

STONEWALLING IN THE KLIPRIVIERSBERG: ARCHAEOLOGICAL MITIGATION FOR THE ASPEN HILLS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

Salvage excavations in the Klipriviersberg show that *Uitkomst* pottery was the result of interaction between people in the Fokeng cluster, making *Ntsuanatsatsi* pottery, and Southwestern Sotho-Tswana associated with *Olifantspoort*. Fokeng people also introduced stonewalling to Sotho-Tswana, and at the same time changed their own pattern from Type N to Klipriviersberg. The Nguni origin of the Fokeng cluster explains several aspects of settlement in the region.

INTRODUCTION

Stonewalled settlements are a well-known feature of the hilly areas in southern Gauteng. Although several have been traced from aerial photographs, few have been accurately mapped. A CRM project provided the opportunity to study a cluster in the Klipriviersberg.

The Aspen Hills Development Company commissioned Archaeological Resources Management (ARM) to assess the significance of stonewalled settlements on their property (Portion 37 of *Liefde en Vrede* 1041R) in southern Johannesburg (Fig. 1). In general, mitigation measures are based on the premise that developers are responsible for the recovery of research potential, rather than research itself. Sufficient data should therefore be recorded so that the sites, once destroyed, could still be studied in the future.

A short outline of the Late Iron Age will provide an archaeological context for our mitigation. We then present results.

BACKGROUND TO THE LATE IRON AGE IN THE KLIPRIVIERSBERG

Most Iron Age settlements in southern Africa followed the principles of the Central Cattle Pattern: cattle kraals marked the male domain in the centre of the settlement, while huts and grain bins, surrounding the centre, formed the domain of married women (Kuper 1982; Huffman 1982). Settlement types differ in details, such as the internal arrangement of cattle kraals, the location of small stock kraals, the type of huts and the shape of outer boundary walls. Nevertheless, the types originated from the same Eastern Bantu worldview that emphasized a patrilineal ideology of procreation (one's blood comes from the father), male hereditary leadership, a preference for cattle as

bride wealth (lobola) and a positive attitude about the role of ancestors in daily life.

In addition to the same worldview, the different groups had the same general way of life. As various excavations show, Iron Age people were mixed agriculturalists, cultivating sorghum, millets and beans, and they herded domestic stock (e.g. Mitchell 2002). As a rule, their settlements were located near soils that could be cultivated with a hoe. In the Aspen Hills area, the stream to the west and the large Kliprivier vlei to the south would have provided ample agricultural land. Because of their agricultural requirements, Late Iron Age farmers would have only been able to live in the Aspen Hills area when the climate was warmer and wetter than today.

In some areas devoid of trees, people with the Central Cattle Pattern turned to building in stone to mark social boundaries. Because of the need for stone, most stonewalled settlements are sited near rocky outcrops. The homesteads are similar in that animal enclosures formed a circle around a central open space, or cattle were kept in a single central kraal. As the height of lintels sometimes shows, adult cattle stayed in large enclosures and calves in smaller kraals. The number of adult kraals reflects the number of cattle-owning families who lived in the homestead. If there was only one family, then only one kraal stands in the centre without a central open space. Usually, the central open space was for milking and other communal activities. In treeless environments, the dung was used as fuel, and so the kraals there often have a concave profile.

Stonewalled settlements dating to the Late Iron Age are well recorded in the larger region. The earliest are known as **Type N** (Maggs 1976) in Free State and Group 1 (Jones 1939; Taylor 1979) north of the Vaal. They date from AD 1500 to 1700. Type N derives its name from the hill Ntsuanatsatsi, the legendary place of origin of the Fokeng cluster. Type N walling consists of

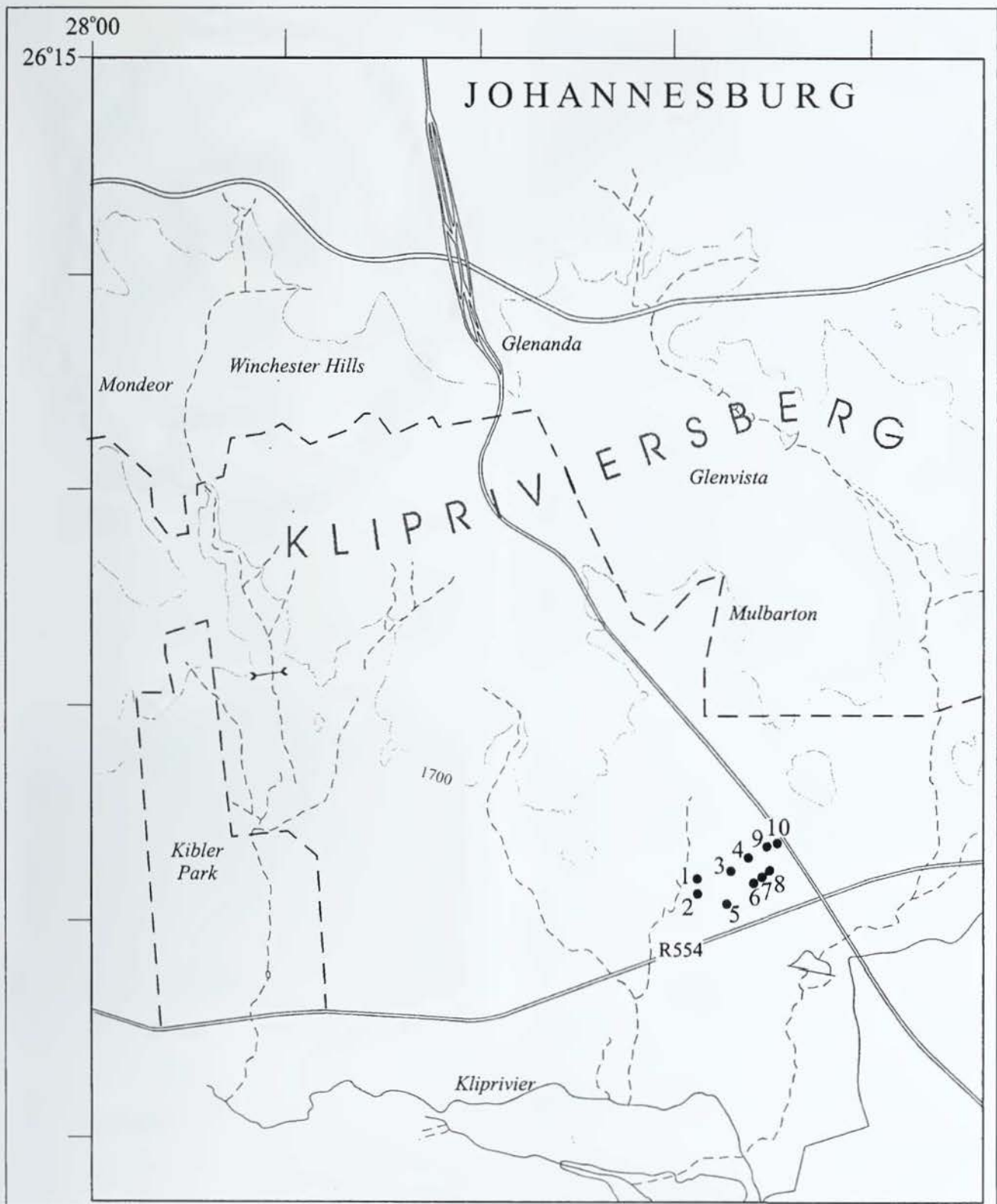


Fig. 1. Locations of Aspen Hills Sites.

a few cattle kraals in the centre, linked by other walls.

Alternatively, only one cattle kraal may be in the centre. Little usually remains of structures in the residential zone, but sometimes, stone paving marks the location of houses: these houses were probably shaped like beehives. A smooth outer wall that sometimes incorporates small stock enclosures surrounds

the whole settlement.

In southern Gauteng, Fokeng also built the **Klipriviersberg Type**, or Group III (Taylor 1979; Loubser 1985), between AD 1700 and the Historic Period. Klipriviersberg walling (Mason's 1968 Class 2 & 5) is more complex in that aggregated settlements are common, the outer wall sometimes includes scallops

to mark back courtyards, there are more small stock kraals, and straight walls separate households in the residential zone. Beehive houses are common, sometimes with sliding doors.

Western Sotho-Tswana, such as Hurutshe and Kwena, built Group II (Taylor 1979, 1984), or **Molokwane** walling (Mason's 1968 Class 6 & 9; Mason's 1986 Bupye). Arcs in the outer wall mark the back courtyards of individual households surrounding the core. Sheep and goat kraals stood between the cattle enclosures and front courtyards. Pole and daga rondavels in the centre established a bilobial arrangement of households (see Maggs 1972). The rondavels themselves included front verandas and were entered through sliding doors (see Maggs 1993; Mason 1986). Molokwane settlements stretch across the hilly areas of Gauteng west to Zeerust (Boeyens 1998, 2000; Huffman 1986; Mason 1986; Pistorius 1992; Taylor 1979, 1984). They date from the late 18th century to the beginning of the Historic Period.

South-western Sotho-Tswana, such as Rolong and Tlhaping, built **Type Z** walling (Maggs 1976; Mason 1986). Similar to Molokwane, bilobial households surrounded the core in a loose circle, with space between each household (Mason's 1968 Class 7). Daga houses with verandas also contained sliding doors. Type Z settlements cover the western Free State and southern portions of the Northwest Province, and one is on record in the Klipriviersberg area (Mason 1986:559). Type Z settlements date from the 17th to the 19th centuries and are thus contemporaneous with Klipriviersberg and Molokwane types.

With this background knowledge, we were able to identify the various ruins to specific types.

DATA AND RESULTS

Method

The ARM team mapped several ruins (Fig. 1), either with a plane table (Sites 1 & 8) or with an EDM (Sites 2-7, 9 & 10). We redrew the plans in the lab and then checked them in the field. In some cases, recent activities have damaged walls, while thick vegetation obscured other portions. To alleviate this problem, the developer cleared vegetation from Sites 9 and 10.

The settlement plans place the middens in their spatial context. Because these settlements were probably not occupied for more than a generation, and animal burrowing disturbed many middens, the team first excavated large (25 cm) spits and then subsequently removed the deposit as a unit. The unit in each case measured 2 x 4 m. All midden deposit (except for a small portion of Midden 5) was sieved using a 5 mm screen.

Bone samples were divided into identifiable and unidentifiable categories and a minimum species list was based on teeth. Faunal specialists can now consider the value of the samples for future analysis.

For descriptive purposes, the ceramic samples were divided into various categories, such as rims, decorated body sherds and so on. Fragments with a soot residue indicate functional categories and were retained. Decorated fragments were identified to facies, that is, the space/time unit used to construct culture-history sequences.

TYPE N SETTLEMENTS

Site 1 and Site 2 lie at the western side of the Aspen Hills kopje about 100 m apart (Figs 2 & 3). Although stone had been removed from both sometime in the past, the overall pattern is

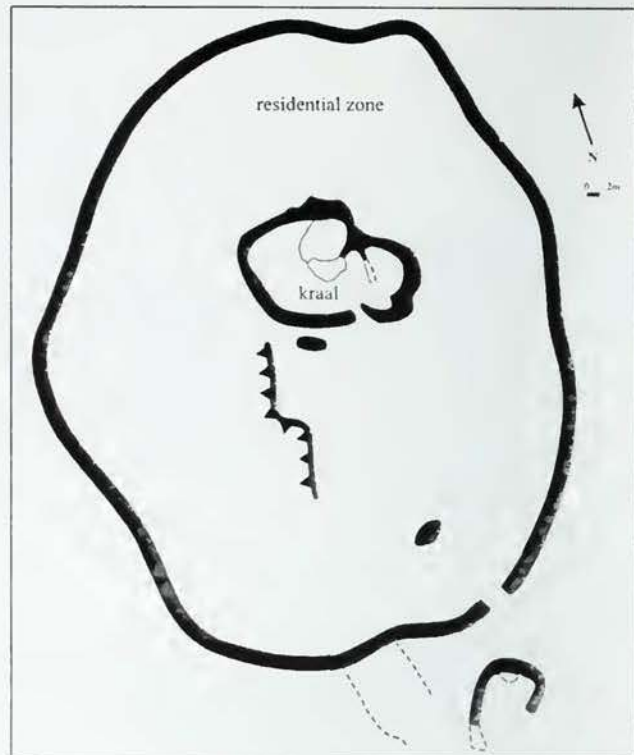


Fig. 2. Plan of Site 1.

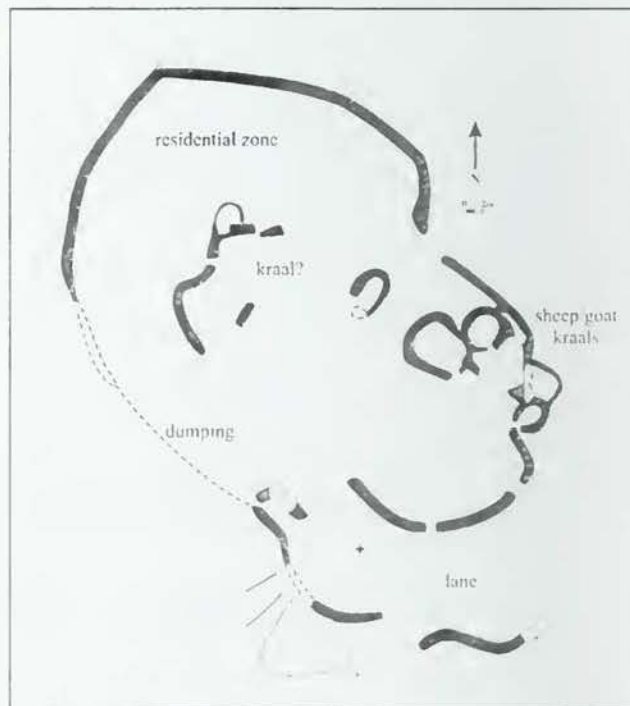


Fig. 3. Plan of Site 2.

relatively clear, and the smooth outer walls show that these ruins belong to Type N. Midden deposits are not obvious at either site, but the scatter of potsherds suggests that rubbish may have been thrown behind each household.

SITE 1 (2628AC58A)

Site 1 (26.18.49S; 28.03.101E) is about 50 m across, with an entrance on the south side. The central cattle kraal appears to

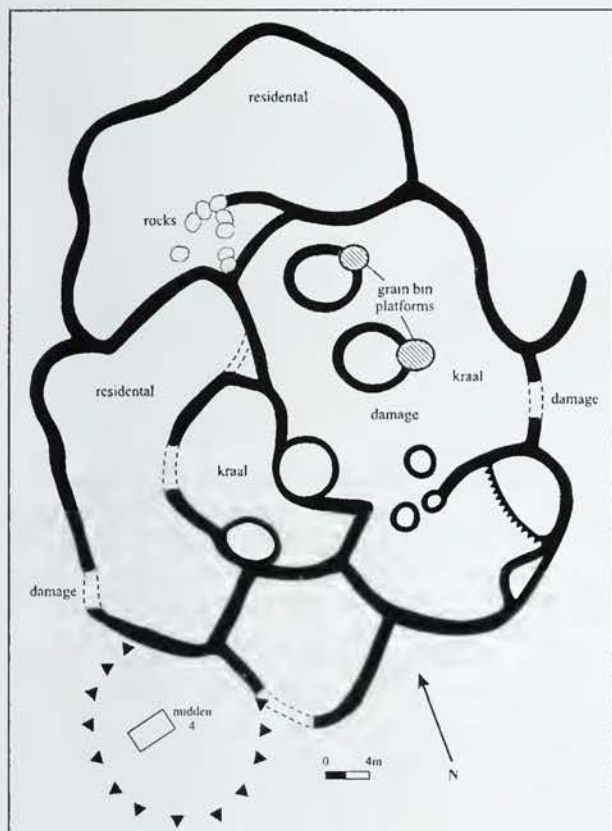


Fig. 4. Plan of Site 4 and location of Midden 4.

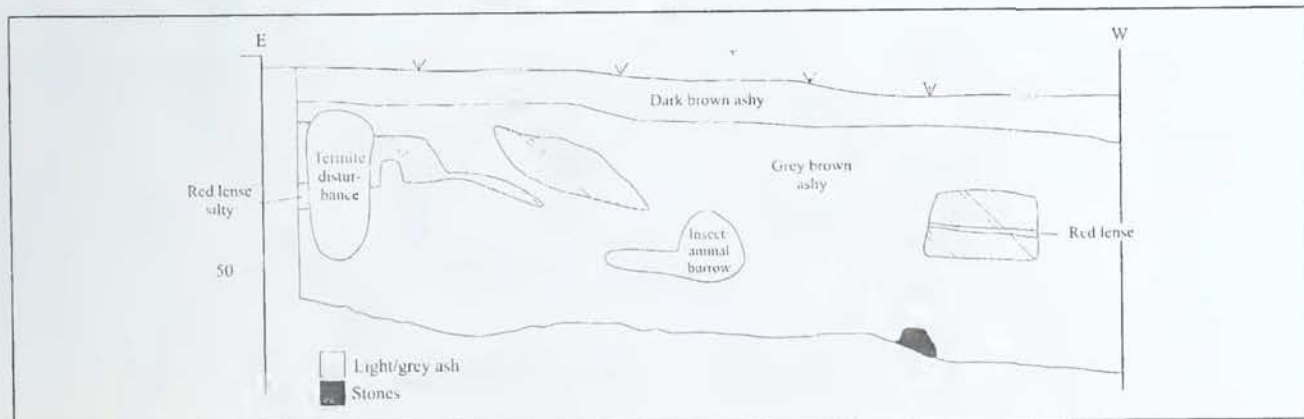


Fig. 5 (above) North face of Midden 4. Note bottle in wall near arrow. (below) South section of Midden 4.

have an internal division to enclose calves, while a low wall in the residential zone probably helped to separate different households. The function of a small enclosure outside, near the southern entrance, is unknown.

SITE 2 (2628AC58B)

Site 2 (26.18.51S; 28.03.10E) is not as well preserved, but it is larger, about 66 m across, and appears to be more complex. Small enclosures on the outer wall probably sheltered sheep and goats, while walls on the south side probably served as lanes to funnel cattle into the centre.

KLIPRIVIERSBERG TYPE SETTLEMENTS

The remaining sites all differ from the first two in that the central cattle area is more complex and the outer boundary wall incorporates multiple arcs, each marking the back of individual households.

SITE 4 (2628AC59B)

Site 4 (26.18.44.5S; 28.03.22.1E) lies in the saddle of the main kopje in an area highly disturbed by dumping. The walls could not be mapped completely because of heavy vegetation and recent damage, but characteristics of the Klipriviersberg Type are nevertheless clear (Fig. 4). Two solid stone cairns inside the site may have supported grain bins placed on the edge of livestock enclosures. Unfortunately, we were unable to locate entrances or passageways.

A large ash mound stood outside and down slope of the main walling (Fig. 5 above). Animal burrowing was severe, and modern material from dumping lay on the surface. As a result, the excavations uncovered bottles and plastic deep in the deposit. The deposit itself comprised 55-65 cm of largely reworked ash on top of a hard red/brown gravelly sub-surface that formed bedrock (Fig. 5 below). A small area on the eastern side may have preserved some of the original stratigraphy: there, thin (± 3 cm) lenses of ash, red/brown soil and more ash covered bedrock.

In addition to modern rubbish, the deposit yielded bone and pottery. The bone sample comprises 597 fragments, 282 of which are identifiable (Table 1), including the teeth of cattle and sheep/goat. The faunal sample also includes seven fragments of land snail (*Achatina sp*) and fourteen shell beads. The identifiable portion was sufficiently large to warrant its separation into elements (Table 2).

Table 1. Faunal remains from Midden 4.

	Identifiable	Unidentifiable	Teeth	Modified	Burnt	Shell	Other
Midden 4	282	315	38	12	29	7	14 shell beads

Table 2. Bone elements in Midden 4.

Cranial	
Teeth	38
Skull and Jaw	32
Postcranial	
Ribs	117
Spine	12
Limbs	79
Feet	12
Pelvis	15
Scapula	8
Modified	
Burnt	27
Cut/Shaped	14

Table 3. Ceramic remains from Midden 4.

	Rims		Body sherds		Soot
	decorated	plain	decorated	plain	
Midden 4	5	32	3 115 colour	432	106 4 rims 3 colour 99 plain

The pottery sample from Midden 4 consists of 695 fragments, and includes 37 rims, eight with textured decoration, and 115 sherds with a colour burnish (Table 3). Comb-stamped designs show that it is a single assemblage that belongs to the *Uitkomst* facies.

SITE 5 (2628AC59C)

Site 5 (26.18.55S; 28.03.18E) stands at the south-western foot of the main kopje. It is a large complex about 125 m across. Thick bush in the east corner prevented a complete picture, but it is nevertheless clear that the complex contains two central cattle areas, with entrances on the western side, and at least 12 households (Fig. 6).

Midden 5 lies outside the northwest entrance against an outer wall (Fig. 7). The normal 2 x 4 m trench was extended east and south to meet this wall. The deposit was still well preserved, probably because it comprised alternating layers of ash and hard red/brown soil (Fig. 8). Presumably, the hard lenses served to cap the ash.

Midden 5 yielded a relatively large bone sample comprising 1186 fragments, 374 of which are identifiable (Table 4). The teeth represent cattle and sheep/goat. The identifiable portion was worth dividing into bone elements (Table 5).

In total the pottery sample consisted of 345 fragments, and included seven sherds with textured decoration and 64 with a colour burnish (Table 6). The decorated pieces belong to *Uitkomst*.

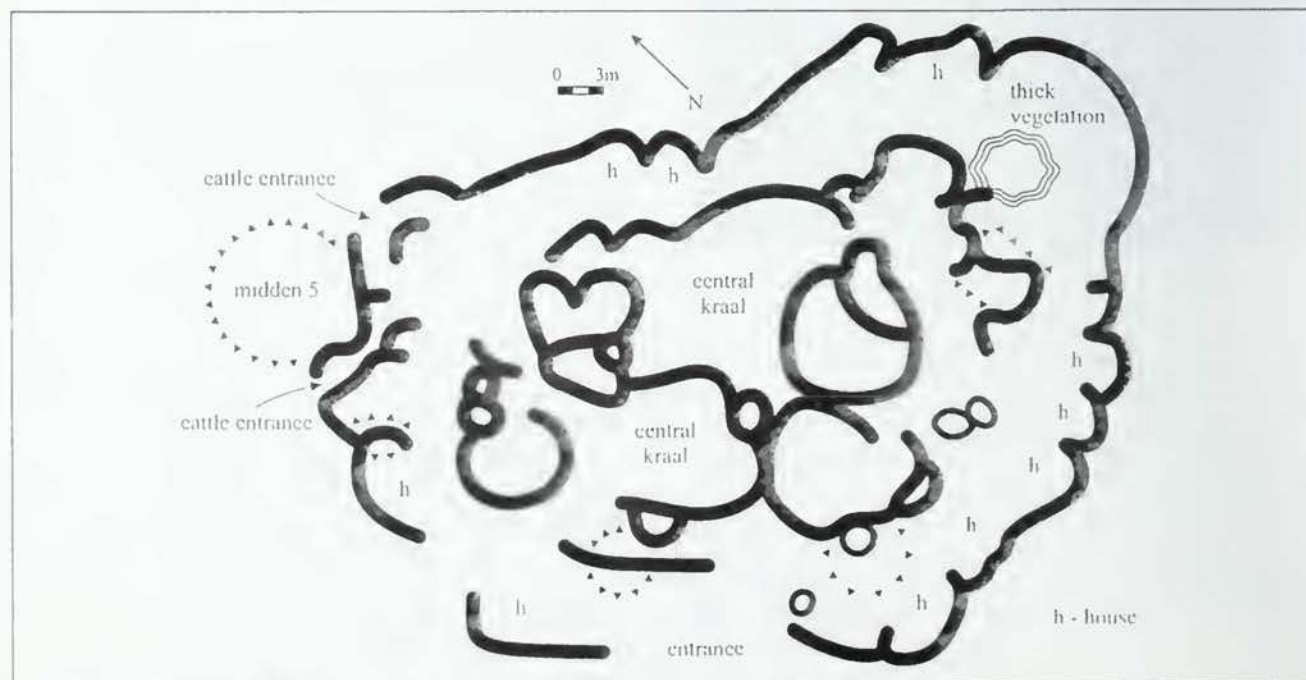


Fig. 6. Plan of Site 5.

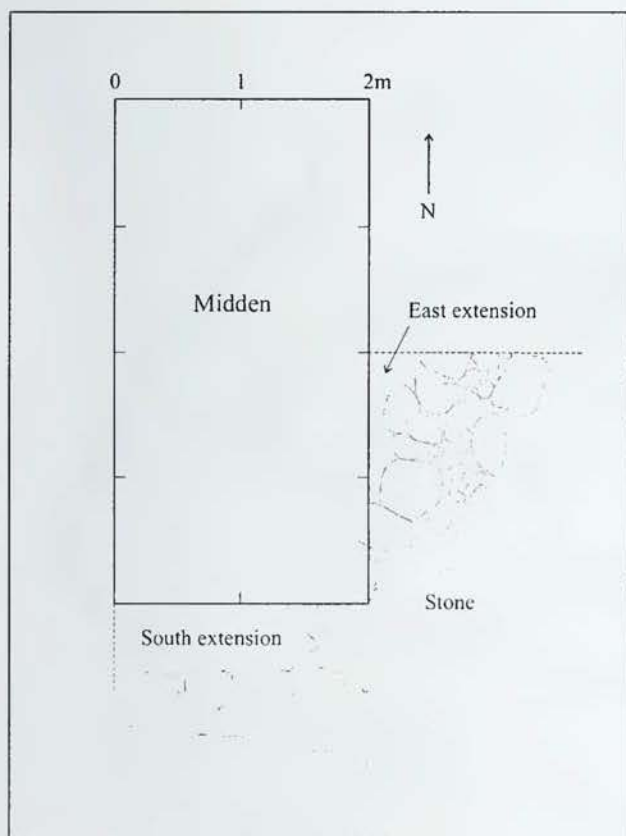


Fig. 7. (above) Plan of Midden 5. (below) Location of Midden 5.

SITE 6 (2628AC59D)

Site 6 (26.18.50,9S; 28.03.26,2E) stands below the saddle on the south side of the hill. It is also a large complex, some 150 m across, with a complex central cattle area and space for at least 16 households (Fig. 9). One household on the south side probably preserved the normal arrangement: a house would have stood in front of the stone arc, while a low wall to the north marks the front entrance, next to a kitchen. The plan documents a few other kitchens. Rectangular foundations (about 4 x 4 m) in the southwest corner mark the former location of a labourer's house.

The team chose a midden in front of an entrance on the south side (Fig. 10). Ash lay on the red/brown subsurface 50 cm below the surface, but most of the deposit consisted of grey brown soil. In the north end the soil colour was a lighter brown

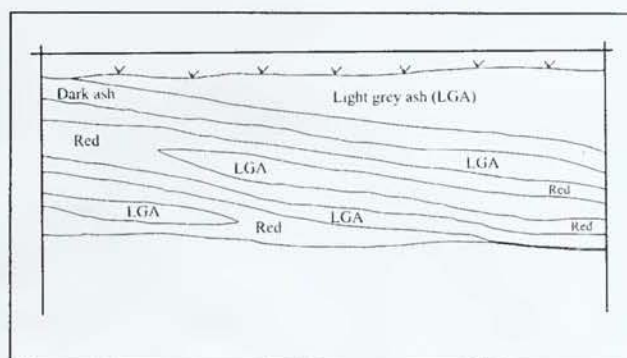


Fig. 8. (above) North section of Midden 5. (below) West face of Midden 5. Note red capping.

Table 4. Faunal remains from Midden 5.

	Identifiable	Unidentifiable	Modified	Burnt
Midden 5	308	748	47	1
East	12	15		
South	30	22	2	1

Table 5. Bone elements from Midden 5.

Cranial	
Teeth	45
Skull and Jaw	29
Postcranial	
Ribs	123
Spine	17
Limbs	111
Feet	15
Pelvis	25
Scapula	9
Modified	
Burnt	2
Cut/Shaped	49

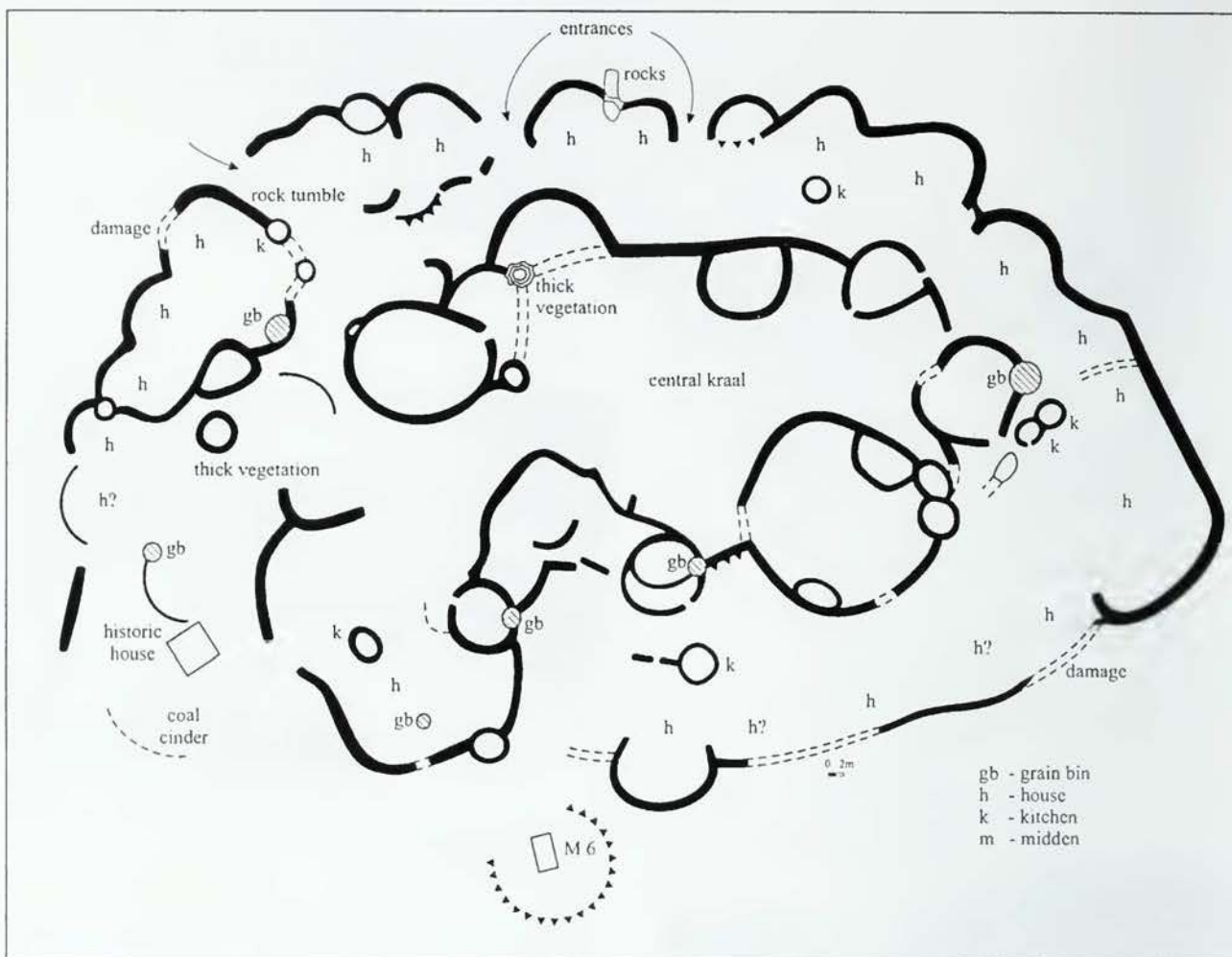


Fig. 9. Plan of Site 6.

Table 6. Ceramic remains from Midden 5.

	Rims decorated	Rims plain	Body decorated	Body plain	Soot	Other
Main trench	3	12	4 47 colour	170	51	1 small cup
East		1	6 colour	9	4	
South		3	11 colour	8	15	

in and around a large stone concentration (Fig. 11). The stones appear to have been dumped there in antiquity.

The deposit produced little bone, although there was the curled up skeleton of a dog in the south wall, 35 cm below surface (Table 7).

In contrast to bone, the deposit yielded a large ceramic sample (Table 8). The sample totals 1817 sherds, including 177 with textured decoration and 273 with colour. Comb-stamped designs show that the assemblage belongs to *Utkomst* (Fig. 12).

Of further interest are 67 sherds associated with metal production. Glazed surfaces and tiny metallic prills show that these fragments were either used as skimmers or crucibles in copper production.

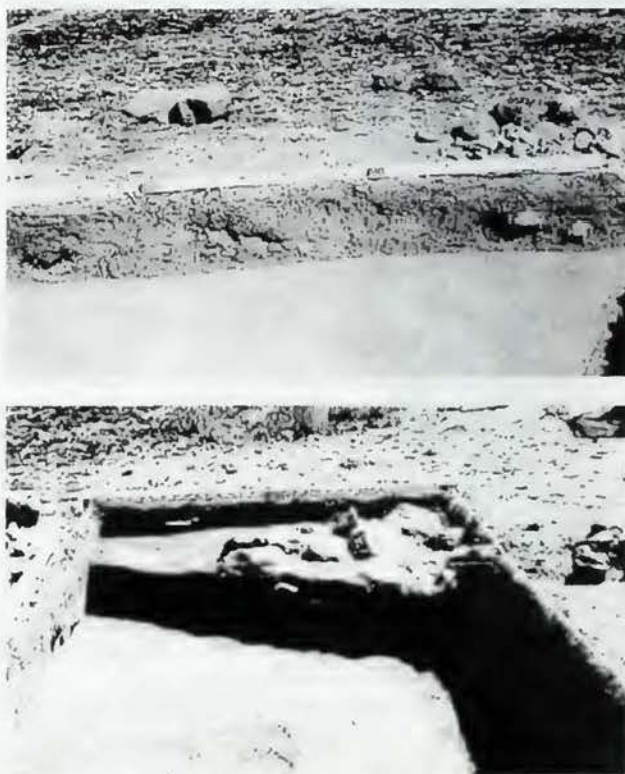


Fig. 10. West (above) and North faces (below) of Midden 6.

Table 7. Faunal remains from Midden 6.

	Identifiable	Unidentifiable	Teeth	Modified	Burnt	Shell	Other
Midden 6	15	20	5		5	1	Dog 115

Table 8. Ceramic remains from Midden 6.

	Rims	Rims	Body sherds	Body sherds	Soot	Metal working	Other
	decorated	plain	decorated	plain			
Midden 6	72	81	96	766	462 (2 rims 5 colour)	67	2 with mend holes

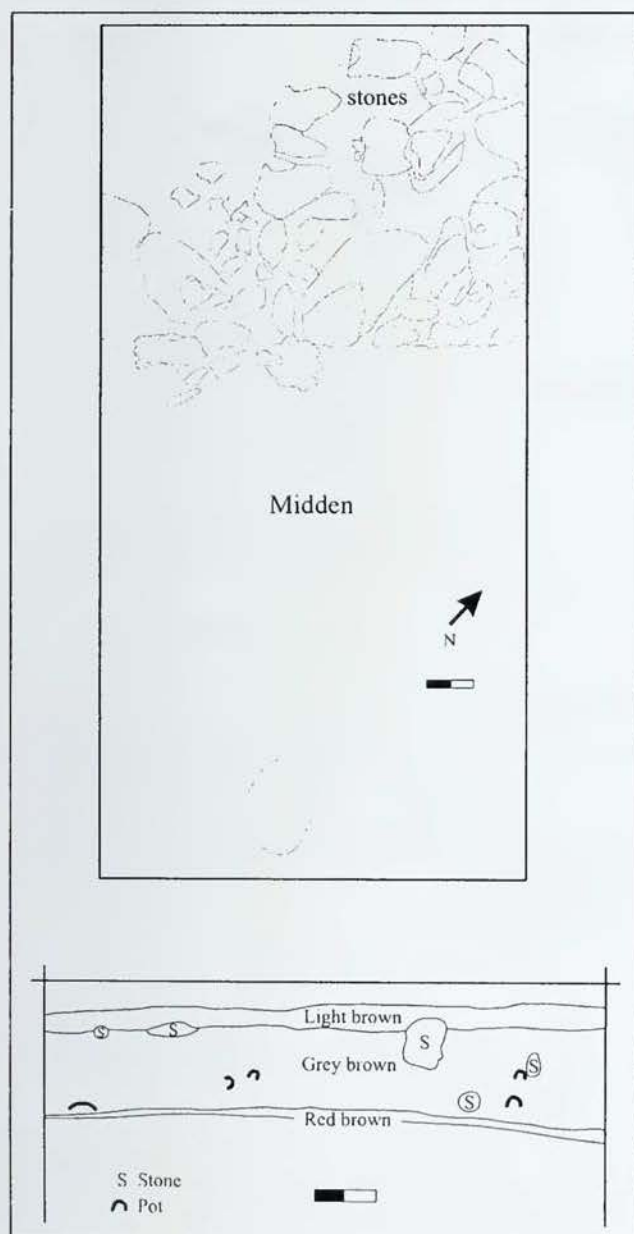


Fig. 11. Plan and north section of Midden 6.

SITE 9 (26228AC59F)

Site 9 (26.18.39.5S; 28.03.22.2E) stands in the east saddle of the kopje. Recent activity has damaged some stonewalls, but the



Fig. 11. Pottery from Midden 6.

plan is fairly clear (Fig. 13). The outer wall incorporates sheep/goat kraals, while cattle and calf kraals form an inner circle. Other small circles inside mark the kitchens of individual households. The spacing of low lapa walls at the front of some households to form a lane suggests that cattle were supposed to have entered from the west.

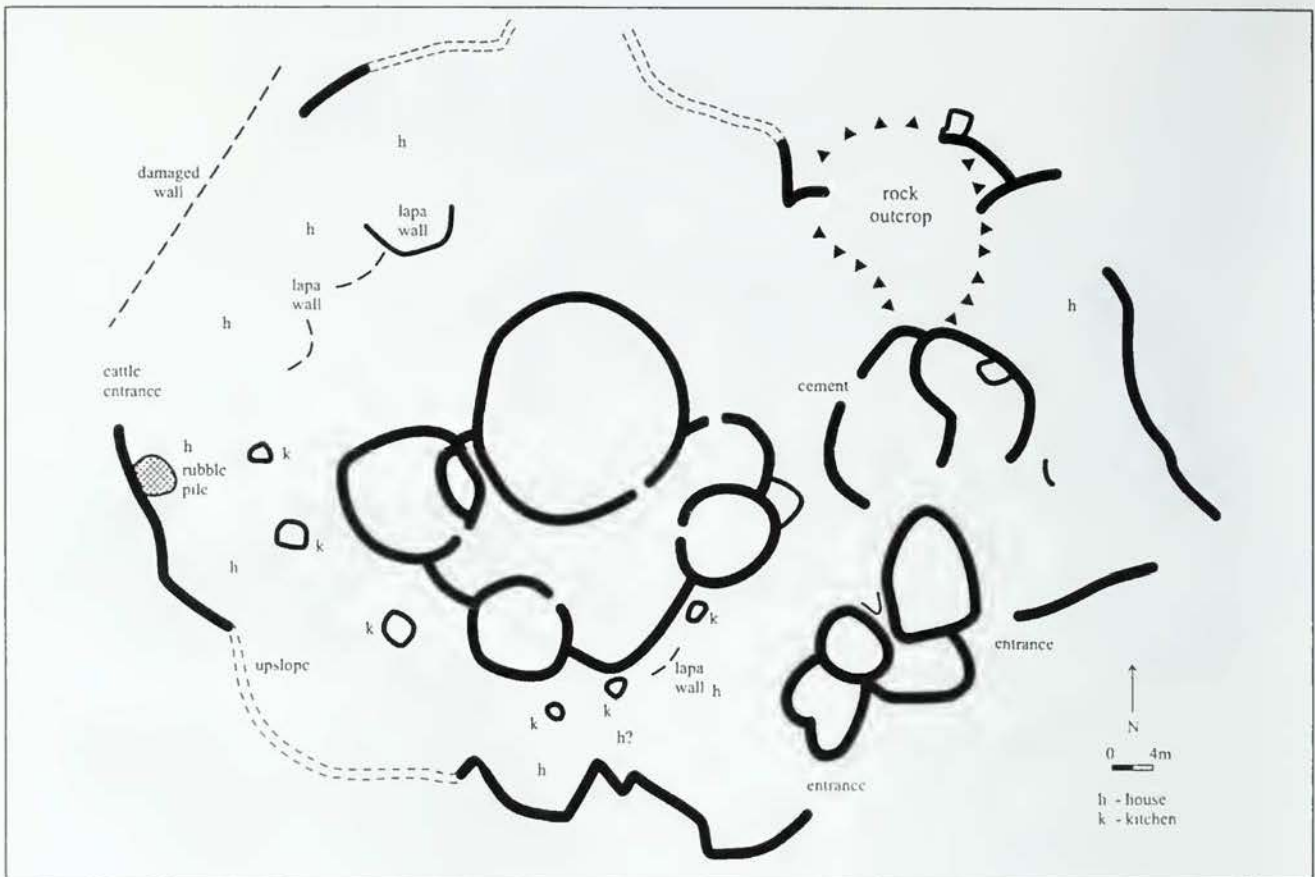


Fig. 13. Plan of Site 9.

SITE 10 (2628AC59G)

Site 10 (26.18.37.4S; 28.03.25.1E) stands about 100 m from Site 9, on the east end of the hill. Dumping and other activities have damaged the outer walls, but much remains (Fig. 14). The entrance on the north side, near a midden, leads to the central kraal, and then through a passage to a large space upslope that may have been the men's court. The household space further upslope may have belonged to the headman.

SITE 7 (2628AC59E)

Site 7 (26.18.47.3S; 28.03.28.2E) lies below the saddle east of Site 6. It is about 70 m across with two cattle areas, space for at least 9 households and a large sheep/goat kraal in the outer wall (Fig. 15). Entrances to the two central kraal areas appear to be located upslope at the back.

Midden 8 covered some 10 x 12 m between Site 7 and Site 8 (Fig. 16). The deposit was severely disturbed by animal burrows and termites, and the ashy midden reworked in antiquity as well as more recently. The red/brown stony bedrock lay 20 to 40 cm below surface.

The remains of a stonewall stand on bedrock in the east corner of the trench. Vestiges of this wall appear on the surface to the east, and it appears to mark the outer wall of an earlier Type N settlement.

The bone sample was relatively small (Table 9). The few teeth represented cattle and sheep/goat, with eight decorated pieces, including two notched rims (Table 10). Comb-stamped

decoration shows that the assemblage belongs to the *Uitkomst* facies.

TYPE Z SETTLEMENTS

SITE 8 (2628AC59E)

Site 8 (26.18.45.7S; 28.03.28.8E) appears to be attached to Site 7 on the east side (Fig. 17). It represents about one half of a normal homestead, with space for 3 or 4 households. The open spaces between these households show this attachment follows the Type Z pattern, rather than Klipriviersberg. The people here were therefore probably Southwestern Sotho-Tswana, rather than Fokeng.

DISCUSSION

The mitigation concentrated on midden excavations and settlement plans as records that can be used for future research. Even now, however, the results contribute to new insights.

First is the pottery. It was previously thought that *Ntsuanatsatsi* and *Uitkomst* were virtually the same; the separate names being the result of separate research in separate areas (Huffman 2002). In this previous view, *Ntsuanatsatsi* characterized Type N sites in the Free State while *Uitkomst* characterized Group 1 north of the Vaal. In both areas the style emphasizes comb-stamped arcades and appliqué hands (finger pinching). These key features are also characteristic of the pottery in Klipriviersberg Type settlements, and so it appeared that the different stone-

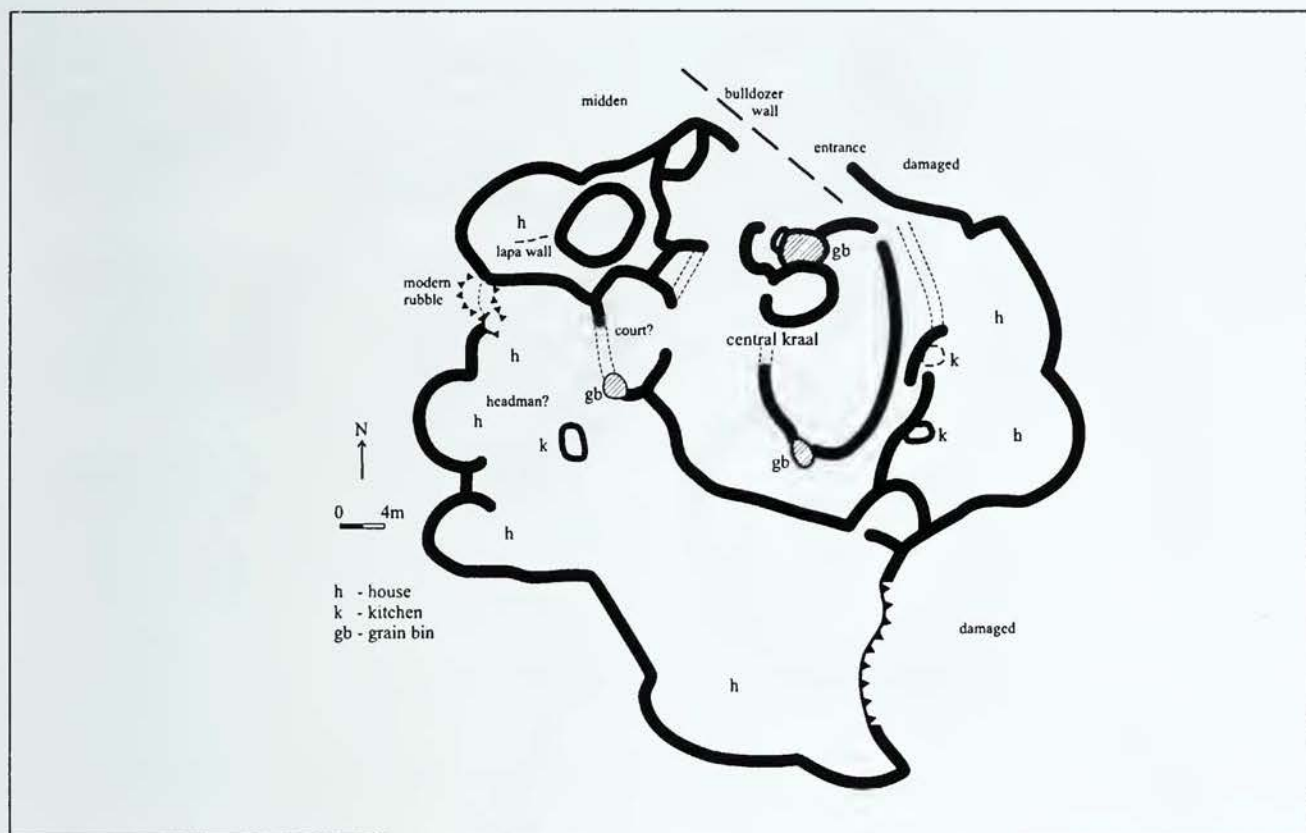


Fig. 14. Plan of Site 10.

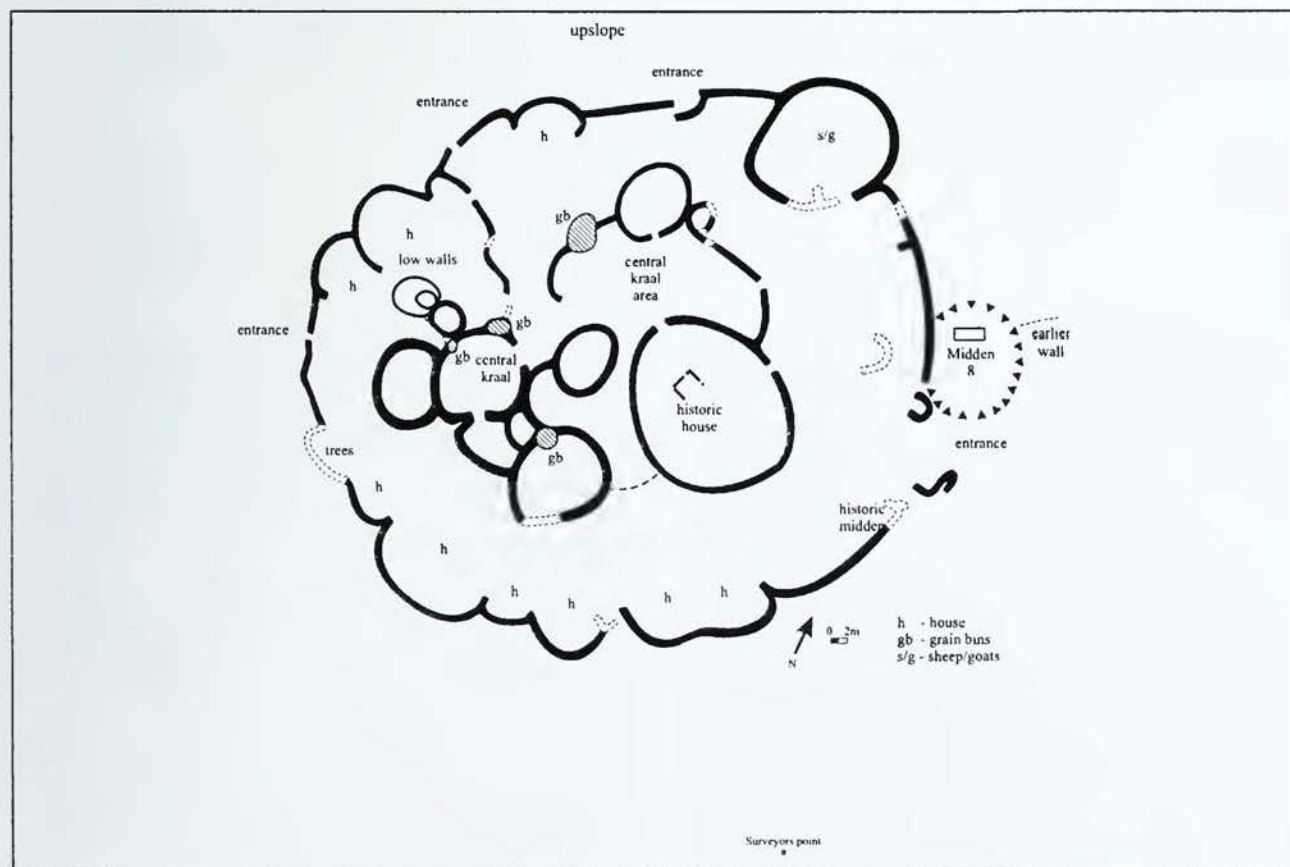


Fig. 15. Plan of Site 7 with location of Midden 8.

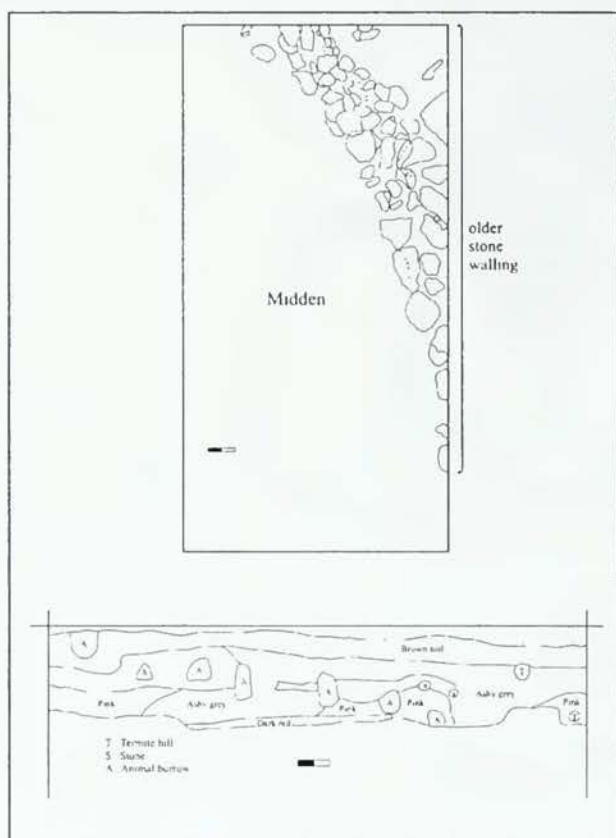


Fig. 16. Plan and Northwest section of Midden 8.

Table 9. Faunal remains from Midden 8.

	Identifiable	Unidentifiable	Teeth	Modified	Burnt	Shell
Midden 8	58	139	17	13	29	1

Table 10. Ceramic remains from Midden 8.

	Rims	Rims	Body sherds	Body sherds	Soot	Other
	decorated	plain	decorated	plain		
Midden 8	8	20	2	204	28 2 colour	2 1 dagga pipe

walled patterns provided a better chronological guide than the pottery.

The samples from the Aspen Hills excavations modify this interpretation. Certain types in several middens demonstrate a considerable degree of interaction. These types include necked vessels with a wide band of cord impressions in the neck, as well as necked vessels with incised arcades or parallel lines. These types are part of the *Olifantspoort facies*, associated with early Southwestern Sotho-Tswana centred in the Pretoria/Rustenburg area. Similar evidence for interaction occurs at

Tafelkop (Mason 1952) north of Johannesburg. Furthermore, bowls with parallel bands of stamping and colour show that Fokeng had adapted *Olifantspoort* types to their own style. This adaptation shows that the interaction preceded the development of the Klipriviersberg Type of walling. The interaction itself probably included the exchange of wives to establish political alliances.

Other new research shows that *Ntsuanatsatsi* pottery is part of the **Blackburn Branch** centred in KwaZulu-Natal (Huffman 2007). The Fokeng were thus originally Nguni. This is an entirely new assignment and differs substantially from earlier archaeological interpretations. Bryant (1929:356-357), on the other hand, thought the Fokeng were originally MboNguni from northern KwaZulu-Natal.

We now know that *Ntsuanatsatsi* pottery derives from the *Blackburn facies* (Table 11, Fig. 18) (Maggs 1976:298-301 earlier considered a related possibility). Types with stamped lines in the neck and stamped chevrons on the shoulder occur in northern KwaZulu-Natal prior to their appearance in *Ntsuanatsatsi*. Indeed, all stylistic types in *Ntsuanatsatsi* have equivalents in *Blackburn*; but the earlier phase has more variation. Current work around Richards Bay should clarify the variability of *Blackburn* and its contribution to *Ntsuanatsatsi*.

At this point, one should note that *Ntsuanatsatsi*, and Fokeng, represent the first known Nguni movement out of KwaZulu-Natal. This first movement predates oral traditions in KwaZulu-Natal, but later traditions in the Free State recognize Fokeng as the first arrivals (Legassick 1969).

Some (e.g. Boeyens 2003; Vogel & Fuls 1999) have questioned the early dates (Maggs 1976) from the Type N sites OU 1 (*Ntsuanatsatsi* itself) and OU 2 because they predate Sotho-Tswana settlements with stonewalling north of the Vaal. The reassignment of *Ntsuanatsatsi* pottery to the **Blackburn Branch** negates this objection.

The early movement north across the Vaal is also related to the question of dating. In addition to Klipriviersberg sites, *Ntsuanatsatsi/Uitkomst* pottery occurs stratigraphically under the main stonewalls at Olifantspoort (Mason 1986:366) and Mason's (1986: 671) Kaditshwene (actually Mmakgame) south of Zeerust. Thus, the 15-17th centuries dates at these sites do not apply to the large Tswana settlements visible on the surface. These dates in turn support the early dates from OU 1 and OU 2. Although more sites need dating, there is little reason to doubt the 15th to 17th century results.

Significantly, the ceramic and stonewalled sequences are in parallel: *Ntsuanatsatsi* pottery correlates with Type N in the Free State and Group I in Gauteng (both should be called Type N), while *Uitkomst* is limited to Group III, that is, the Klipriviersberg Type.

When Fokeng people spread across the Vaal in the 15th to 16th centuries, they introduced stonewalling to Western and Southwestern Sotho-Tswana, who developed Molokwane and Type Z patterns, respectively. As a result of this interaction, Fokeng altered their own pattern (Type N) to incorporate new features. Arcs in the outer wall to mark individual households are one obvious feature. At Aspen Hills, back and side entrances for cattle contrast with the front, down slope entrances at Molokwane settlements, such as Boschhoek in the nearby Suikerbosrand (Huffman 1986). This orientation may have been one feature that did not change.

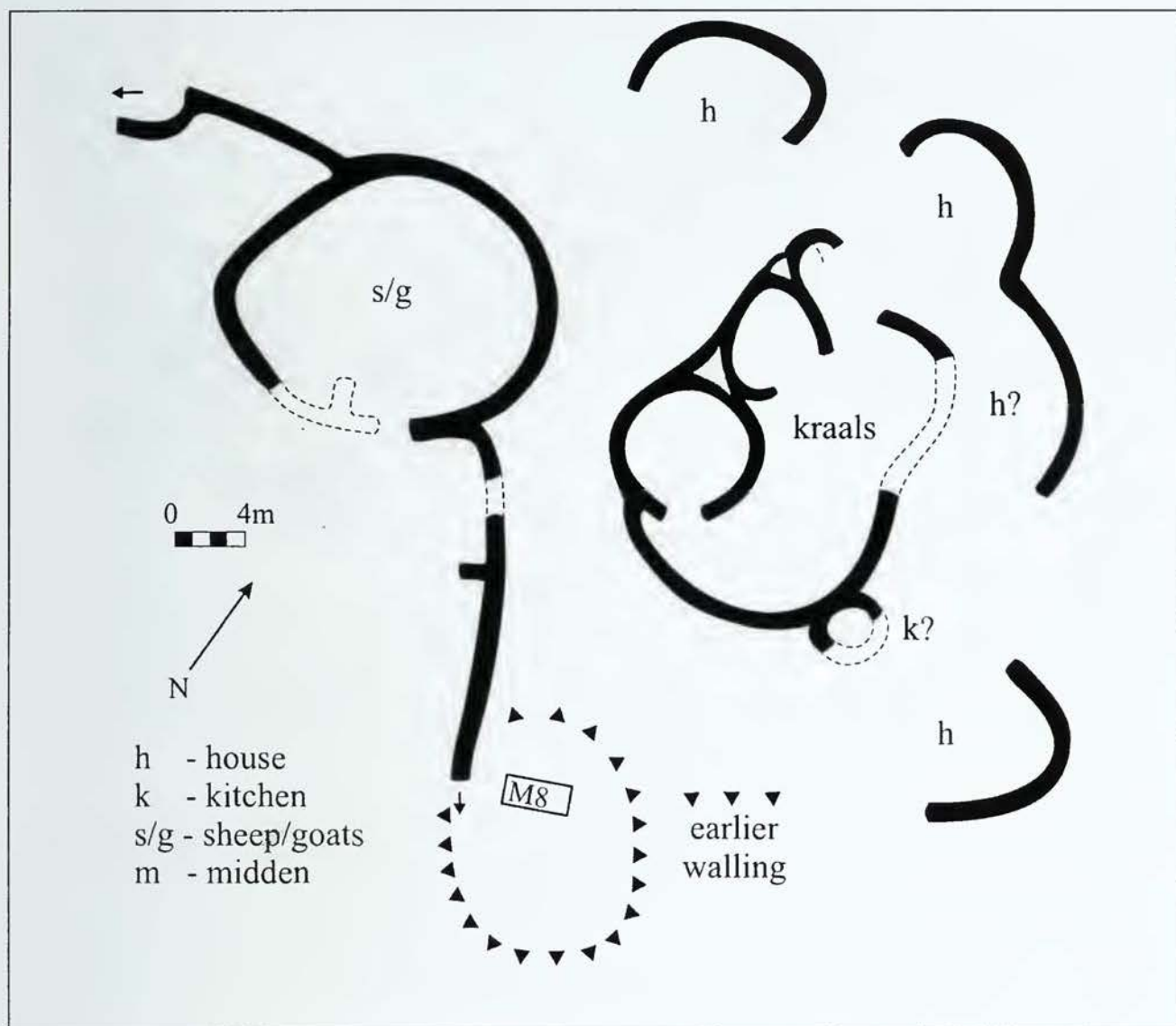


Fig. 17. Plan of Site 8 and location of Midden 8.

Sheep/goat kraals also remained attached to the outer wall. Today, this location is a regular feature of Nguni homesteads in KwaZulu-Natal because of a dichotomy between men & cattle and women & small stock. We suspect that this location in Type N and Klipriviersberg settlements is further evidence for the Nguni origins of the Fokeng cluster.

The unusual capping of ash layers in Midden 5 may be another important feature. Ash capping is on record in Ndebele sites in Mpumalanga (Schoeman 1998) and Ndebele sites in Limpopo (Huffman & Steel 1996), as well as the Khami-period capital at Danangombe in Zimbabwe (MacIver 1906). Nguni societies in KwaZulu-Natal dump their ash in front, in public view, to prevent its use by witches (Raum 1973). Likewise, the midden at Danangombe contains refuse from the sacred leader's private quarters, and it too needed special protection. At Aspen Hills it is unclear who lived in Site 5, or what special activities took place there, but the capping also probably served to protect the ash. Vestiges of capping in Midden 4 indicate that

this feature may have been common. Widespread capping would be further support for the Nguni origin of Fokeng people. The other point of interest derived from the excavations is the evidence for copper working in Midden 6. Copper working, as well as iron, was a feature of farming communities throughout the Iron Age over a wide area of southern Africa. The only major restriction was the availability of ore. In this regard, copper deposits sometimes occur in the dolomites of the Transvaal Group (Coetzee 1976), which begin in the Klip River Valley to the south. So there may have been small deposits in the neighbourhood of Aspen Hills.

At other sites, such as Marothodi near Rustenburg (Anderson 2005), copper working took place outside the settlement, just behind the residential zone. The similar location of a small secondary furnace at 2426CD15, a pre-walled Sotho-Tswana settlement in the Madikwe Game Reserve (Hall 2000), indicates that the pattern was widespread. The back location is related to the important dichotomy between men & iron and women & copper. Presumably this dichotomy and location was also true for Site 6.

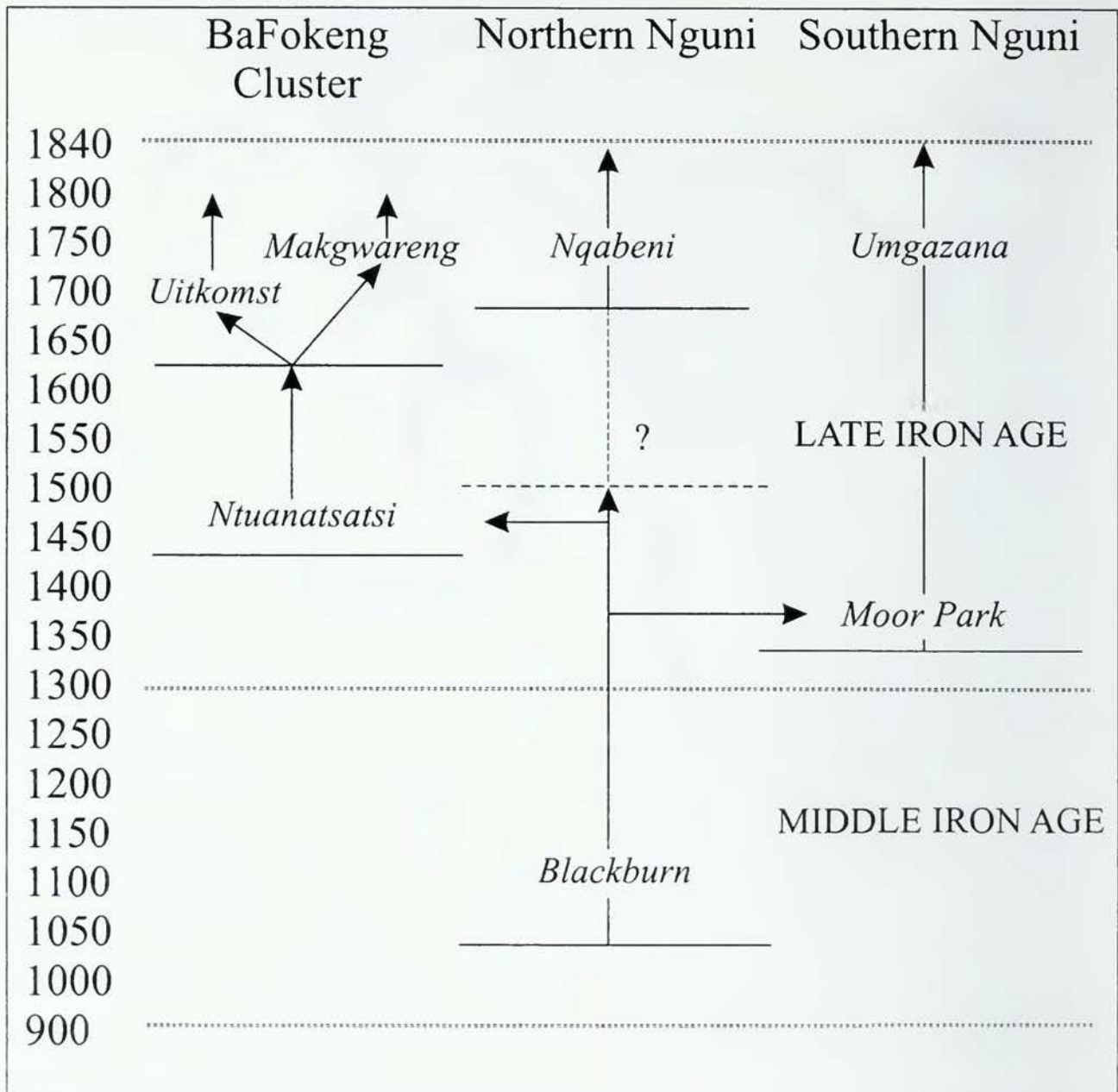


Table 11. Blackburn sequence.

Klipriviersberg Type walling dates to the *difaqane/mfecane*, the troubled period that started in the second half of the 18th century. Dating after AD 1750, many Type Z and Molokwane settlements, such as Kaditshwene, a Hurutshe capital (Boeyens 1998, 2000), Molokwane, a Kwena capital (Pistorius 1992) and Platberg, a Rolong settlement (Mason 1986), were sited on hilltops and aggregated for defensive purposes. Indeed, most Sotho-Tswana aggregated into larger settlements for mutual protection at this time. This is why so many Fokeng settlements cluster on and around Aspen Hills, and this is probably why most settlements housed at least two extended families.

This troubled period caused disjunctions throughout southern Africa. Some groups realigned their political affiliations, some formed new identities, while others disappeared altogether.

Presumably, the Type Z settlement attached to Site 7 represents a family of Southwestern Sotho-Tswana who joined the Fokeng because they had become dispossessed. Presumably again, they joined Fokeng because of their long history of interaction. Our final point also concerns cultural interaction. As is well known, Mzilikazi caused considerable damage in the Trans-Vaal during the early 19th century. In the nearby Suikerbosrand (Huffman 1986), for example, burnt houses in Molokwane settlements (Western Sotho-Tswana) contain complete pots, as well as metal and ivory objects, because they were destroyed during the troubled period. Fokeng settlements in the Klipriviersberg, in contrast, appear to have been abandoned without a struggle. Later, in the Rustenburg area, Mzilikazi and Fokeng lived together in apparent harmony. Perhaps these cordial relations were due in part to the Nguni origins of Fokeng.

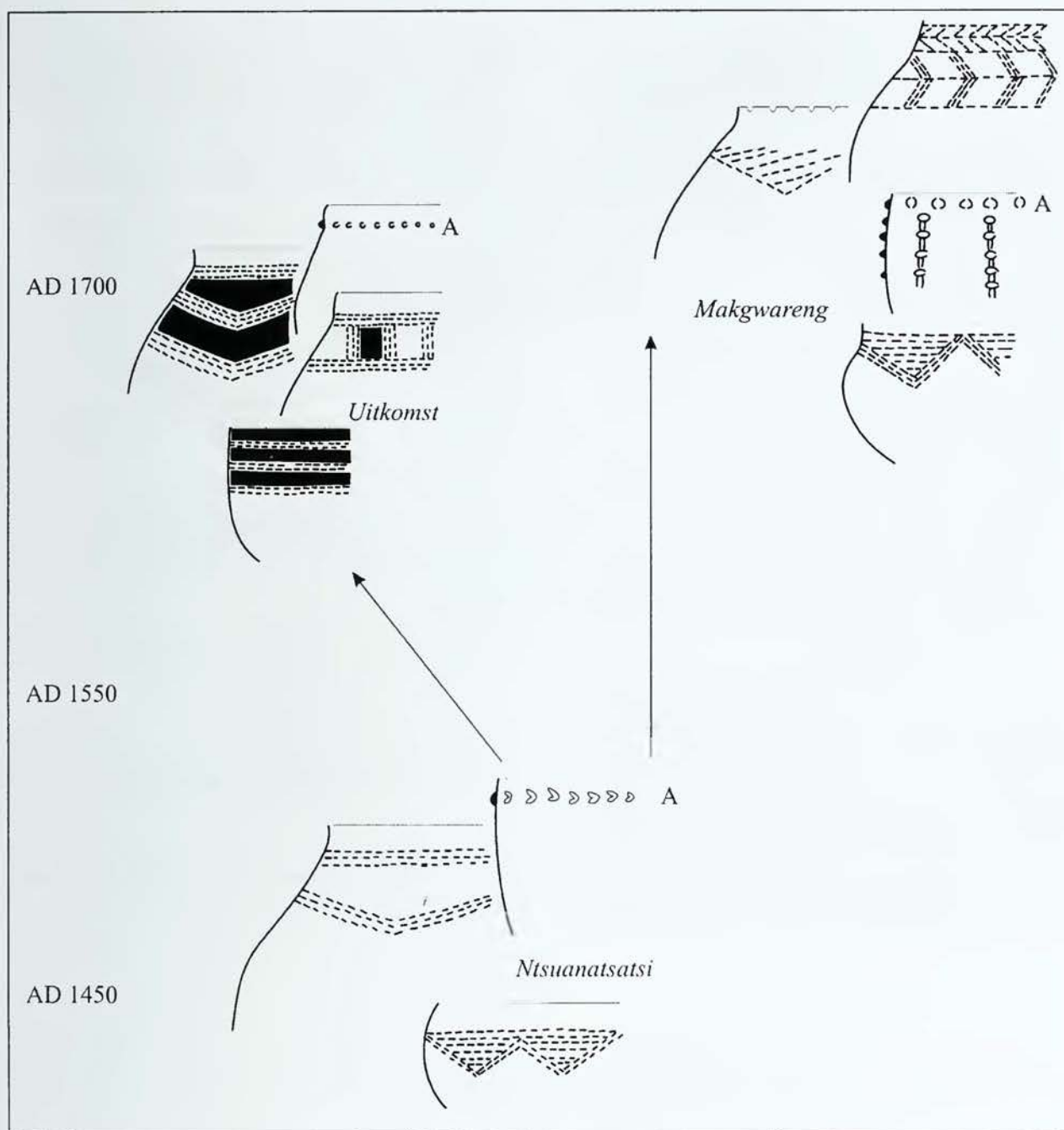


Fig. 18. *Ntsuanatsatsi* sequence of Fokeng cluster.

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