Africa dates between the early 1600's and mid 1800's. Evidence for Iron Age settlement near the burial site is in the form of some low stone walling (cattle kraals, etc.) at the foot of a small hill northeast of the burial pit. It is quite possible that the stone walled settlements here and in the rest of the Silver Lakes area (the original farm Zwartkoppies 364 JR) have a Ndebele origin (Van Schalkwyk *et.al.* 1996). Ethno historical investigation has indicated that Ndebele sites occur in the area, especially on the farms Hatherley, Zwartkoppies, Mooiplaats and Tierpoort (Van Schalkwyk *et.al.* 1996: 46-47).

The Southern Ndebele were most probably among the earliest Nguni-speaking people in the immediate area north of the Magaliesberg range north of Tshwane. The Manala-Ndebele, one of these Southern Ndebele groups, settled over a wide area towards the east of the present-day Tshwane, and it is possibly this group with which the stone walled settlements on Silver Lakes are associated (Van Schalkwyk *et.al.* 1996: 48). According to oral traditions the Manala chiefdom was destroyed by Mzilikazi around 1825. Survivors regrouped in scattered settlements or clusters of smaller settlements up to recent times, with many becoming

labour tenants on white farms in the area (Van Schalkwyk *et.al.* 1996: 48).

During precolonial times the Manala-Ndebele settlements had a three-fold regional division, each occupied consecutively. The KoNonduna region, which included an undefined portion of Zwartkoppies 364 JR, was apparently occupied between circa AD 1747 and AD 1825 (Van Schalkwyk *et.al.* 1996:48-49). It is not certain whether or not the stone walls near the burial site are linked to KoNonduna.

Archaeological investigations on an Ndebele site on Hatherley, to the north of Silver Lakes, showed that differences and similarities exist between the Ndebele sites in the region. The sites on Zwartkoppies are not as extensive, in terms of stone walling, as those on Hatherley, while the amount of cultural deposit (ash, bone, pottery and glass beads) on some Zwartkoppies sites are more significant than elsewhere. Unfortunately, most of the sites on Zwartkoppies were destroyed by the development of Silver Lakes before archaeological investigations could be carried out (Van Schalkwyk *et.al.* 1996:50).

Historically speaking, Tshwane (old Pretoria) was established in 1855 by M.W. Pretorius, son of the Voortrekker Andries Pretorius. The town was named in honour of his father (SESA 1973, vol.9). Long before 1855, however, Europeans visited and lived in the area. The Scottish missionary, Robert Moffat, visited the area in 1830 on Mzilikazi's invitation, and became the first European to

describe the surroundings of Pretoria (Collier 1965:2). In 1835, the scientist and explorer, Dr. Andrew Smith, also visited the Magaliesberg. Finally, in 1838, Lucas Bronkhorst built the first house in Pretoria, situated in Fountains Valley. He was the brother of Gerhard Bronkhorst, secretary to Voortrekker leader Andries Potgieter, with whom he journeyed through Daspoort and Wonderboompoort in August 1836. Gerhard also built a house in Fountains Valley, a year after his brother. Only in 1848 did more people move in, with the Fourie trek comprising six families settling in the area of the present-day Burgers Park (Collier 1965:3, 6).

To go into further detail regarding Tshwane's early history is unnecessary. What is clear is that Iron Age people, probably Manala-Ndebele, lived in the Silver Lakes area long before the first Europeans settled here. The contact between the two groups occurred after 1830 and after Mzilikzi moved away. Many started working on white-owned farms after 1855. The skeletal remains and grave goods from Silver Lakes are evidence of this contact.

EXCAVATION RESULTS

Burial

The burial pit (Fig. 2) seems to have been dug in a midden, as an ashy layer was exposed in the pit. Skeletal remains (Fig. 3) started appearing approximately 52 cm below this ashy layer, with the total depth of the pit (including fill and concrete slab) being 1.34 m.

The individual was buried lying on its left side, in the semi-flexed or foetal position, in an east-west direction with the head towards the north. The total length of the burial was 52 cm (east-west) and the width 23 cm (north-south). A large stone was placed in the grave, with the individual's head resting on it.

Grave Goods

A fairly large amount of cultural material, or associated grave goods, were recovered with the skeletal remains. Although some of these artefacts might only be related to the midden in which the burial was placed, most are believed to be the personal effects of the deceased. The grave goods are divided into the following categories.

Ceramics

Forty-one fragments of a small vessel, probably a bowl or drinking cup, were recovered from the burial. The vessel was unfortunately broken during the construction work on the house, and is too fragmented to determine size or specific shape. It is undecorated, but has black coloured burnish (ochre or haematite) on both its inner and outer surfaces. Because the vessel was found near the head of the individual, we believe it to be associated with the burial and not the midden the burial was placed in.

Glass beads

A large number of glass beads (127 in total), representing three different types of beads (Figs 4 -6), were

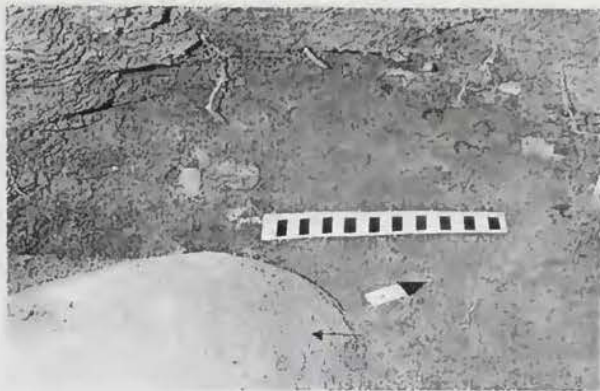


Fig. 2. Silver Lakes Burial Pit - Note the large stone (indicated by arrow) used to rest the head on.

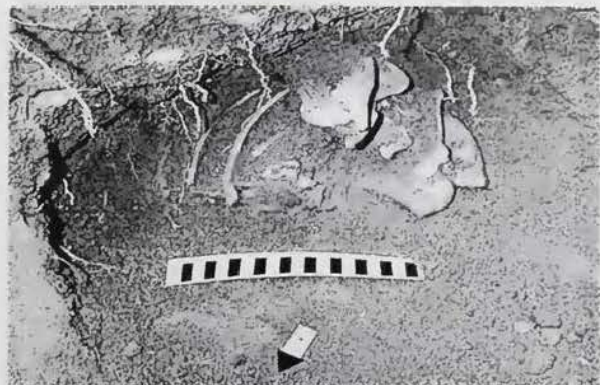


Fig. 3. Silver Lakes burial. Due to the difficult position in which the pit was located, the complete skeleton could not be photographed *in situ*.

found with the burial. Of these, 100 were opaque aqua blue circular wound beads (Kinahan 2000:58, 115), 17 were dark blue hexagonal drawn beads (Kinahan 2000:57, 113), the so-called Venetian trade beads, while a further 10 (represented by 47 fragments) were also circular wound beads, but of a different shade of blue.

Most of the beads came from the burial pit, located near or on the neck of the individual, although some were recovered (sieved out) in the rubble taken from the pit. It is presumed that the beads were strung around the persons' neck when the burial took place, the string unfortunately long since gone.

The beads found with the burial were used during Iron Age times as trade items, and might have been passed on from one owner to another over generations. This makes the dating of the burial, and the site, problematic. The drawn beads (dark blue hexagonal type) are similar to ones found on other Iron Age sites in southern Africa, e.g. the !Khuiseb Delta in Namibia, dating to between the 2nd half of the 18th century and the late 19th century (Kinahan 2000). The wound types were also found on Namibian sites, and date to the early 20th century.



Fig. 4. Glass beads - Type 1: Opaque aqua blue circular wound beads.

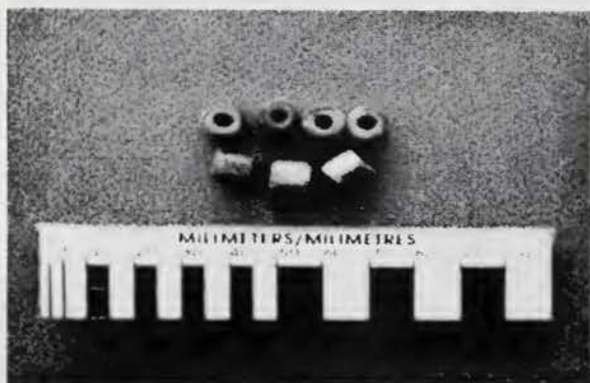


Fig. 5. Glass beads - Type 2: Dark blue hexagonal beads.



Fig. 6. Glass beads - Type 3: Light blue circular wound beads.

It is therefore possible that the site, and probably also the burial, date to between the mid/late 1700's and early 1900's. However, because glass beads have a fairly long 'life span', and were passed on for generations, this is only a relative age determination. Dating the skeletal remains more accurately will depend on the C14 analysis of the bones. This will provide a radiocarbon age, and could give us a better indication of when the individual lived and died.

Metal artefacts

A wide variety of metal artefacts were recovered from the burial pit. These include copper bangles, copper beads and a set of enamel bowls with a spoon.

Copper arm bangles and ankle rings

A number of copper arm bangles were found with the skeletal remains (Fig. 7). A single bangle was on the right arm of the individual, while approximately ten were around the left arm. Due to heavy corrosion the exact number of bangles on the right arm could not be determined. The bangles have a diameter of 60 mm, and are on squared pieces of copper about 0,4 mm thick. The ends of the bangles are rounded.

Two large copper ankle rings (Fig. 8), one on each leg, were also recovered. They are both approximately 87 mm in diameter and on a rounded piece of copper 0,3 mm thick. The ends of both have also been rounded.

Copper beads

Two types of copper beads were recovered with the skeletal remains. The first is a small string, very fragmented and corroded, of beads (a coiled helix), strung around strands of animal tail hair. The beads have a diameter of less than 1.5 mm. The second is a string of large copper beads, 51 in total, strung around a piece of khaki coloured cloth (Fig.9). The string has a length of 163 mm. Each bead is 5 mm in diameter and has a thickness of 2 mm. The beads were manufactured by cutting strips of copper and folding them into rounded beads. The copper bead strings were probably worn around the neck, or arms, of the individual.

Copper snuff holder or tinder box

This is one of the most interesting objects (Fig.10) recovered with the skeletal remains. The object has a cylindrical shape, with a diameter of 13 mm and length of 75 mm. It is wrapped in a piece of khaki coloured cloth, similar to fragments of cloth found with the copper bangles and elsewhere on the skeleton. It has a lid 23 mm long that fits over the rest of the cylinder. There are two 'eyes', one at each end, which were probably used to thread string through in order to hang it around the individual's neck.

The exact function of the artefact is not clearly defined yet. It might be a tinder box (tonteldoos), used to keep fire making materials such as flints and tinder in to keep it dry (J. Middeljans, pers.comm. 2003), or more likely, a snuff holder (J. van Schalkwyk, pers.comm. 2003). The real function might only be determined once the object is opened. Although it is fairly well preserved, we do not want to open it in fear of damaging it.

Set of enamel bowls and spoon

A set of two white coloured enamel bowls, with a metal desert spoon (Fig.11), was also recovered. Although these artefacts were not found with the skeletal remains (they came from the rubble taken out of the pit by the builders), it is presumed that they were placed on top of the grave or



Fig. 7. Copper arm bangle from the burial.

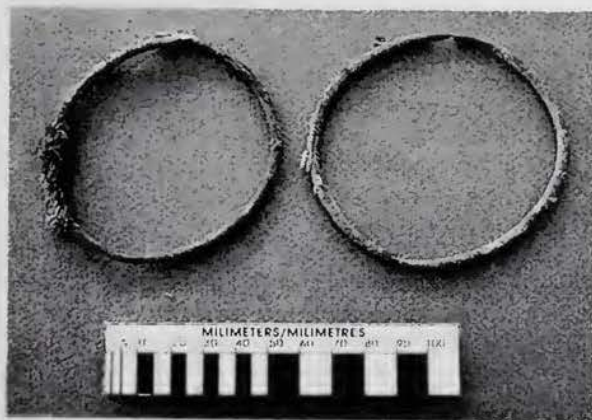


Fig. 8. Copper ankle rings.



Fig. 9. Copper beads strung on khaki-coloured piece of cloth.

buried with the individual. Eating and drinking utensils (such as drinking cups or bowls) were buried with the deceased during Iron Age and later times.

The smaller of the two bowls had a diameter of 160 mm and stands 65 mm high. It is round, with a flat base, and has



Fig. 10. Copper snuff holder or tinderbox. Note khaki cloth wrapped around it.



Fig. 11. Set of enamel bowls and spoon.

a ridge near the bottom of the bowl that goes right around it. The bowl also has two small handles, rectangular in shape, opposite each other. The large bowl is 185 mm in diameter and stands 75 mm high. It is round with a base that tapers downwards. The spoon is 190 mm in length with the ladle 45 mm wide. It has a heart-shaped pattern on the haft that is similar to decoration found on spoons recovered at historical archaeological sites such as Minnaar Street (Pelser *et al.* 1998) in Tshwane, which dates to the late 19th/early 20th centuries.

Clothing

A number of small fragments of clothing were recovered with the skeletal remains. Most of the clothing fragments were found attached to the copper artefacts, although some pieces came from the burial pit itself.

Five types of cloth were identified from the fragments. The first, a machine woven, khaki-coloured cloth, was

found wrapped around the copper snuff holder, while similar cloth was used in the string of large copper beads. The second type is a khaki and white coloured machine woven cloth, found on both of the ankle rings and one of the copper bangles, while the third is also a machine woven cloth, light and dark brown in colour, with a triple band of light brown stripes for decoration. A green coloured woven cloth was also identified, although this might only be the result of the copper artefacts oxidizing over the years. The last type is hand woven, dark brown, grass matting. Pieces of khaki cloth adhere to it.

The largest mat fragment has a length of 60 mm and is 35 mm wide, while the biggest cloth fragment is 42 mm long and 27 mm wide. Because the fragments are so small, it is difficult to determine their origin, and is therefore impossible to date. The individual was probably placed on top of the hand woven grass mat for burial, and might have been dressed in his clothes. The copper artefacts were possibly wrapped in cloth simply to protect them, although a ritual or symbolic reason is also possible.

Other cultural material

A number of artefacts not related to the burial were also recovered from the burial pit area. Some of these came directly from the pit (associated with the midden), while a few were found in the rubble removed from the pit by construction workers.

Stone Age material

Eight stone tools, dating to the Middle and Late Stone Age, came from the pit and the immediate area around it. These included some scrapers and other flake-tools.

Iron Age material

This included a large upper grinding stone that might also have been used as hammer stone, as well as 23 pieces of undecorated pottery. The pottery fragments represent at least three individual vessels. Faunal remains, associated with the midden in which the burial pit was dug, were also found. Of these, 20 pieces were unidentifiable bone flakes and enamel fragments. There was one identifiable tooth (a molar), representing cattle (*Bos taurus*).

Historical material

The only artefact in this category is an old, rusty pocket knife (Fig. 12), broken into three pieces. Although the knife might have belonged to the individual buried here, it is very difficult to determine because it was not found associated with the skeletal remains. The age and origin of the knife could also not be determined.

The pocketknife had a single blade, 80 mm long, with the knife handle 97 mm long.

Skeletal remains

The skeletal remains were fairly well preserved, and a detailed study was possible. The remains consist of the bones of one human individual.

The skeleton is nearly complete, and comprises of a skull and mandible, a complete set of vertebrae, most of the ribs,



Fig. 12. Pocket knife from the site.

the pelvis and long bones. All the major long bones are present, most of them complete. The skull suffered damage during the discovery/excavation, and could only be partially reconstructed. Some hand and foot bones were also found, although not all. A cluster of copper and iron bangles holds the left radius and ulna together, with some cloth adhering to it. They were left as such.

The skeleton is clearly that of an adult. All long bone epiphyses are closed, as are many of the cranial sutures. Most of the coronal suture and part of the sagittal sutures are completely obliterated. The teeth are very worn, and in some of them only the roots are remaining. Many of the sternal ends of ribs have large outgrowths (Oettlé & Steyn 2000). Large osteophytes are present on especially the lumbar vertebrae, and the sacrum and ilia show signs of partial fusion. These features indicate an individual of older than 50 years (Ferembach *et al.* 1980, Krogman & İşcan 1986).

The sex was difficult to determine, as many of the characteristics are ambiguous. Although the sciatic notches are fairly narrow (a male characteristic), the subpubic angle is wide, the pubes have a rectangular shape and prominent pre-auricular sulci are present. The sacrum is wide. The mastoids are intermediate in size, as are the glabella. The supraorbital rims are sharp and the forehead vertical. As much dental pathology is present, the mandible could not be used. The individual was most probably female (Ferembach *et al.* 1980; Krogman & İşcan 1986).

The long and narrow skull and morphology of the nose indicate an individual of South African Negroid origin (De Villiers 1968). The cranial and mandibular measurements that were possible are shown in Table 1 (Buikstra & Ubelaker 1994).

For reconstructing the stature, the formulae of Lundy & Feldesman (1987) were used. This person was about 151.5 ± 2.789 cm tall, as calculated with the physiological length of the femur. This is average to short for a South African Black woman (Tobias 1972). Postcranial measurements can be seen in Table 2.

Dental analysis is very difficult due to the presence of advanced dental disease and many fragmentary teeth. In the maxilla, the right second molar, both central incisors, the

Table 1. Measurements of skull and mandible of the Silver Lakes burial (Buikstra & Ubelaker 1994).

| Dimension | mm |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Max. cranial length | ±186.0 |
| Max. cranial breadth | ±133.0 |
| Basion-bregma | ±136.0 |
| Biauricular breadth | 114.0 |
| Min. frontal breadth | 98.0 |
| Upper facial breadth | 104.0 |
| Frontal chord | 119.0 |
| Foramen magnum length | 32.0 |
| Foramen magnum breadth | 26.0 |
| Chin height | ±34.0 |
| Breadth of the mandibular body | 11.0 |
| Bigonial width | 97.0 |
| Bicondylar breadth | 121.0 |
| Min. ramus breadth | 33.5 |
| Max. ramus breadth | 39.0 |
| Max. ramus height | 52.0 |
| Mandibular length | 78.5 |
| Mandibular angle | 125.0 |

right lateral incisor as well as the left first and second molars seem to have been lost before death. The left third molar is postmortem absent. Dental abscessing is present at the roots of the right first molar and left canine and first premolar. The teeth are severely worn, especially the anterior teeth. In some cases only the roots are remaining.

In the mandible, the right first molar, right central incisor and left second premolar were lost antemortem. A dental abscess is present at the root of the right second molar, and a carious lesion can be seen on the left second molar. These teeth are also very worn.

The pattern of dental wear is unusual. Many of the lower teeth are very worn on their anterior sides, indicating a degree of overbite. The irregular and inconsistent wear patterns may indicate that the teeth were used for purposes other than chewing. Due to the advanced wear, no measurements were possible.

Enamel hypoplastic lines are visible on the left lower canine and right upper canine. The other teeth could not be assessed due to the advanced wear and presence of calculus. Enamel hypoplastic lines are usually indicative of acute episodes of disease and/or malnutrition during childhood (Goodman & Rose 1990). No cribra orbitalia is present. Advanced pathology of the spine is present. In the cervical vertebrae degeneration of intervertebral discs led to erosion of the vertebral bodies, many of which are also flattened with large osteophytes. Osteophytes are also present on the thoracic vertebrae, with a partial collapse of the body of T11. All lumbar vertebrae also show large osteophytes, while the L1 are collapsed. This individual would have had advanced kyphosis and would have had difficulty in walking upright. Partial fusion of the sacro-iliac joints is also present. Although there are many pathological changes in the back,

Table 2. Long bone measurements of the Silver Lakes burial (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994).

| Dimension | mm |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Clavicle | |
| Length | 126.5 |
| Diameter: antero-posterior | 13.0 |
| Diameter: supero-inferior | 9.5 |
| Scapula | |
| Height | 138.5 |
| Breadth | 109.0 |
| Humerus | |
| Maximum length | 283.5 |
| Epicondylar breadth | 58.5 |
| Vertical head diameter | 39.5 |
| Max. diameter at midshaft | 21.5 |
| Min. diameter at midshaft | 17.5 |
| Radius | |
| Maximum length* | 238.0 |
| Diameter: antero-posterior* | 10.5 |
| Diameter: medio-lateral* | 14.0 |
| Ulna | |
| Maximum length* | 261.0 |
| Diameter: antero-posterior* | 13.0 |
| Diameter: medio-lateral* | 16.0 |
| Physiological length* | 232.0 |
| Min. circumference* | 30.0 |
| Sacrum | |
| Anterior length | 104.5 |
| Ant-sup breadth | 102.0 |
| Max diameter base | 60.0 |
| Os coxae | |
| Height | 183.0 |
| Iliac breadth | 145.5 |
| Pubis length | 73.0 |
| Ischium length | 75.0 |
| Femur | |
| Maximum length* | 416.5 |
| Bicondylar length* | 412.0 |
| Epicondylar breadth* | 75.5 |
| Max. diameter of head* | 41.0 |
| Ant-post subtrochanteric diameter* | 23.5 |
| Med-lat. subtrochanteric diameter* | 30.0 |
| Ant-post midshaft diameter* | 29.0 |
| Med-lat midshaft diameter* | 24.0 |
| Midshaft circumference* | 81.5 |
| Tibia | |
| Maximum length | 365.0 |
| Max. prox. epiphyseal breadth | 69.5 |
| Max. dist. epiphyseal breadth | 42.5 |
| Max. diameter nutrient foramen | 28.0 |
| Med-lat. diameter nutrient foramen | 24.0 |
| Circumference nutrient foramen | 81.0 |
| Fibula | |
| Maximum length* | 347.0 |
| Max. diameter at midshaft* | 17.0 |
| Calcaneus | |
| Max. length* | 78.0 |
| Middle breadth* | 40.0 |

*measured on right side. max.=maximum, ant=anterior, post-posterior, med-medial, lat=lateral

the condition of the bone is generally good. This may indicate strenuous labour during life.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

The recovery of the skeletal remains from the burial pit in the Silver Lakes Estate has provided archaeologists from the NCHM with the opportunity to reconstruct in some small part the earlier history of this area. Previous research in the area (before the extensive housing development started) has been limited to a few superficial cultural resource surveys.

The skeletal remains found are those of a possibly female individual who had been older than 50 years of age and about 1.52 m tall. She had advanced dental disease, with many abscesses and antemortem losses. Degenerative disease of the vertebral column is also evident, which may be related to strenuous labour during life.

Although the skeletal remains and burial pit are related to the Late Iron Age stone walled settlement in the vicinity, some of the associated grave goods clearly point to contact between the Iron Age communities and early European settlers in the area. The glass beads, copper arm and ankle rings, copper beads and pottery are all typically Iron Age artefacts, while the set of enamel bowls and spoon, the snuff holder and clothing have a mainly European origin. Without a radiocarbon age available for the remains and the burial, it is difficult to place the individual within the right time frame. However, based on the European-type artefacts the burial definitely took place after the first Europeans started moving into the Tshwane area (late 1840's to 1850's). The individual might have been before Tshwane was established. Without proper historical context a farm worker, or tenant, living in the Iron Age stone walled settlement, on the white-owned farm. The individual might also have obtained these objects through trade, long information, including oral traditions, available, we might never know the true story.

Interpreting the associated cultural material was much easier. The glass and copper beads, as well as the copper bangles and ankle rings, were used for personal adornment, and probably belonged to the person in life. Besides being used for decorative purposes, these artefacts, and especially the glass beads, were also used as trade items.

The copper snuff holder or tinderbox is more difficult to explain. It was probably hung around the neck of the individual, and was used in purely functional manner (using snuff or making fire), although some ritual meaning can also be ascribed to it. The ritual aspect does need more detailed research however. Although some pottery was found with the skeletal remains, it was not possible to reconstruct the vessel represented by the pieces. It was possibly a small bowl or drinking cup. The set of enamel bowls and spoon are also associated material. In Late Iron Age burials grave goods, such as ceramic pots and bowls, are sometimes found. The European metal artefacts are therefore a simple continuation of traditional burial practises, and not a replacement.

To conclude, the burial at Silver Lakes probably dates to between the mid and late 19th century, after Europeans

moved into the Tshwane region. The stone walled settlement situated not far from the burial pit is probably related, indicating that the individual lived here while possibly working on the white-owned farm as labourer. Dating the remains and the burial are problematic, as no C14 date is available at present. The Iron Age and European artefacts do, however, give us a relative age estimation.

To properly understand the remains and burial, and place it into the context of the LIA settlement and the European presence in the area, more research is needed. This would entail both archival and literary research, as well as oral traditions and archaeological excavations. This work has to take place before all cultural remains are completely destroyed.

Over the years several Late Iron Age graves have been found on the Eastern side of Pretoria. In April 1997 the skeletal remains of two human individuals were found by construction workers on plot 200, Willow Glen. Both individuals were females of South African Negroid origin, respectively about 20-35 and 15-20 years of age. A sample of bone from one of the skeletons (UP 72) yielded a radiocarbon date of 180 ± 45 years BP (Pta-7369). Indications of stonewalls, an ash midden and a stock enclosure were also found at the site (Nienaber *et al.* 1998).

Another skeleton was found a few years ago by Meyer (Dept. of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Pretoria) at the Anglo-American development at Swartkoppies (now Silver Lakes). This skeleton is housed at the Department of Anatomy, University of Pretoria.

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