BANTU POTTERY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

by

Anne Lawton

VOLUME I.

(thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, in the University of Cape Town)

Department of Social Anthropology
University of Cape Town.

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The fieldwork for this thesis was done under the auspices of the South African Museum, Cape Town, who provided transport and staff for the necessary expeditions. All of these were led by Miss Margaret Shaw, ethnologist at the museum, without whose knowledge, guidance and unfailing enthusiasm this work would never have been done. In addition to all this Miss Shaw, while she was overseas, very kindly visited a number of museums and brought back much valuable information for me. We were always accompanied on expeditions by Mr. B.S. Griffin, Mr. C. Gow or Mr. F. Gess, who though officially there as escorts, did so much to make these trips enjoyable.

So many people have helped me in the preparation of this survey that it is impossible to mention them individually by name.

First I must express my gratitude to the staffs of the following museums and institutions: Africana Museum, Johannesburg; National Museum, Bloemfontein; National Museum, Bulawayo; Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury; Institute for Scientific Research, Lourenco Marques; Transvaal, Pretoria.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFRIK. Africana Museum, Johannesburg
BLM. National Museum, Bloemfontein
BM. British Museum, London
BWYO. National Museum, Bulawayo
CAM. Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
COP. National (Ethnographic) Museum, Copenhagen
EL. East London Museum, East London
HAM. Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg
PAR. Musée de l'Homme, Paris
PITT. R. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
Q.V.M.M. Queen Victoria Memorial Museum, Salisbury (used by Schofield)
SAL. Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury
SAM. South African Museum, Cape Town
TVL. Transvaal Museum, Pretoria
UCT. University of Cape Town collection, on permanent loan to South African Museum, Cape Town
WIND. State Museum, Windhoek
WITS. Department of Social Anthropology and African Administration, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
PART I: INTRODUCTION
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Reasons for undertaking the work

The Bantu people of Southern Africa entered this region from the North in successive migratory waves and advanced to the regions which they now inhabit. The first of the immigrants crossed the Zambesi at about the beginning of the Christian era. Pottery of a type belonging to the earliest Iron Age traditions, and found north of the Zambesi (Clark 1959), has been found at Zimbabwe where it has been dated 330 A.D. by radio carbon tests (Robinson 1961). Contact with different people and new environments resulted in changes in the way of life and material culture of the migrants. These changes became more pronounced and permanent with the settlement of the European in South Africa and are very evident in regard to pottery. We know from the observations of early travellers and anthropologists that pottery used to be made in large quantities throughout Southern Africa. Today we find that there is a relatively low percentage of potters and that many of them who have this knowledge no longer use it, preferring to buy pots from those who have built up a small home industry in pottery, or to utilise the cheaper more durable types of commercial utensils sold at local trading stores.

As a result of contact with people practising other methods, traditional ways of manufacture and decoration are being replaced, for example, Swazi people living in the Lulu Mountains of Sekhukhuneland make pottery in
the Sotho style, but use their own traditional method. This pottery is sold to the Pedi people, who, in this area, have abandoned the manufacture of pottery. In the Transkei too, the Thembu and Xhosa peoples no longer manufacture their own ware, preferring to buy what they require from the Hlubi and itinerant Basuto potters. (Pahl H.W. in lit. 5/6/1963). In many Bantu schools throughout Southern Africa, which are attended by pupils from a number of different tribes and where pottery is taught as a subject, the method taught is not traditional to all pupils, and may indeed be foreign to them all.

Not only are new techniques being introduced but new forms have been adopted in imitation of Western articles such as vases, sugar bowls, tea pots and casserole dishes, and many traditional vessel types are being neglected. The more specialised ritual earthenware articles have become far less common, and in many cases have disappeared completely since traditional beliefs have been revolutionised.

By using pottery as a basis on which to make cultural classifications and comparisons, as suggested by Reynolds (1960), it might be possible to trace cultural and trade contacts between tribal groups, and perhaps in this way to assist research in the fields of archaeology and cultural history.

The durability of potsherds and the universally conservative traditions of primitive pottery make it possible to use such finds in conjunction with comparative ethnology in the study of the way of life of pre-historic man. Further by tracing the development of a number of pottery traditions it might prove possible to work out a valuable system of cross-dating and to
trace the movement of peoples and ideas in pre-historic times to the present day.

On the whole literature on this subject is scattered and consists mainly of references to pottery in the diaries of early travellers and missionaries and short descriptions in social anthropological studies. The major work on this subject to date is Schofield's "Primitive Pottery." (1943). Although ethnological studies were used for comparison the main scope of the work was archaeological and it was felt that a more detailed ethnological study than Schofield had been able to include was needed before this type of pottery disappears. Further, it is hoped that the archaeologists will find the survey of use in the correlation of prehistoric and present day pottery traditions.

Scope of the work.

The summary is limited to the geographical area south of the Zambezi and Cunene Rivers and within that to the Bantu peoples, generally called the Southern Bantu. Within this group of peoples there are certain cultural affinities which are reflected in their pottery; some of these bind the whole group together, such as the lack of a wheel; others demonstrate local differences, for example, colour, shape and decorative patterns.

As the Hottentots and Bushmen fall into neither the same ethnic nor cultural grouping as the Bantu they have been excluded from this survey.

The following is a list of the tribes included in the survey based on a classification after van Warmelo (1935), (1951), Posselt (1927), Hahn (1929) and Junod (1927).
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The survey involved field trips to as many reserves as possible in the time available. Pottery demonstrations were watched, potters interviewed and photographs taken of earthenware utensils in use and methods of manufacture. Every attempt was made to confirm information received from as many informants as possible, but in some cases only one potter could be

† Classified here on basis of hut types and their own traditions but classified linguistically by Professor E. Westphal, University of Cape Town, with the Okavango Tribes.
found and there was no means of knowing whether his or her methods were
typical of their group. The data is further limited by the fact that at
least two, and sometimes three languages were required at an interview.
Information collected in the field has, however, been augmented from the
literature and by the examination of museum collections.

The map showing tribal distribution has been compiled from maps and
information from the following sources, which have been modified by find-
ings in the field:-

South West Africa - South West Africa Scientific Society Map 1957
Bechuanaland Protectorate - Statistics from the Department of
Tribal Affairs and Social Services, Mafeking on the Herero
Republic of South Africa - van Warmelo, N.J. (1935)
Rhodesia - Posselt (1927), Doke (1951), Junod (1927)
Mozambique - Rita-Ferreira (1959)
PART II:

TECHNOLOGY OF POTTERY MANUFACTURE
TECHNOLOGY OF POTTERY MANUFACTURE

INTRODUCTION

It is almost certain that pottery was invented more than once in different centres and at different periods, and that the knowledge was diffused from these regions. The centres are not known and it is indeed often difficult on the available evidence to trace the routes along which the knowledge of the art spread. This is seen in Africa. The earliest known North African pottery is from sites in the Egyptian Fayum, dated by radio carbon to between 4500-4000 B.C. It is suggested that this tradition is related to that which developed in the near East, where well made pottery occurs at Jericho as early as 7000 B.C. (McBurney 1961). The pottery in North Africa is recorded in conjunction with a partly hunting and partly agricultural way of life, and at Jericho it occurs in an early farming context.

In Kenya, however, two sherds of pottery were discovered apparently in situ at Gamble's Cave in conjunction with an Upper Paleolithic Kenya Capsian Culture (Leakey 1931). Geological evidence suggests a date not later than 10,000 B.C. (Leakey 1931); and comparison of a bone harpoon, which was found in conjunction with the pottery, with one from Ishango, where radio carbon tests were possible, suggest a date of about 6,000 B.C. (Oakley 1961).

This places the pottery finds from Kenya considerably before those of North Africa; and they are, furthermore, associated with a more primitive way of life. It is generally felt, however, that this dating is too early for pottery in this region and that the material may be out of position after all.
In any event, it is likely that wherever the diffusion centre or centres of the earliest African pottery were located, (and this is not known), the techniques used by the earliest potters were much the same as those used by Bantu potters today. They have been handed down through generation after generation, gaining and loosing in importance as the way of life of prehistoric man changed. These methods were finally brought south to the region of survey by people practising an Iron Age culture. The form that pottery has taken; however, has evolved to meet the needs of the makers and decorative practices have likewise changed.

Potters in the area under discussion were questioned without success as to whether there are any traditions relating to pottery amongst their people. No-one was able to trace a knowledge of pottery beyond their mothers or grandmothers, nor were there any folk tales relating to the manufacture.

THE POTTERS

With a few exceptions all the pottery of the Southern Bantu is manufactured by women. The exceptions are found only in South West Africa, where, amongst the Diriko and Mampukushu men are responsible for the manufacture of pottery (Shaw and Rudner, verbal information), and amongst the Kuangari and Bergdama where there are potters of both sexes (Shaw, verbal information; Lebzelter 1934). In some groups of the Angolan Nyemba, who have settled in the Okavango, the potters are men (Kangara), and in others women (Masaka) (Hellberg J.H. in lit 6.11.61).
It was found in the field today that the manufacture of pottery is not confined to members of particular families but that it is undertaken by anyone interested. In spite of this pottery is a specialised craft. Although most of the potters interviewed had learnt their craft from either their mothers or grandmothers, a large number of them had learnt by watching others at work, or at government or mission schools. The mothers of some of these potters had been unable to make pottery.

The potters practise their craft to fulfil both their own domestic requirements and orders placed by neighbours. The exception to this is perhaps found in regions where the weekly market has become a social event, and goods for sale range from vegetables to the products of home industries. In these areas there is a greater degree of specialisation, and the potters are able to count on a steady income from the sale of their wares.

Today, pottery is generally paid for in cash, but a few of the potters interviewed preferred to barter their wares for grain as was the general practice in the past.

It would seem that the status of the Bantu potter has been gradually changing. It was found in the past that the knowledge of pottery techniques was guarded within certain families, and that pottery was an hereditary craft (Martin 1941, Schapera 1953). Then, as now, pottery was made both for the potters' domestic use and for trade, which took the form of barter, the vessels being exchanged for the amount of grain they could contain.

An interesting development can be seen in Southern Mozambique, where in some groups the women manufacture their own domestic ware, but in others the men are employed in Portuguese-owned factories where a primitive kick-
wheel is used. Here pottery is manufactured for both the Portuguese and the indigenous people, traditional shapes being made for the latter.

The influence of three factories of this type - at Lourenço Marques, Vila de Jaoa Belo and Magude - is widespread, as lorries and buses carry loads of their pottery to the more Northerly districts for sale at local trading stores. In a number of these districts, for example Sitila and Funhalouro, there is no clay for pottery, but even in others where clay is available this ware is popular.

Another aspect of the influence of these factories, and a good example of modern culture diffusion is shown by the large number of small one- or two-man factories owned and worked by men who have learnt the use of the kickwheel.

TIME AND PLACE OF MAKING

A potter chooses a place sheltered both from the wind and the direct rays of the sun to work in. The reason for this being that she has found or been taught, that clay is most manageable when cool and wet, and drying caused by heat and wind reduces its plasticity, making shaping more difficult and causing cracking.

Many potters make their pots indoors whatever the weather. A Budgja potter in the Mtkoko District, a maker of very large beerpots, who made her pots indoors at all times claimed that because of this she had never had any breakages. Some potters, however, work indoors only if the weather is poor, preferring to find a sheltered place outside the hut.
Amongst some of the Ambo tribes of South West Africa we find greater specialisation. An underground room (Plate XXV No. 75) is reserved for the manufacture of pottery. Tonjes (1911:66) describes a hut (ondjiboldo) the roof of which reaches to the ground. There is a gap under the eaves to allow for ventilation, and one narrow doorway is the only means of entry and source of light. An alternative to this is a shelter, used exclusively for the manufacture of pottery, built next to the fireplace or "kiln" (Lebzelter 1934).

Potters practise their craft when they have the time and inclination. No particular time of day is considered more suitable than another. Some potters are able to make pottery throughout the year, others are too busy in the fields until after the harvest, and are able to do so only in the slack period. Rainy weather is not generally considered suitable for the manufacture of pottery, but many potters work indoors on rainy days.

MATERIALS USED

It was found throughout the area under discussion that most potters fetch their own clay. Amongst some tribes this is, in fact, believed to be essential for the success of the pottery, and is due to the importance of the choice of the correct raw materials.

(The term "clay" here applies to the material used in the manufacture of indigenous pottery and has no mineralogical significance - the conditions which the material has to satisfy are:— 1. that it is plastic and malleable when wet. 2. that it retains the shape into which it is formed when it dries. 3. that it undergoes metamorphosis at a low temperature.)
It was found that the most sought after clays were those from river banks and termite heaps, which sources yield clays with the highest degree of plasticity (Schofield 1948, King 1942), although other sources are utilised where necessary.

A hoe is generally used to dig the clay, which is collected either wet or dry and carried to the homestead in a light container, such as a basket or paraffin tin. The most common procedure is to dry the clay in the sun. It is then ground or pounded to a fine powder, either between two stones or with a wooden pestle in a pottery bowl, any inequalities and foreign bodies being removed. Water is then added to the powder, and the mixture kneaded or stamped until it is of the required consistency. (Plate XXI No. 60). On one occasion clay collected from a river bed in the Maseru District was shown to be practically ready for use. The potter dug it, added a little water and after she had stamped and kneaded it alternately for four minutes it was ready for use.

A number of the potters interviewed mixed a non-plastic material with the clay, which they said was to strengthen it. Skilled potters are able to tell from the feel and appearance of the clay whether it is necessary to add anything or not. (The effect of the addition of a non-plastic material, or filler, is to prevent excessive shrinking while drying, and thus produce a stronger material. The amount of filler has to be carefully judged, as the addition of too much will have a weakening rather than a strengthening effect.)

Fillers used by Bantu potters include finely ground potsherds, sand, and earth containing asbestos. The asbestos acts as a binder as well as a
filler and increases the cohesion of the clay. The filler is added to the clay either after it has been powdered, or when water has been mixed with the clay and it has been thoroughly kneaded. It has been noted that the consistency of the clay with which a potter works varies with the individual; it is not known, however, whether this is a matter of personal taste or a requirement dictated by a particular type of clay.

In the manufacture of modern ceramics it is the practice to allow the clay to mature for as long as possible before use and it is probable that some of the Bantu potters are aware of the fact that clay improves with keeping. A number of the potters interviewed did not use the clay until at least twenty-four hours after preparation.

Traditional materials used in the decoration of pots include red and yellow ochre, graphite and a white material—sometimes chalk or ash. These are dug locally or else bought at stores or from travelling salesmen. The preparation and application of these materials vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but the ochre is generally ground to a fine powder, (Plate XIII No. 31), mixed with water and applied either with a piece of cloth or the finger. After application it is immediately burnished with a smooth, round, river pebble. Graphite is applied in the same way or else rubbed directly onto the wetted surface of the pot and then burnished. The white colour is rubbed across the patterned surface of some pots by a number of Tsonga and Tswana potters, to make incised or grooved designs show up. The above materials are generally applied before firing, but as they tend to fade during this process the pots are sometimes touched up with colour afterwards.
A decorative material now fairly commonly used is enamel paint. This is applied with a stick, a thorn or even a brush, after firing. Paint is used either as a substitute for natural decorative materials (which are becoming increasingly scarce in some districts) to complete the traditional decorative patterns, or else to give an all over colour finish.

TOOLS AND EQUIPMENT

No wheel is used in the manufacture of pottery by the Bantu of Southern Africa. The pot may be shaped on a flat stone, a grass ring, the lid of an iron cooking pot, in a basket, (Plate XV No. 36) on an enamel dish (Plate XXIV No. 72), or on a potsherd (Plate XXII No. 61). The potter usually turns the support on which she is working, although in some cases she herself moves around the pot. This is essential if the pot is a very large one.

Whatever the potter's technique her most important tools are her hands. With them she shapes her clay into a pot of the required form and size, smoothing its surface so that, when she has finished, it is usually impossible to tell how it was made. Various ancillary tools are used to assist in the shaping and smoothing of the vessel, amongst those observed by the writer being a piece of wood, metal or glass, ox-ribs, clam-shells, a piece of calabash, 

\textit{tama} pods (\textit{Sauhinia kirki}i Oliv.), large fruit pips and mealie cobs. The choice is made from the most suitable of available materials. These tools are generally placed in a container of water at the potter's side ready for use.

A knife, strip of metal or flat piece of wood may be used to scrape away small amounts of clay below the termination of the wall to produce a "thickened"
rim (Plate XXII No. 62). The same tools are used to make a cut or bevelled rim. In this case the edge is cut evenly with the blade of the tool and smoothed with the fingers afterwards. Many potters use a piece of very wet cloth or soft leather, which they fold over the rim of the pot and hold lightly in position while turning the pot, to give a smooth and even finish to a rounded or thickened rim (Plate XI No. 25). A more detailed account of shaping rims is given under Shaping, p. 26.

Thorns, sharp sticks, hairpins and the blade of a knife have been observed in the decoration of pottery with incised designs. Grooved lines are produced with tools of the same type but with a wider edge or point. The head of a nail, the end of a grass or reed stem, the fingernail or the handle of a knife is used to give simple stamped impressions. For compound or comb stamped designs, which are made by pressing the tool into the clay or rolling it across the surface, shells, bracelets and bunches of grass stems were most commonly described by informants. Mention should be made here of the use of bird-bones, wooden carved roulettes and specially cut calabash combs for the making of stamped decoration. Tools of this nature were used in prehistoric times (Robinson 1963) and are used in Nigeria (McNeil 1930; Braunholtz 1934) and the Congo (South African Museum specimens) today.

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE

Building

The building of a pot can be divided into two sections, that of the base and that of the body, and there is more than one way of constructing each.
A pot may be started with the base and built up to the rim, or the base may be closed after the body of the pot has been shaped and dried slightly. Alternatively, the pot may be built from the widest diameter to either rim or base, and after being slightly dried, turned over and the other section completed.

The method used by a potter will depend upon the technique which she has been taught, modified to a certain extent by her personal approach.

The following are the basic body techniques used by the Bantu potters in the area under discussion:

a. Moulding from the lump

Technologically this is the most primitive method (Leach 1945). After the clay has been prepared a piece the required size is made either into a ball, which is placed on the support on which it is to be built, or into a squat cone, the pointed end of which is placed in soft sand. The form is then hollowed with the fingers, the sides being squeezed and smoothed up and out to give the required size and shape. (Plate X Nos. 20 & 21, Plate XXII No. 61).

A variation of this technique is to hollow out the lump of clay entirely, and build and shape the body of the vessel before closing the base.

b. Coiling

In this technique the body of the vessel is formed with rolls of clay made between the palms of the hands and built up spirally. Each coil overlaps the one below slightly, either on the inner or
outer surface, and after each length is added it is damped and flattened into position so that the pot wall eventually gives no indication of how it was built. The lengths of clay used in this technique vary, but as long as they are wound spirally the process may be considered to be coiling. (Plate IX Nos. 17-19)

The base of vessels built in this way may be made first and built onto, or else closed after the building and shaping of the body.

c. Building with rings

The pot is built up with a number of rings of clay placed one on top of the other. The rolls of clay from which the rings are formed are made in the same way as described under coiling. The length and thickness of the rolls varies greatly and the rings may be formed from one such roll or a number of short rolled pieces, which are smoothed together when in position around the circumference of the wall. (Plate XII Nos. 26 & 27; Plate XXV No. 74)

The base of vessels built in this way may be made first and built on to, or else closed after the building of the body.

A second type of ring technique is the formation of each ring by making a large hole in a flat, round cake of clay. The rings so formed are placed one on top of the other as in the previously described method, until the vessel is the required height. This technique was observed only amongst the Kangara
Nyemba, an immigrant people from Angola who have settled in the Okavango. The base of the vessels built in this way is closed by beating the lower walls together after the body has been shaped.

d. Building with lumps

In some cases pots are built up with lumps of clay, sometimes of no particular shape, which have merely been broken off the prepared material.

Into this category falls the method of building a vessel from the widest diameter with one or more flattened, roughly rectangular pieces of clay. These pieces are placed on their edges and joined together to form a circle. Where one piece is used the short sides of the rectangle are joined together. The walls so formed are smoothed upwards and shaped as desired, to form either the upper or lower half of the vessel. The rest of the vessel is completed after a period of drying by turning it over and shaping the other section either with or without the addition of clay. (Plate XVIII Nos. 45-48; Plate XIX Nos. 49-52).

The base of a vessel may be shaped in any of the following ways:

1. Moulding from the lump - either as an integral part of the body technique or only to form the base and lowest section of the walls of the pot. (Plate X No. 20; Plate XXII No. 61)

2. Flattening a ball of clay, or winding a coil of clay spirally and smoothing the ridges on both surfaces to form a flattened pad.
A base formed in this way may be used to start the vessel or to fill the opening at the bottom of a vessel which has already been shaped. (Plate IX Nos. 17 & 18)

3. Beating or shaping the walls of the vessel inwards until they meet, after building the body.

4. Adding pieces of clay to the lower wall of a vessel and smoothing it inwards to close the hole. In some cases, the small hole formed by beating the wall together is closed by the addition of a roll of clay shaped into a small ring around the circumference. This additional clay is then smoothed across the opening. (Plate IX Nos. 50-52)

In building a vessel a potter may use one of the above basic body techniques, or a combination of two. For example, pots moulded from the lump may be built up to the correct height by the addition of rings of clay, (Kuangari), or pieces of no particular size or shape (Basuto, Mount Ayliff). Further, pots built with an open base may be started with pieces of clay of no particular size or shape placed in a ring and smoothed together and upwards and built up with rolls of clay added to form rings (Kwena, South Sotho). There are numerous combinations of body and base techniques, the following being the most common. (Further details of these methods are given in the ethnology section, Part V.).

I. **Body:** Moulded from the lump which is entirely hollowed out

   **Base:** (i) Formed by beating or shaping walls inwards. eg. Tloka, Hananwa; both Northern Sotho.
(ii) Formed by adding clay and shaping walls inwards.
   eg. Mari, Ungwe; both Shona.

II. Body: Coiled

   Base: (i) Formed from spiralled pad. eg. Swazi
   (ii) Formed from lump. eg. Swazi
   (iii) Filled in with pad of clay after shaping body.
       eg. Lobedu.

III. Body: Built with rings

   Base: (i) Moulded from the lump, eg. Mbaso, Mamteto; both
          Natal Nguni.
   (ii) Formed by smoothing lower wall together after
        shaping. eg. Ndau, Zezuru; both Shona
   (iii) Formed by smoothing lower wall together after
        shaping and addition of clay. eg. Manyika, Shona.

IV. Body: Built from lumps

   Base: (i) Formed with pad of clay at the start. eg. Fokeng,
          South Sotho.
   (ii) Formed by smoothing lower walls together after shaping
        upper section. eg. Tlokwa, Eastern Tswana.
   (iii) Formed by smoothing lower wall inwards after addition
        of clay to slightly dried upper section. eg. Huruthse,
        Western Tswana.

Shaping:

The processes of building and shaping a pot are inseparable. As a
potter builds a vessel she automatically goes about forming it to the desired
shape. In order to keep her material plastic the potter keeps it wet by working with wet hands and using tools which are kept, and frequently wetted, in a container of water by her side. If after these precautions the clay appears to be drying too quickly, a little water may be sprinkled over the pot from time to time.

When the clay is in a plastic state it can be easily moulded and smoothed into shape. The potter may use various tools to help her shape and smooth the pot surface but a good deal of the work is done with her hands. The most common way of shaping the body and neck, whatever the final shape of the pot is to be, is to put one hand inside the vessel and to work with the other on the outer surface, using the hand inside to push the plastic clay outwards and the hand outside to control and smooth it. (Plate XII No. 25; Plate XV No. 36)

Three basic methods of shaping the rim of a vessel have been observed by the writer. [Some of these techniques have been described before but they are included here for reference purposes.]

1. The simplest method shaping the rim is to round it off with the thumb and first two fingers of the right hand, which are held in position around the termination of the wall in such a way as to remove all irregularities at the edge. This hand is held still while the pot is turned with the left hand. This process may be followed by holding a very wet soft piece of cloth or skin over the rim while again turning the vessel. (Plate XI No. 25)

2. A cut rim is made with either a strip of metal or a knife. The clay
may be cut straight across or with an inward or outward bevel.

3. The third technique is used in the shaping of a thickened edge. A narrow ring of clay is smoothed onto the previously rounded termination of the vessel wall. A little clay is then gently scraped away below the rim formed in this way making a slight, horizontal groove. The edge is then smoothed with a piece of very wet, soft skin.

(Plate XXII No. 62).

A carination or salient ridge in the body of a pot may be the result of working the lower half onto the already formed and dried upper section.

This method is used by the Tswana peoples. A second way of obtaining this effect is to mould the body with a well defined projecting curve, and when it has dried slightly to add a roll of clay on the outside of the wall over the projection, and by shaping with the fingers produce a well defined ridge.

This method was observed amongst the Tshangana of Mozambique. The Ronga method was to bend and smooth the clay wall inwards while it was very plastic. (Plate X No. 22)

The slight horizontal depression around the base of the neck of many Shona vessels is formed by exerting slight inward pressure with the thumb around the outside of the neck while supporting it on the inside with the fingers of the same hand.

Drying

After a pot has been formed and before it is fired it must be dried. This process should take place as slowly and as evenly as possible so as to
prevent cracking. Drying is an important stage in the manufacture of pottery and a high percentage of breakages are attributed by potters to firing vessels which are still wet.

There are two stages in the drying process. During the first, pots, sometimes covered with dry cloths, are placed indoors away from draughts so that they may dry as slowly and evenly as possible. The period for which the pots are kept inside varies from two days to three weeks. The second stage of drying usually takes place out of doors when the pots are placed in the sun daily but are returned to the hut in the late afternoon when the temperature starts to fall. Again the period of drying varies - the pots may be placed in the sun only on the morning of the day on which they are to be fired, or they may be placed outside every day for a week or longer.

The length of time required to dry a pot depends upon the type of clay used, the size and thickness of the vessel and the climatic conditions. These factors should be taken into account when comparing the lengths of the drying periods given by informants, as should the fact that firing is frequently postponed until a sufficiently large batch of pottery to make firing worthwhile, has been accumulated.

In modern ceramics, when the clay has lost its plasticity and the pots have become fixed in shape, they are termed "leatherhard". It is at this stage in the manufacture of Bantu pottery that most decoration is done, although some is carried out immediately after shaping. (See Decoration) Pottery which is to be burnished is generally allowed to dry to this condition and then after burnishing put aside for another period of drying before firing.
FIRING

The firing of the pottery is the climax of the whole process and is undertaken with much care. The potter chooses a day which, according to her experience and intuition, will be suitable. Potters interviewed stated that firing does not take place in rainy weather or on a day when there is a very cold wind, as the pots would be subjected to too great and rapid change in temperature if they were very cold when placed in the fire. Some potters claimed that they welcomed a breeze to fan the fire, and that they built the hearth in a sheltered position in such a way as to use air currents to the best advantage and to protect the pots.

There is some variety in the type of hearth selected for the fire, the most common being: a level piece of ground, which may have been specially cleared for the purpose (Zezuru); a slight hollow, either natural or prepared (this type may be used as an alternative to the first on windy days); a hole at least deep enough to contain the fuel and all the pots to be fired (Karanga). The hearth may be built up with stones, as amongst some Basuto tribes (Plate XVI Nos. 37-39), or, as is more common, merely left open (Plate XX No. 56). A more specialised method of firing is used by some of the Ovambo tribes, who build the fire in a hole which is then covered with wood and sand, the pots being placed in smaller individual holes nearby and likewise covered (Lebzelter 1934).

Wood, dried dung, and bark have all been recorded in the field and literature as fuels. The varieties of wood and bark used as fuel are chosen for the high temperatures they give and the length of time for which they burn. Dung burns slowly and with a constant temperature, and is used by
many potters for this reason. Some potters appeared to be aware that the temperature at which the firing takes place, together with the length of firing time and the type of material used, influence the quality of the ware. The firing times given by informants varied from an half an hour to three hours or more. A Ronga potter in Mozambique stated that when firing pots for her own use she used a hotter fire than when she fired for customers. She stated that the greater heat gave a better ware, but increased the risk of cracking, and that low temperatures for longer periods were more reliable. Some potters, however, are of the opinion that a slow, low fire produces better ware, and it may be that this depends upon the material and possibly the degree to which the pots have been dried. (The fact that potters' criteria may vary and that language difficulties may result in misunderstandings must be borne in mind.)

The number of pots fired at one time depends on the number which have been dried, their size and the amount of fuel available. The numbers recorded in the field vary from one to fifty or more.

Some potters warm their pots at small grass and twig fires before placing them in the large fire (Nambeto, Tugela Ferry; Kuangari, South West Africa). A small amount of the fuel from this preliminary fire may be put inside each pot, and some of it may be used to kindle the large one. Grass is commonly used as kindling. The pots are generally put in position on a layer of fuel and then either entirely covered with fuel or else covered with sherds and pieces of zino over which the fuel is packed. The placing of packing material between the fire and the pottery is claimed by some potters to prevent
the formation of black patches on the vessels, which they believe to be due to contact with the fuel. (The scientific explanation for these dis-colourations is that where the fuel sticks to the pottery a reducing atmosphere - i.e. an atmosphere without air, is formed in which iron compounds in the clay oxidise to give a black colour (Searle 1945). See also Special firing methods under Decoration)

Pots are placed in a variety of positions for firing. Those observed and described in the field are listed below:

(i) upside down
(ii) right way up
(iii) on sides with mouths facing each other
(iv) on sides with bases facing each other
(v) small ones inside large ones - both upside down

There does not appear to be any uniformity within tribal groups in the positioning of pots for firing and it may be therefore a matter of individual choice. The reasons given by potters for their particular method of placing the vessels show conflicting beliefs. For instance a Sotho potter at Tzaneen explained that she placed her pots on their sides, base to base so that the fire could get into them. On the other hand a Basuto potter from Quthing, living amongst the Taung in the North West Cape, placed her pots upside down to prevent the fire from going inside the pots.

Once the fire has been built up and lit the potter keeps an eye on it to see that the pots remain covered, and on some occasions she may have to add further fuel. A potter is able to judge when a pot is fired by its
colour (all potters interviewed said that their pots became red hot in the fire) and by the sound given by tapping it.

In most cases the pots are allowed to remain in the embers of the fire until they are completely cold. When firing is started in the late afternoon the pottery is generally allowed to remain in position until the following morning. A group of Venda potters in the Louis Trichardt region, however, were insistent that the pots should be removed from the fire immediately they were done, otherwise they would spoil. Long sticks are used to remove vessels from the hot ashes.

SEALING/TESTING

Potters were questioned about treatment of vessels after firing. It was found that either there was no treatment (and in some cases the potters seemed rather mystified by the question), or else methods of treating the pot to make it impervious or testing it for strength were described. The following is a summary of the information obtained.

Many potters claimed that their wares were ready for use after firing without any further treatment. It may be that these potters preferred their wares to be porous in order to keep the contents cool and fresh; this was in fact the reason given by a Mosuto for his preference for earthenware vessels to the modern western utensils. On the other hand, two Swazi potters claimed that if a pot is well made and well fired it will be waterproof. This may be true for vessels made of certain types of clay when fired in an open fire.

The object of sealing a pot is to render it impervious to liquids and
the methods used by primitive potters observed and described in the field are listed below:

a) by cooking porridge in the pot.

b) by smearing the scum of kaffir beer on both the inside and the outside surfaces of the pot.

c) by washing the pot with water in which pounded melon pips have been soaked.

d) by washing the pot with milk.

e) by smearing the pot inside and out with wet kaffir corn bran, which is washed off before use.

f) by smearing with acacia gum.

g) by smearing the pot outside with wet cow dung.

h) by filling the pot, while it is still hot, with water in which some bark of the mukaretti tree (Burkea africana Hook.) is placed.

A number of potters claimed that they strengthened new vessels by pouring boiling water into them while they stood on a fire. As this method was given more than once it has not been disregarded, and it is suggested that it may be possible to produce a sufficiently high temperature to seal the pot in this way if a particular type of raw material has been used. Or it may be that the potters do not distinguish clearly between "strengthening" and testing strength, and that in fact this method is only a test, under which an ill-made pot would leak or crack.

MENDING

Pots which crack in drying or firing are not necessarily discarded.
Slightly cracked, unfired pots can be repaired by wetting the clay around the crack and smoothing firmly with a stone.

A number of substances used to repair cracks in fired pottery have been described by potters and recorded in the literature. In Bechuanaland a mixture of either the gum of a root (unknown) and fat, or of cement and black paint is used. In this territory there is more mending done than elsewhere and large quantities of pottery are sold after being repaired. The only other district where this was recorded was Bushbuckridge, where Nhlanguwu potters used black wax from old beehives to mend pots before sale.

At Qacha's Nek, Basutoland a concoction made from *Ammocharis falcata* (Rev. D. Cook, in lit 27/1/64) is used for mending pottery which has cracked during firing. A Tlokwa potter in Gaberones stated that she mended her own cracked pots with a little cement softened with raw linseed oil.

Mending is done with wire and a stick by a Swazi potter in the Mankaiana District, and this technique is recorded by Bryant (1949) as being a traditional Zulu method.

If potters do not mend their wares, or decide that the damage is too great for them to do so, the shards are probably still put to use, as containers if possible, as lids, as supports in the manufacture of pottery, or perhaps, after grinding, for use as a filler. A Chopi woman in the Makupulane district of Muchopes, demonstrated how she used a shard as pumice for her feet.

The attitudes of potters to the mending of pottery varied. One informant stated that she did not know how to mend pottery, although she had tried,
whereas another one stated firmly that if vessels cracked during firing it showed a flaw and they were therefore not worth repairing.
PART III: DECORATION
DECORATION

Amongst all the Bantu peoples of Southern Africa some form of decorating pottery is practised. Potters of some tribes decorate a large percentage of pottery, whereas amongst others decoration is rare. Generally speaking, pots used for drinking, serving food, storing dry foodstuffs or liquids and for washing are decorated, and large beer-brewing and cooking vessels are left plain.

It was found that the type of decorative design used by the potters of a tribal group followed the same general style, but this was not always the case. Potters use traditional designs, or modern ones learnt at schools or copied from western motifs, which are popular amongst their customers. Many traditional designs are being replaced by those which show a strong European influence.

The techniques used by Bantu potters today may be described as follows:—

Graphic techniques:

The following methods of decoration are generally used after the pots have dried to a leather-hard condition, although they are sometimes carried out immediately after shaping. The decoration of pottery with grooved and incised designs after firing has been seen (Figure XXXV No. 149, SAM 4991) and is mentioned by Schofield (1948: 188), but none of the potters interviewed described the decoration of their wares at this stage.

Incising:— the cutting of fine lines with a V-section, using a sharply pointed stylus. Tools recorded for this use include thorns, sharp sticks, hairpins and knifeblades. (Plate XXII No. 63)
Grooving: - sometimes called channeling, - the cutting of wider lines with a U-section. The tools used have a wider point or edge than those used in incising.

The division between these two techniques is not always clearly defined.

Stamping: - Stamped impressions may be made either singly or collectively. The tools recorded for making a single stamped impression include the head of a nail, the end of a grass stem, a reed stem, the fingernail and the handle of a knife. (Plate XXII No. 64) A compound stamped design - i.e., the stamping of a number of impressions at the same time - is made by impressing a comb into the clay, either by rolling it across the surface or by applying even pressure to the tool so that each "tooth" of the comb is impressed at the same time. Tools observed in use for compound stamping include shells (both rolled and simple compound stamping), bunches of grass stems (simple compound stamping) and bracelets (rolled stamping).

Dragging: - the drawing of a comb tool across the clay surface to produce a series of parallel incised or grooved lines. The only tool observed for use in this technique was a plastic hair-comb.

Plastic Techniques:

The following two techniques are carried out while the clay is plastic, just after the shaping of the vessel in the case of applied decoration, and during shaping in the case of moulding.
**Applied:** Small variously shaped pellets of clay are applied to the outer surface of the pot, which has been deliberately wetted. The projections or bosses vary in size, and may be placed at random or in a definite design.

**Moulding:** Ridges and bosses of a decorative nature may be raised from the body of the clay during the shaping of the vessel.

**Colour Techniques:**

1. **Application of colour**

The most common raw materials used in pottery decoration are graphite and ochre, various forms of which are used. The sources and application of these materials have been discussed under materials (p. 15).

The application of these traditional materials is generally carried out when the pot is leather-hard either in conjunction with graphic designs, or over the entire surface. Sometimes colour is applied in patterns without graphic borders.

Other natural decorative materials, the use of which is recorded in the literature, are described in the ethnology section, (Part V) in the sections dealing with the Zulu (p. 120), Ronga (p. 168) and Basuto (p. 235).

The use of enamel paint as a decorative material is discussed under materials (p. 16).

2. **Special firing methods**

While in the field two methods of blackening pottery
deliberately by firing were watched.

(i) This method was recorded amongst both Basuto and Swazi potters and is quoted by Bryant (1949) as being used by the Zulu.

After the pots have been fired and cooled they are either put into a small grass or brush fire, or placed on the ground and bundles of burning grass played around them in such a way that the smoke comes in contact with the pots. The pottery retains particles of carbon which give it a black finish.

(ii) The second method was used by a Mabaso potter near Tugela Ferry, Natal (p. 102).

After the pots had become red hot the fire was smothered with very finely powdered dung, which caused the pots to turn black. According to the potter this was because of the contact of the smoke with the pots. This explanation, which is true of method (i) above, is only partly true in this case. The potter was using a clay containing iron and by smothering the fire she produced a reducing atmosphere. According to Searle (1949) clays containing iron compounds, which are fired in a reducing atmosphere, that is, one from which air is excluded as far as possible, turn black owing to the formation of less highly oxidised iron compounds.

In some cases animal fat is rubbed on the blackened pot and sometimes black boot polish is used to give a lasting shine.
**Burnishing:**

Not all potters burnish their wares, and those who do, do not burnish them all. For instance, large beerpots in any tradition are not burnished, while the smaller pots made in finer ware may be burnished whether they are decorated in other ways or not.

Burnishing is generally done with a river pebble or a smooth pip or fruit. This is first done when the pot is leatherhard; and for a second time just before firing, if shrinkage due to water loss has resulted in loss of lustre (Shephard 1957).

The degree of burnishing recorded amongst modern Bantu pottery is very variable.

**Slipping:**

This belongs to some extent in the section on the application of colour, but since the process is not entirely a decorative one it is treated here. It is not certain whether there is in fact any true "slipping" practised by Bantu potters in this region. A slip is defined as a secondary coat of clay, generally a finer material than the body, used to improve the colour and the texture of a vessel and to render it less porous. A slip is applied before firing, and should harden at the same temperature as the clay, otherwise it will flake off.

A Basuto potter in the Herschel district described a technique which could possibly be a primitive method of "slipping". Before firing, the pot was coloured with a very liquid mixture of ochre and water. Two pots
from the Hoschel District, made by other potters (S.A.M. 8564 and S.A.M. 8533) are coloured by the application of a material which has fired a deeper red than the clay used in the manufacture of the body. It was learnt from the maker of one of these vessels that the colour was applied before firing and it is apparent that it was in a very liquid form as it has run down unevenly inside the vessel. The surface of this pot is covered with a very fine network of cracks, which may be due to the fact that the two clays have different hardening temperatures.
PART IV :

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF POTTERY TYPES
GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF POTTERY TYPES

The diversity and range of the vessels makes a classification into regular definable groups very difficult. Although a number of types do not fit into any scheme, some sort of order can be obtained by imposing arbitrary limits.

Sub-division of pottery types may be:— statistical, by obtaining correlation coefficients from defined measurements on the pot or ratios between defined measurements; functional, according to the use to which the vessel is put; or visual, according to the shape of the body of the vessel or its salient features.

The statistical approach, with mathematically fixed limits to a number of groups, was first considered. This method was, however, rejected after reference to Clarke’s “Matrix Investigation” (Clarke 1962). In this undertaking a large number of characteristics concerned with decoration were analysed; an extremely complex scheme resulted. If shape were to be treated in the same way the data required would be even greater and the analysis correspondingly complex. Furthermore, this method would be both time-consuming and costly, and the results would probably not be of sufficient practical use, in view of the present state of research in this field, to justify the cost.

A method of classification according to function was in this instance not feasible since it had not been possible to check the specific use of
each individual vessel studied.

For the purpose of experimenting with a visual type of classification, drawings, one third the natural size, of the pottery types available for study, were made. These were easy to sort into groups and greatly reduced the handling of the pottery itself.

In the first sorting the types were divided into pots, bowls, beakers and zoomorphic forms. Schofield's definition of bowls (Schofield 1948) as "vessels in which the vertical height is not greater than the overall measurement across the rim", was used, since this definition is visually satisfactory and also to some extent connected with use. Beakers were grouped according to the size of the vessel and its use as a drinking utensil.

The next step was to subdivide the two large classes of pots and bowls. This was first attempted on the basis of body form, the neck and rim of the vessel being treated as appendages. Further subdivisions were made according to the form of the neck (if present) or the rim. Definitions of limits of neck, rim, base and body were suggested, since these features are not always clearly defined. This method of subdivision produced a large number of ill-defined groups which merged into each other. It was hoped that this grouping of vessels would correspond with a grouping of the same vessels done either on a functional or tribal basis, but this was not found to be the case. For these reasons this approach to the visual method of classification was abandoned as being unsatisfactory.
Finally a modification of the above visual method has been used. The four basic groups defined in the first sorting have been retained and the first two, that is bowls and pots, have been subdivided into vessels with and without necks. Three basic types of neck have been defined. Differences in the shape of vessels grouped by this method are pointed out in a description defining, if possible, the basic shape of the vessel, the type of base, the type of rim and any other salient features.

It is difficult to find a terminology to suit all the varieties of feature recorded. Terms suitable in some cases do not apply to all features grouped together according to definition. It is for this reason that necks, for example, grouped together on account of the fact that they would become increasingly narrow if extended in the same line, have been termed either inturnd or inward sloping, according to which description is the most suitable.

Another difficulty is to decide how detailed a classification of this type should be to be as useful and reliable as possible. Naturally, there is a certain amount of insignificant variation in pots of the same basic shape, because they are made by hand and not by machine, but these variations would gain unnecessarily in significance if grouped separately in a very detailed classification. On the other hand, a small but significant variation might be lost in too simple a classification.

In the following system the number of groups has been kept to a minimum and the terminology made as simple as possible to facilitate its application to a large variety of vessels. For the same reason an attempt has been
made to avoid, wherever possible, the use of ratios and angular measurements in the defining of feature and class subdivisions.

The following diagrams illustrate some of the features and vessel types which have been observed in the area under discussion - possible combinations of features not seen have not been drawn.

**BASE:** the part of the vessel upon which it stands.

The most common variations are:

(i) Rounded

(ii) Flattened

(iii) Projecting - rounded

(iv) Projecting - flattened
(v) Dimpled

(vi) Pointed

(vii) Pedestal

RIM: the termination of the vessel wall.

The most common variations are:

(i) Cut
RIM:

(ii) Rounded

(iii) Flattened

(iv) Thickened

(v) Flattened thickened

Rims of all types may occur on vessel walls of even thickness or on walls which have been deliberately tapered.
NECK: that part of the vessel above the body commencing with a point of inflection and terminating in a rim. There may be a further point of inflection in the neck itself, in which case it is described as compound.

A point of inflection is defined throughout as the point at which a curve changes from convex to concave, or concave to convex; at which a curved line is joined by a straight one; or at which a straight line changes direction.

When describing the neck of a vessel the following information is given where possible:–

(i) Whether the point of inflection is well- or poorly-defined. A point of inflection is described as well-defined if there is an angular join of a curved and straight wall; or an angular join of a convex and concave wall.

(ii) Whether the neck is tall or short. A neck is described as tall when it exceeds one quarter the measurement of the height of the entire vessel.

The three main types of neck are defined below:–

1. UPRIGHT — in which, if the neck itself were extended the mouth diameter would remain the same.

2. EVERTED — in which, if the neck itself were extended the mouth diameter would increase in size.

3. INTURNED or INWARD SLOPING — in which, if the neck itself were extended the mouth diameter would decrease in size.
The following diagrams illustrate some of the types of neck seen on Southern Bantu pottery.

A. UPRIGHT

Tall upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Short upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Tall upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

Short upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.
B. **EVERTED**

Short straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Tall straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Tall curved everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

Tall curved everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.
EVERTED (continued)

Short everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. (compound)

C. INTURNED OR INWARD-SLOPING

Short straight inward-sloping neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Short curved inward-sloping neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.
INTURNED OR INWARD-SLOPING (continued)

Tall inturned neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.
CARNATION: An angled inflection in the vessel wall forming a ridge on the outer surface. A carination may occur in pots or bowls either at the widest diameter or at the base of the neck. In some vessels the base of the neck and the widest diameter coincide, in which case the point of inflection forming the base of the neck is in fact part of the carination.

Pot with carination at widest diameter.  
Pot with carination at base of neck, above widest diameter.

Pot with carination at base of neck and widest diameter.
CARINATION (continued)

Bowl with carination at widest diameter.

Bowl with carination at base of neck, above widest diameter.

Bowl with carination at base of neck and widest diameter.
**SUB-CARINATION:** A sharply curved inflection at the widest diameter of a pot or bowl.

Sub-carinated pot
The following classification of vessel types is used in this survey.

**BOWL:** a vessel in which the diameter across the mouth is greater than the height.

This class may be sub-divided as follows:

A. Open-mouthed bowls

- Deep hemispherical bowls
- Shallow wide-mouthed bowls

B. Incurved bowls
   a. without necks
   - Spherical bowls
   - Shallow wide-mouthed bowls
   - Shallow narrow-mouthed bowls
B. **Incurved bowls** (continued)

a. without necks

b. with necks

- (i) **Upright**

Deep spherical bowls with short upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

Wide-mouthed bowls with tall upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

Deep spherical bowls with short upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.
B. Incurved bowls (continued)

b. with necks  

(ii) Everted

Deep spherical bowls with short straight everted neck formed with a well-defined point of inflection.

Deep spherical bowls with short curved everted neck formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection.

Subcarinated bowls with short curved everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

This group includes carinated bowls with everted necks. (See page 51)
POT: a vessel in which the diameter at the mouth is less than the height and the widest diameter.

Pots may be classified as follows:

A. Pots without necks

- Spherical pots
- Sub-spherical pots
- Bag-shaped pots - i.e. with widest diameter nearer base than mouth.
- Inverted bag-shaped pots - i.e. with widest diameter nearer mouth than base.
- Barrel-shaped pots
A. **Pots without necks** (continued)

Carinated pots

Sub-carinated pots

B. **Pots with upright necks**

For examples of vessels of this class see page 46.

C. **Pots with everted necks**

For examples of vessels in this class see pages 47 and 50.

D. **Pots with inturned or inward-sloping necks**

For examples of vessels of this class see pages 48 and 49.
BEAKER: vessel in which the height exceeds the greatest diameter; probably used for drinking.

There is great variety in this class.

ZOO MORPHIC VESSEL: stylised animal-shaped vessels, probably made for ritual use.

MISCELLANEOUS: pottery types which do not belong in any of the above-mentioned classes.
PART V:

POTTERY TECHNIQUES AND TYPES CLASSIFIED BY TRIBE
INTRODUCTION

In this section the information collected about the pottery of the Bantu of Southern Africa is set out under tribal headings according to the Classification quoted previously (p.4), so as to facilitate comparisons.

In each group the material has been divided into two main sections:-

1. Previously unpublished information; (referred to as Field.)
   a. collected by the writer in the field and from personal study of museum specimens, photographs and records.
   b. obtained by questionnaires completed by informants in the field.

2. Information in the published and unpublished literature, including observations made by others on museum specimens which have not been seen by the writer; (referred to as Literature)

Within each section the data has been set out under the following main headings, with some sub-headings.

1. Technology
2. Pottery forms, names and uses
3. Decoration
4. System of Distribution
5. Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use.

In some cases it has been found necessary to include certain information under a new heading, where it is not common to all groups.
At the end of each tribal group, the main points are summed up, and these are compared and contrasted in a discussion at the end of each sub-division and division.
1. **NGUNI**

11. **CAPE NGUNI**

None of the Cape Nguni tribes were visited.

a. **Xhosa**

**SECTION I - Field Technology**

The Xhosa people no longer manufacture pottery.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

3. **POTS**

1. **Without neck**;

Sherd of a barrel-shaped pot with thickened rim and slightly flattened base. Height about 14 cms.

Undecorated, smooth matt finish. (Laidler Collection)

Name and use: no record

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature Technology**

**Potters**: The potters were women and pottery was made for domestic use rather than for trading (Kay 1833).

**Materials**: Anthill clay was used (Hoodie 1835; Fritsch 1872), or clay dug from river banks or special pits (MacLaren 1915).

The clay apparently needed no filler, it was wetted, trodden with the feet and kneaded with the hands to make it plastic (MacLaren 1915).
Tools: Wood or bone smoothers were used (Fritsch 1872).

Technique: No wheel was used, the pot was built up from the base with successive pieces of clay (Fritsch 1872).

Drying: After the pot was shaped it was dried in the sun (Dohne 1843).

Decorating: No information.

Firing: Dried cow dung was used as a fuel (Kay 1833) and it was packed both inside and around the vessels (Dohne 1843).

Sealing: Dohne (1843) records the practice of boiling kaffir-corn in each new vessel, which was then smeared inside and out with the porridge and returned to the fire until the remainder of porridge had boiled away. This process closed the pores of the pottery and was mistakenly described by Dohne as a glaze.

Ending: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are mentioned by Fritsch (1872) and Nauhaus (1881). With the exception of Nauhaus's pot there are no illustrations.

A. bowls

1. Without necks
   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Shallow open-mouthed bowls (Fritsch 1872:75)

   Name and use: no record
3. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pots. The most widely distributed type.

(Fritsch 1872:75)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright

Spherical pot with upright neck and wide mouth which was sometimes closed with a convex lid (Fritsch 1872: 75)

Name and use: no record for cooking (Fritsch 1872)

(ii) Everted:

Spherical pot with everted neck, fairly narrow in diameter. (Fritsch 1872)

Name and use: no record for beer or water (Fritsch 1872)

(iii) Inward-sloping:

Calabash-shaped pot with flat base and inward-sloping neck formed with a poorly defined point of inflection. Height about 25.5 cms. Black ware, decorated with moulded and graphic designs. (Nauhaus 1881:347 Figure 4)

Name and use: no record
Further remarks on form, name and use

Form: Frølich (1872) states that a number of vessels had blunt conical bases and that these vessels were carried on the head supported in thick grass rings.

Use: Pots were used as drinking vessels (Alberti 1810) and a visitor to a kraal was generally offered a drink of sour milk in an earthenware vessel (Moodie 1835).

Decoration

The only mention of decoration is by Nauhaus (1881) who describes and illustrates a "dark black" pot with three symmetrical protruding ridges patterned with cross-hatching. (p. 62, (iii))

System of Distribution

Although it has been stated above that potters manufactured utensils for their own use, there was also a certain amount of trade. A vessel with the capacity of two buckets was bartered for an oxhide (Dohne 1843).

Today the Xhosa generally buy pottery for domestic use from itinerant Basuto potters (Shaw and van Wammelo Ms.)

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Xhosa do not make pottery today and it is only from reports by early travellers, together with the fact that there are words in the Xhosa vocabulary for pottery vessels (Kropf 1889) that we have
evidence that they made and used pottery. It is not known how long ago the Xhosa stopped making pottery. Nauhaus's description was of a pot no longer made at the time of his writing (1881) but according to Soga, writing in 1932, pottery was still being made, but in decreasing quantities. It would seem therefore, that there was a long period of decline in pottery manufacture before it was abandoned.

The early records, however, include neither particulars of the techniques, the ware nor the decoration. It is stated in the literature that pottery was made for domestic use rather than for trade.

The most detailed description we have of any vessel is that by Nauhaus (1881) and it does not tally with other Cape Nguni ware, either described in the literature or observed. From Fritsch's account it is learned that the range of pottery vessels included open-mouthed bowls, spherical pots without necks and wide-and narrow-mouthed spherical pots with necks. Fritsch states further that these vessels were used for eating, cooking and as containers for beer and water.
12. CAPE NGUNI

b. Thembu

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The Thembu people no longer manufacture pottery.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Some specimens of pottery which came from Thembu households in the Herschel District, Cape in 1908 were seen in the South African Museum, Cape Town. These pots are, however, made in Basuto style (Figure XVI Nos. 69 and 71, SAM 982). On a field trip to the Herschel District in 1961 it was found that there are today no Thembu potters there and only Basuto style pottery is in use.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

According to information collected by Hakalima in answer to a Native Affairs Department questionnaire in 1945, the Thembu of the Umtata District still manufactured pottery at that time, and Hammond-Tooke (1956–57) recorded fairly even distribution of pottery in 1956 in the same district, although it is not known whether this pottery was made by the Thembu themselves.

Potters: The potters were women (Martin 1836:156)

Materials: Various types of clay were dug from the river banks with a crow-bar and prepared by pounding and mixing with friable
earth to prevent cracking (Makalima 1945).

No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses.**

Schofield (1943) describes Thembu pottery as being similar to Nyondo.

**Decoration**

Thembu pottery was decorated by notching the rims (Schofield 1948).

No further information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

No Thembu pottery has been seen either in museum collections or in the field although the Thembu still use pottery. Informants in the Transkei knew of Thembu potters as recently as 1945 but there were only a few of them.

In the Herschel District the Thembu buy pottery from local Basuto potters and in the Transkei itinerant Basuto potters supply their needs.

According to Schofield (1948) Thembu pottery resembled that of the Nyondo and was decorated by notching the rim, but there is no record of their techniques.
12. CAPE NGUKI

C. Bomvana

SECTION I - Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: The potters are women (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.).

Techniques: The method of shaping a vessel is to add short rolls of clay, not coiled, to a rough base to form walls .75 to 1.25 cms. thick (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.).

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following classification has been based on photographs of Bomvana pottery from Lusikisiki and Elliotdale, some of which was collected in 1935 and is now in the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria and some of which was seen in the field in 1955 (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.).

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Deep and shallow straight sided bowls with rounded rims and rounded bases. Mouth diameter between 22-25 cms. Decorated by notching rims. (Plate I No.1 Nkanye, Elliotdale, Transkei)

   Name and use: ingavi/ingai (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)
Name and use: (continued)

no record; shallow type probably for serving food and deep variety for serving and drinking beer.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Large barrel-shaped, wide-mouthed incurved, and truncated oval-shaped pots with cut or rounded rims.
Height 30-45cms. No decoration. Matt finish. Bark cord bindings used to strengthen vessels if necessary.
(Plate I No.2 TM 35/380; TM 35/359)

Name and use: umphanda/mpanda (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.) for storing water (ditto)

b. Spherical, barrel-shaped and elongated bag-shaped pots.

Height 20-25cms. Undecorated and decorated.
(TM 35/381; TM 35/440 Elliotdale, Transkei)

Name and use: ingai/ingai/ngai (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.) for drinking and serving beer (ditto)

Decoration

Only the small vessels are decorated, with either notched rims (Plate I No.1) or the application of small pointed lumps of clay.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Judging by the fact that only one Bomvana potter was located in a fairly large area (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.) not a great
deal of Bomvana pottery is made today. Building with rolls of clay, not spirally, is the technique described in the literature.

From photographs of pottery types in museum collections and in the field, it can be seen that deep and shallow open-mouthed bowls and a range of pots of varying shapes without necks, were made. Small sizes are decorated with notched rims or small pointed applied lumps of clay. In shape and decoration this pottery is comparable with that of the Mpondo and it was used for the same purposes.
11. CAPE NGUNI

d. Mpondomisi

SECTION I - Field

The Mpondomisi do not make pottery today and use that manufactured by other tribes. For example some of the Hlubi families of Qumbu make pottery for sale to neighbouring Mpondomisi (Ntusi D.M. in lit 5/6/63).

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Today the Mpondomisi use pottery bought from potters of other tribes and although there is neither technological information nor record of pottery types made by them it must be presumed that they made pottery in the past; firstly, because they know how to use it and secondly, because the manufacture of pottery is a cultural characteristic of the Bantu people.
SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from a study of museum records and photographs.

Potters: The potters were women. (Photograph SAM collection)

Materials: The clay is pounded until it is fine (ditto)

Tools:
1. As a support on which to build
   A small grass mat (Photograph WITS, m'Takatyi River, Pondoland, 1931)

2. As smoothers
   A piece of calabash.

Technique: Vessels are built by vertically coiling a slightly flattened roll of clay (Photograph WITS, m'Takatyi River, Pondoland 1931; Photograph SAM collection)

Drying: After shaping, pots are dried indoors before firing. A photograph shows large beerpots drying upside down and small ones the right way up. (WITS Collection)

Decoration: No information.

Firing: The vessels are placed on their sides in a slight hollow. (WITS Collection).

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in museum collections.
B. POTS.

1. Without necks:

Small pots of a variety of shapes, with cut or rounded rims and flattened or projecting bases. Height about 13-17 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure I Nos. 2-6, SAM 6167 (2), SAM 6166, UCT 32/37, Flagstaff and Ngqeleni, Pondoland)

Name and use: ingayi (museum records)
for drinking and serving beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) everted:

Bag-shaped pot with short, straight everted neck formed with a well defined point of inflection, cut rim and flattened base. Height about 22 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure I No. 1 SAM 6051, Umvume Springs, Pondoland)

Name and use: inkonga (Clarke - museum records)

(i) "for small amounts of foodstuff, such as sprouted grain used in beermaking, thin porridge, or light beer" (Clarke - museum records)

(ii) for use by important people (Paramount Chief, E. Pondoland, Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

Decoration

The majority of Xhosa pottery seen was thickwalled and not particularly well shaped. The finer-finished examples had a smooth
matt finish or were lightly burnished, and were sometimes coloured by the application of ochre. Other forms of decoration were designs stamped with the end of a grass stalk or roughly moulded (Figure I No.4).

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: The art of pottery was known only to a few women and although the knowledge was usually handed down from mother to daughter, any woman who was interested might learn. (Hunter 1936)

Materials: A particular type of clay was used. It was dug by the potter and prepared by pounding until it was fine (Hunter 1936)

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

A small mat (Hunter 1936)

2. As a smoother

A piece of calabash (Hunter 1936)

Technique: The walls of the vessel were built up by means of "ring upon ring" of clay. The first ring was fitted with a flattened lump of clay to form the base, before the walls were started. (Hunter 1936) A second method was that of building the walls by means of vertically coiling a slightly flattened roll of clay (Shaw and van Wasmelo Ms.).

Drying: This process takes place indoors (Hunter 1936)

Decoration: No information
Firing: Firing generally took place in a slight hollow, firewood was piled around the pots, a little of the fuel being put inside each vessel (Hunter 1936). A blazing fire was kept going for one and a half to two hours. (Hunter 1936).

Sealing/Testing: No information.

Mending: No mention is made of mending pots which crack during firing, although there was a high percentage of breakages. These were known by potters to be the result of uneven firing temperatures, or impurities in the clay, but they were often attributed to the presence of strangers or unsuitable observers at a firing. (Hunter 1936).

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types are described and illustrated in photographs in the literature.

A. Bowls

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Small bowls with a diameter of approximately 15 cms.

   (Hunter 1936).

   Name and use: isitya (Hunter 1936)

   for serving milk food (ditto)

2. With necks

   (ii) Everted:

   Wide mouthed bowls with slightly everted necks

   (Schofield 1948; necks described by Schofield as rims)
B. POTS

1. Without necks:

a. Very large barrel-shaped pots with cut rim. Height 58-62 cms. Undecorated with exception of rim which seems to be notched. Bound with bark cord to strengthen. (Plate II No. 4 Qawuteni, Transkei)

Name and use: imbiza (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

(i) for fermenting and storing beer
(Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

(ii) formerly an earthen pot for cooking as distinguished from an iron one (Kropf 1889)

b. Large almost straight sided pot with cut or rounded rim and slightly projecting base. Height 55 cms. Undecorated. (Plate III No. 5 Luqhoqweni, Lusikisiki, Transkei)

Name and use: ikhanzi (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

for fermenting and storing beer (ditto)

c. Large barrel-shaped vessels with smooth, matt finish.
(Shaw and van Warmelo Ms. Photograph TM 35/437 Lusikisiki, Transkei)

Name and use: mphanda (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

for water (ditto)

d. Small spherical, bag- and barrel-shaped pots with cut or rounded rims and flattened bases. Height 13-19cms. Decorated with colour and moulded, stamped and notched
desics (Plate II No. 3 TM 35/439; TM 35/425; TM 35/428 Lusikisiki, Transkei)

Name and use: ingayi/ingai (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

for drinking and serving beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Large spherical pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened rim and rounded base. Height about 33 cms. Decorated with stamped design. (Plate IV No. 8 EL 748)

Name and use: no record

for storing beer (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

(ii) Everted:

a. Large pot with short straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and slightly flattened base. Height about 44 cms. Decorated stamped design. (Plate IV No. 7 EL 740)

Name and use: no record.

b. Bag-shaped pot with short straight everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Height 30 cms. Decorated stamped impressions. (Plate III No. 6 centre, Lusikisiki, Transkei)

Name and use: no record
Decoration

Most of the Mpondo pottery illustrated in the literature is decorated. The most widespread technique is the stamping of individual impressions in geometrical designs, particularly L-shaped masses, loops and truncated triangles around the mouth or neck of the vessel. (Schofield 1943). Applied lumps of clay of various shapes are also popular and one example is decorated with a notched rim.

Mpondo pottery often has a brown burnish (Schofield 1943).

System of Distribution.

As has been mentioned previously pottery is made by specialists, who are today becoming fewer in number. During a field trip to Pondoland in 1955, the Ethnologist at the South African Museum, Cape Town noted that every homestead had some pots and that earthenware was used to the exclusion of everything else in the manufacture of beer (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.) Those who are unable to make their own pottery or prefer not to, buy what they require from specialists who make to order. These orders may take a long time to fulfill since the potter does not abandon her other domestic activities. (Hunter 1936)

Pottery used to be bartered but today a cash transaction is more usual. Pots with necks cost more than the simple shapes. (Clarke in lit 1939)
Taboos and practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use.

If a milk bowl (*isitya*) had to be used for beer, only the relative of the owner of the homestead was allowed to use it. (Hunter 1936)

**CONCLUSION**

There are still a number of potters amongst the Mpondo, although the numbers are decreasing. Two techniques are used, the ring and coiling methods. The potters themselves are specialists, who generally acquire the knowledge of the art from their mothers, but there is no taboo against anyone who is interested learning.

Only a small range of pottery types is made, consisting of small open-mouthed bowls, and large and small pots with and without necks. Decoration of these wares, which are generally thickwalled, takes the form of stamped, moulded and applied designs. Ochre is sometimes used.

Vessels appear to be named sometimes according to size and type and sometimes according to use, the use of a vessel is however related to its shape. As the small vessels without necks vary in shape and yet are given the same name and put to the same use, it would seem that this variation in shape is not significant.

Western influence on Mpondo pottery was not noted.
CAPE NGUNI – DISCUSSION

The Mpondomisi are the only Cape Nguni group who make pottery in any quantity today. From evidence in the literature it appears that the Xhosa and Thembu used to make their own pottery; although no examples of it have been seen, it is said to have greatly resembled that of the Mpondomisi. There is no information on Mpondomisi pottery, but it is likely that the ancestors of the different peoples who are now grouped as Mpondomisi, made pottery. Today the Mpondomisi use pottery made by others.

From a comparison of Bomvana pottery now in museum collections with that of the Mpondomisi it would appear that there are few differences in shape and decoration. There are a wider range of decorative designs on Mpondomisi pottery, but both groups use the same techniques. Amongst both these peoples the potters are specialists who learnt the art from their mothers, as was the case amongst the Xhosa and Thembu in the past.

Some Mpondomisi build their vessels with rolls of clay formed into rings, placed one on top of the other, as do the Bomvana, others use vertical coiling.

Cape Nguni pottery does not appear to have been influenced in shape or decoration by contact with the European, and is today quite unlike that of any other Nguni group, with the exception of some made by Xesibe and Bhaca. As the latter settled in the Transkei more recently than the Cape Nguni similarities are probably the result of contact with them.
12. IMMIGRANT CAPE NGUNI

The Fingo and Hlubi groups were visited during this survey, but no potters were found amongst either of them.

a. Fingo

SECTION I - Field

In 1961, the Fingo Reserve near Peddie, Eastern Cape was visited. None of the women interviewed was able to make pottery nor was any pottery seen at the homesteads. There is no pottery attributed to the Fingo in museum collections.

SECTION II - Literature

Shaw and van Warmelo (Ms.) state that in 1955 Fingo in the Tsomo district said that they neither made nor used pottery and that this was denied by the constable interpreter who claimed that pottery was brought into Tsomo for sale by Fingo potters.

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The only record of Fingo pottery is in Thomas Baine's painting "Fingoes" which depicts a woman carrying a large open-mouthed vessel on her head (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Since the term Fingo is applied collectively to all refugees and immigrants to the Cape, mostly from Natal, after the Zulu rise to power (van Warmelo (1936), it is not surprising that if they
had pottery traditions of their own, these have been lost. It is most unlikely that there ever was a Fingo tradition.

However, the fact that Shaw and Warmelo were told of Fingo potters in the Tsomo district must not be overlooked.
The following technological account is based upon information from two sources:—

a. Hlubi informants in the Matatiele district who were visited in 1961. Very little pottery was seen at the homesteads and it was not possible to locate any potters although assured of their existence.

b. An account of a pottery demonstration and interview recorded for the writer, with a Sotho woman who was married to a Hlubi, in the Qumbu district. This potter may have combined Sotho and Hlubi techniques or used those of the Sotho entirely.

(Ntusi D.M., in lit 5/6/1963)

Potters: Women learn the art of pottery from their mothers or grandmothers; traditionally only the women make pottery. The potters make for their own use and for sale. Pottery is said to be a paying industry as a good potter makes about ten pots a day.

(Pahl H.W., in lit 5/6/1963)

Materials: Moist clay is dug from the river bed near the water's edge with a pointed wooden stick or a metal rod. Each potter has her own clay hole (umngxume). Black clay is considered more suitable than red or yellow. The potter carries small quantities
of clay back to the homestead in an old dish, if she had a large quantity to transport she asks others to help her with the load.

An ox-drawn sleigh is sometimes used to transport large quantities of clay over long distances. The clay is prepared for use by sprinkling it with water and pounding it on a grinding stone. It is strengthened by the addition of a filler (intlatyw) obtained from a nearby hill. When it is the correct consistency it is formed into regular shapes so that it will retain its moisture as long as possible, and is stored in a large, clean container. It is possible to use the clay immediately after preparation.

(Ntusi)

Two slightly different methods of preparing the clay were recorded from informants at Matatiele. The first was to dry the clay before grinding it finely and mixing it with water; and the second to mix finely ground potsherds into the freshly dug wet clay.

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build**
   no record

2. **As smoothers**
   
   (i) For inside surface:
   a piece of calabash (Ntusi)

   (ii) For outer surface:
   a flat stone (Ntusi)
   a piece of an iron hoop (Ntusi)
3. As a cutting tool
   For cutting rim:
   a piece of an iron hoop (Ntusi)

4. For decorating
   (i) For graphic designs:
       a grass stalk (informants at Matatiele)
   (ii) For stamped impressions:
       handle of a spoon (informants at Matatiele)
       piece of stick (ditto)
       a bone (Ntusi)
       a piece of broken glass or china (ditto)
   (iii) For burnishing:
       a smooth stone (informants at Matatiele)

Technique: Potters work indoors as wind causes the pottery to crack (Ntusi). Two techniques have been described. The first, used by the potter at Qumbu, is to start at the base of the vessel which is formed from a flattened mass of clay hollowed out to form the beginning of the walls. The vessels are built to the required height by means of rings of clay placed on top of each other and formed from two or more flattened lengths of clay. The second method, described by informants at Matatiele, is to start with a ring of clay upon which the walls are built, also by means of rings. The base is added when the pot has dried slightly. As the moisture sinks to the bottom of the clay cylinder the base is added to the dampest region and does not crack off.
**Drying:** After shaping the pots they are put indoors for a day covered with a cloth to protect them from draughts. After this they are put outside daily for increasing periods, for about four days in all. (Ntusi)

**Decorating:** Graphic decoration is done after shaping when the clay is still wet. Colour is applied when the vessel is dry, before firing. Washing "blue" or oil paint is used by potters in the Qumbu district, or a vessel may be blackened after firing by smoking it in a sheep or goat manure fire. (Ntusi) In the Matatiele district the same effect is obtained by smoking a pot, smeared with animal fat in a dry grass fire. (Informants at Matatiele)

**Firing:** A hearth about six inches deep is lined with a layer of dry cowdung upon which the pots to be fired are placed. If only one pot is to be fired it is placed upright with its mouth covered with a piece of sherd, otherwise vessels are placed on their sides mouth to mouth in a double row. Up to twelve pots are fired at a time. The pottery is covered with two layers of dry dung separated by a layer of dry grass. Firing is done during the day and takes about four hours. The pots are removed only when they are cool. Dung is preferred to wood as a fuel because it gives an even temperature and does not cool as quickly and cause the pots to crack. (Ntusi)

Informants at Matatiele stated that pottery was placed on its side for firing and that specially prepared dung cakes were packed
around and inside each vessel. Wood is sometimes used as kindling.

Firing takes from one to ten hours depending on the sizes of the vessels.

Cracking of pottery during firing is caused by:

a. The potter's inefficiency or carelessness.

b. Moisture reaching the pots during firing.

c. The use of the wrong fuel.

d. Poor quality clay.

e. Exposure of the pots to wind during shaping or firing.

f. The presence of "evil" persons. (p. 86)

The above reasons were given by the potter at Qumbu (Ntusi).

Sealing/Testing: New pots are sealed by filling them with thin porridge for a day or two (Ntusi). The informants at Matatiele stated that it was not necessary to seal pottery.

Mending: No information.

Taboos and practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

1. According to tribal custom, adolescents up to about 20 years of age who indulge in premarital sexual practices such as umetsho, or those who practice witchcraft may cause the pots to crack either by their mere presence at modelling or firing operations, or by touching the pots at these times.

2. Pottery made from clay stolen from another potter's clay hole will not be a success.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the district of Matatiele.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large widemouthed pots with flattened base. Height about 45 cm. Sometimes decorated with stamped impressions.

Name and use: imbiza (informants at Matatiele) for storing and brewing beer (ditto)

b. Narrow-mouthed sub-spherical pot with flattened base. Height about 25-30 cm. Decorated with graphic design.

Name and use: inclazeba (informants at Matatiele) no record.

c. Inverted bag-shaped pots with flattened base. Height about 20 cm. Decorated with graphic design.

Name and use: ingcaca (informants at Matatiele) for drinking beer (ditto)

C. BEAKERS

Barrel-shaped pedestal based beaker. Decorated with colour, and graphic design. Said to be Basuto.

Name and use: no record

Decoration

The most common type of decoration seen was a simple incised band divided into triangles, around the mouth of the pot. Simple
stamped impressions are sometimes used to decorate the very large brewing pots. The pottery seen was either the red colour of the fired clay, or blackened deliberately by smearing with fat and smoking in a grass or dung fire, after firing. Ochre was used on a beaker attributed to the Basuto.

The use of "washing blue" and enamel paint is common in the Qumbu district (Ntusi).

System of Distribution

According to informants pottery is made by specialists who sell their wares. In the Qumbu district there is a well-developed trade between Hlubi potters and neighbouring Mpondomisi tribes who no longer manufacture pottery (Pahl H.W. in lit. 5/6/1963)

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Very little Hlubi pottery was seen and although Hlubi potters were known by informants none were personally interviewed. In the Matatiele district the potters are said to use a ring technique. Unlike the Mpondo and Bomvana who start with the base, they complete it after the rest of the vessel has dried slightly. At Qumbu a Basuto/Hlubi potter builds with rings onto a base formed by hollowing a lump of clay.
Pottery seen in the Matatiele district included large wide-mouthed pots and small neckless pots of various sizes. Decoration took the form of stamped impressions or incised designs. Applied colour was seen only on a beaker attributed to the Basuto, but some pots were deliberately blackened by firing methods. On the whole, the pottery seen was more reminiscent of Basuto than of Nguni ware.

Vessels appear to be named according to type and use. The terminology used by informants included vessel names used by Cape Nguni tribes as well as others.

Synthetic decorative materials are replacing traditional natural ones in the Qumbu district.

According to informants there is a flourishing trade between Hlubi potters of Qumbu and neighbouring Mpondomisi tribes.
12. IMMIGRANT CAPE NGUNI

c. Shaca

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

B. PUTS

2. With necks

(i) upright:

Pot with neck formed with a poorly defined point of
inflection, thickened rim and flattened base. Height
about 25 cms. Decorated with applied lumps. Black
finish. (Figure II No. 8 SAM 6966 Mount Frere,
Transkei)

Name and use: no record.

Decoration

The vessel seen was decorated with applied or moulded lumps
and had a shiny black finish.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Hammond-Tooke (1962) states that pottery still made amongst
the Shaca although the number of specialists is very small.

Technology

Shaca potters use the technique described by Hunter (1936),
that is, building with rings (p.73)
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were photographed at Lugangeni, Mount Frere. (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

b. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large elongated barrel-shaped pots with flattened base. One example with striated surface.

Name and use: umphanda (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)
for storing beer or water (ditto)

b. Small spherical to barrel-shaped pots with flattened base.
Height about 25 cms. Usually simply decorated with graphic or stumped design.

Name and use: ingcaza (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)
for drinking beer (ditto)

Decoration

The only type of decoration used on the above examples is the use of short dashes made with a sharp tool, arranged in groups or simple band designs. A black burnished finish like that used by the Zulu was seen on some of the finer ware.

System of Distribution

Specialists manufacture pottery for sale to others. The Njijini, Mandeleni and Nabela areas in the Mount Frere district, where most suitable clay deposits are found, produce the most pottery (Hammond-Tooke 1962).
No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

According to information in the literature there are still specialists amongst the Bhaca who manufacture pottery. They use the ring technique and build the walls of the vessel onto the base, as do the Xpondlo.

A small range of pottery types has been described, consisting of large elongated barrel-shaped pots, very similar to those made by the Xesibe (Plate V No. 9 ), small variously shaped pots without necks and pots with tall necks. Decoration takes the form of applying or moulding lumps, the use of short perpendicular dashes arranged in designs, and blackening by firing.

None of the pottery showed Western influence.
12. IMMIGRANT CAPE NGUNI
d. Xesibe

SECTION I - Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Pottery is still made today by Xesibe potters but there is no description of their technique (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.).

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were photographed at Mount Ayliff and in the East London Museum. (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

(Plate VI No. 11, Mount Ayliff, Transkei.)

Name and use: ukhamba (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.) for beer (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Large elongated barrel-shaped pots with slightly flattened base. Height about 50 cms. Rough finish (Plate V No. 9, Mount Ayliff, Transkei).
Name and use: umphanda (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

for storing beer or water (ditto)

b. Inverted bag-shaped to barrel-shaped pots with flat bases and rounded or cut rims. Height about 20-25 cm. Decorated graphic design. Sometimes with burnished black finish.

(Plate VI No.11, Mount Ayliff, Transkei)

Name and use: inyasa/ingcaca (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

for drinking beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large spherical pot with narrow upright neck formed with a well-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Height about 40 cm. Decorated with stamped design. (Plate V No.10, EL980)

Name and use: no record

for storing water (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

b. Pots with neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and flattened base. Simple graphic decoration.

(EL 38)

Name and use: no record

for storing water (Shaw and van Warmelo Ms.)

Decoration

The most common form of decoration is the use of incised horizontal bands, either left plain or patterned with stamped
impressions and grooved lines. This type of decoration is used mainly on drinking vessels (Plate VI No. 11). The large grain pot was decorated with geometrical designs formed by blocks of stamped impressions (Plate V No. 10).

Some pots have a black burnished finish.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Although pottery is made by the Xesibe today it is not known what technique they use.

A larger range of vessel types has been observed than amongst other Immigrant Nguni tribes; it includes large, deep wide-mouthed bowls, very large and small barrel-shaped pots, spherical pots with narrow mouthed necks and smaller pots with poorly defined necks. Decoration is varied and incised and grooved horizontal bands, stamped crescent-shaped impressions and a black burnished finish were most commonly noted. There is no obvious European influence in either the shape of the vessels or the decorative designs and techniques.
The following information was given in a letter from the
Superintendent of Locations, Port Shepstone (SAM records;
19.15.1939)

Potters: The potters are women.

Materials: No information.

Tools: 2. As smoothers
   a piece of calabash
3. For burnishing
   a smooth stone.

Technique: The pots are built up in rings placed one on top of
the other.

Drying: A period of drying is necessary before firing.

Decorating: The imfennyane plant (? Umbelliferae) is used for
blackening pottery. It is heated over a fire and then rubbed
onto the pot after it has been fired.

Firing: Firing is done slowly. The pots are reddish after firing.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Minatures of the following vessel types were made for
the South African Museum, Cape Town. The sizes of the actual
vessels were not given.
A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Small bowls with straight projecting base.

   (SAM 6021 Port Shepstone)

   Name and use: udengesi lokundcinda (museum records)
   for mixing medicines (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   Barrel-shaped pots with short concave pedestal base.

   Black finish. Undecorated. (SAM 6020 Port Shepstone)

   Name and use: umfusa (museum records)
   for brewing and storing beer (ditto)

   Barrel-shaped pot with flat base. Graphic design. Black
   finish. (SAM 6019 Port Shepstone)

   Name and use: inbotwe lokupeka (museum records)
   for cooking food (ditto)

Decoration

All models were blackened but unburnished. Graphic designs
were outlined with incised lines and patterned with dashes.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.
CONCLUSION

The Xolo of Port Shepstone made pottery as recently as 1939, but it is not known whether they make or use it today. They used the ring technique.

The models in possession of the South African Museum, Cape Town are poorly shaped and appear to be out of proportion, it is therefore possible to compare them with the pottery of other Nguni tribes.

The terminology used by the Xolo is entirely different from that of the Cape, Immigrant Cape and Natal Nguni tribes. The term *ihbotwe* is probably a corruption of the English "pot".
IMMIGRANT CAPE NGUNI - DISCUSSION

There are still a number of women amongst the Immigrant Cape Nguni who specialise in the manufacture of domestic utensils.

The Fingo of Peddie neither make nor use pottery and although no pottery from those of the Tsomo district was seen, Shaw and van Warmelo were told in 1955 that there were potters there.

In both the Qumbu and Matatiele districts, Hlubi live in close contact with Basuto, and in the latter region their pottery is closer in form and decoration to Basuto ware than to that of their own group. Little is known about their techniques except that various methods of building with rings are used in both districts.

The Bhaca and Xolo, too, use the ring technique, but there is no record of Xesibe methods. Bhaca and Xesibe pottery is similar in form to that of the Cape Nguni, although not all types are represented. In decoration, however, there are two main differences. Firstly, small pots are frequently blackened, and secondly, graphic techniques are more commonly used. Xolo pottery, although also blackened appears to be entirely different in shape from other Nguni wares, but only roughly-made miniatures were seen.

Contact with European civilisation does not seem to have influenced the pottery of this group.

Immigrant Cape Nguni pottery, particularly that of the Bhaca and Xesibe shows features characteristic of that of both Natal and Cape Nguni. Further, the pottery terminology includes terms from both these groups. This suggests that before settling in the Cape they were in closer contact with the Natal Nguni groups.
13. NATAL NGUNI

On field trips to Zululand and Natal in 1961 and 1962 four potters were interviewed and a great deal of pottery seen.

a. Ihabaso

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from two potters who were interviewed at Tugela Ferry, Msinga, one of whom gave a demonstration of shaping and firing.

Potters: The potters are women who make pottery both for their own use and for sale in the local village market in order to augment the family income. They learn the art either from their mothers or by watching others.

Materials: Potters sometimes have to try a number of clays before finding one suitable. They go to collect the clay themselves, using an homemade pick to dig the hole and a Dutch hoe to remove the raw material. The clay is ground to a fine powder on a grinding stone and stored indoors in an old enamel basin until it is required. It is then mixed with sufficient water to form a dough and kneaded until it is the required consistency. For large beer-brewing and storage pots it is not considered necessary to grind the clay, which is merely mixed with water.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

A large flat stone placed on a small one
2. As smoothers

1. For the outer surface:
   a mealie cob

2. For the inner surface:
   a piece of calabash

3. For cutting the rim:
   a strip of tin

4. For decorating:
   1. For graphic designs:
      an hairpin
   2. For burnishing:
      a smooth pebble

**Technique:** The potter who gave the demonstration said that she made pottery indoors and throughout the year. A number of potters, however, work in the summer only because they believe that pottery cracks more easily in the cold weather. Large and small pots are built in the same way. The potter starts with the base and lower walls which are made by hollowing a lump of wet clay. The pot is increased to the required size by the addition of rolls of clay of various lengths, a number of which form a complete ring on the upper wall. These are pinched into position and then smoothed both inside and out, first with the hands and then with the tools, which are kept wet in a pot of water at the potter's side. The number of rings which is added depends upon the size the pot is to be. The rim is cut with a slight inward bevel after drying for one and a half hours after shaping.
**Drying:** After shaping the pots are covered with blankets in a sheltered place indoors for a day or two; they are then put outside in the sun each day until they are dry enough to be fired.

**Decorating:** Graphic decoration is carried out after a short period of drying and burnishing is done later, before firing. The vessels are deliberately blackened during firing. Boot polish is sometimes applied after firing in order to enhance the shinny black finish.

**Firing:** This usually takes place after the midday meal. The fire is built within the walls of an old stone kraal which shelters it from the wind. The pots, with pieces of smouldering dung inside them, were heated round a small twig and dung fire, before being placed mouth downwards in the hearth, which was lined with specially prepared dung cakes. Twenty-two pots were fired at the demonstration; they were covered with natural dry dung pots which were held in position with stones so that the pots were not exposed. When the vessels became red hot the fire was smothered with powdered dung. The potter said that usually when the fire had burned out but was still smoking she put hot dung cakes into each vessel and left them to cool completely. At the demonstration, however, the pots were removed from the smouldering fire with a long stick while they were hot, with no apparent ill-effect.  

(See also PART III, DECORATION p.36.)

Very large beer pots (*imbiza*) are fired in a wood fire. The strongest pottery is said to be that which is fired as quickly as possible in a very hot fire.
Sealing/Testing: Very large rough-surfaced pots are filled with hot beer and then when they are cold smeared with dung, which makes them impervious to liquids. Small vessels, of fine ware are filled with hot water after firing; this would seem to be a test of the strength and quality of the pottery rather than a method of sealing.

Mending: Neither of the potters interviewed mended cracked or broken vessels.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field.

3. POTS

1. Without necks:

a. Large spherical pots with cut rim and flattened projecting base. Height about 52 cms. Rough surface. Undecorated. (Plate VII No. 12 SAM 8432 Msinga, Natal)

Name and use: imbiza (potter at Tugela Ferry)

(i) for brewing beer (ditto)

(ii) for cooking, water or beer; generic term (Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

b. Spherical, sub-spherical and bag-shaped pots with rounded and cut rims and flattened bases. Height 12-30 cms, Black finish. Graphic decoration. (Figure III No. 11 SAM 8425, No. 12 SAM 8427, No. 15, SAM 8426, Figure V No. 21 SAM 8434, No. 23 SAM 8424. All from Msinga, Natal)

Name and use: ukhamba (potter at Tugela Ferry)

for serving beer (ditto)

ukhamba - generic term for earthenware pot (Doke & Vilakazi 1958).
B. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Inverted bag-shaped pot with curved everted neck formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and flattened base. Height about 33 cms. Black finish.

Graphic decoration. (Figure IV No. 19 SAM 8433 Ksanga, Natal)

Name and use: ingcozi (potter at Tugela Ferry)

for storing beer or water; traditional pot (ditto)

Decoration

The vessels made and used by the Mabaso people of Tugela Ferry fall into two classes; those with a well-burnished surface which is deliberately blackened during firing, and those with a rough surface the natural colour of the fired clay, and no further decoration.

Most of the vessels with a black finish were further decorated with a graphic design; either grooved or incised. The designs used were either a combination of zig-zag and cross-hatched lines and arcs, or else a modern "flower" design. The potter interviewed said that the designs were done according to fashion and were not traditional.

System of Distribution

Pottery was very much in evidence in the Tugela Ferry district.

Although not all women were potters, those who were made both for their own use and for sale to others. A number of potters appeared to be well-known, and large numbers of vessels were seen for sale at the
local village on market day. The potters took their wares to market packed in grass and sacking, either on their heads or by bus or taxi. Pottery was sold for cash.

Taboos and practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

1. Only members of the potter's family were allowed to touch unfired vessels. Further, the guide informed the writer that the presence of strangers at a firing was believed by the potter to cause the pottery to crack.

2. According to the potter very large pots are smeared with dung to prevent lightning striking the house.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Mabaso potters are women specialists, who make for their own use and for sale. One of the two potters interviewed had acquired her knowledge by watching others; her mother had been unable to make pottery. The technique used by Mabaso potters was to hollow the lower section of the vessel from the lump and increase it to the required size by the addition of rolls of clay which they formed into rings and placed one on top of the other.

The range of pottery types seen was small, consisting mainly of pots without necks, either in a fine black or thickwalled, rough buff ware. Only grooved and incised techniques were seen and the decorative designs were modern not traditional.
13. NATAL NGUNI

b. Manteto

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at an interview with a potter near Eshowe.

Potters: The potters are women.

Materials: Clay is collected near a river. To prepare it for use the potter mixes it with water and pounds it with a stone.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

no information

2. As smoothers

(i) For inside surface:

a piece of calabash (ukezo)

(ii) For outer surface:

a strip of tin (isikengeci)

3. For decoration

(i) For graphic design:

a plastic comb

a strip of tin

(ii) For burnishing:

a smooth stone (imbogatwe)

Technique: The method of building vessels is similar to that demonstrated by the Ntaba potter. The base of the vessel is formed from a lump of clay and the walls built up with rolls of clay the first
of which is added around the base. As the lengths of clay are added the join inside the vessel is smoothed with the piece of calabash. When the pot is the required size the outside is smoothed in the same way.

**Drying:** The pot is dried for approximately eight days indoors before it is fired.

**Decorating:** The pot is decorated with graphic designs immediately after shaping. After twenty-four hours it is burnished and then dried for about a week. Fired vessels are given a shiny black finish by smoking them and then rubbing fat over the outer surface.

**Firing:** The Manteto potter uses wood as a fuel for firing. The pots are fired for approximately four to five hours during which time they become red.

**Sealing/Testing:** No information

No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel types were seen in the field.

3. **PUTS**

1. **Without necks:**


   *(Figure IV No. 17 SAM 8396 Eshowe, Zululand)*

   **Name and use:** *ukhamo* (potter)

   for beer or water *(ditto)*
Decoration.

Decoration takes the form of blackening the fired vessels and smearing the surface with a little fat. The example of the Hmateto pottery seen is further decorated with a band of vertical grooved lines made with a plastic comb and outlined with grooved lines.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II — Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The potters are women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery for sale as well as for their own use. Vessels are built up from a lump of clay which forms the base by means of rolls of clay placed one on top of each other in rings.

A very small range of pottery was seen, consisting only of spherical or subspherical pots with a black finish and further decorated with compound and simple grooved designs.
SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at an interview with a Zulu potter at Emfanefile, near Melmoth.

Potters: Potters are women who specialise in the manufacture of utensils both for their own domestic use and for sale. They take orders from neighbours who specify the size of the vessel and the type of decoration they require. The potter interviewed learnt to make pottery at the local school.

Materials: Suitable clay is collected by the potters from sites near rivers. It is dried and then ground finely; any small stones being ground in with the clay. Water is then added to the dry, ground material and the mixture pounded for a short while with a rounded elongated stone (imbogodwe) on a grinding stone (itye). When the clay is the correct consistency it is wrapped in a piece of cloth until needed.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a grass ring (ingata)

2. As smoothers
   (i) For inner surface: a piece of calabash
   (ii) For outer surface: a flat piece of wood
3. For decorating:

(i) For graphic designs:
the head of a nail, held obliquely
a piece of tin

(ii) For stamped designs:
the head of a nail

(iii) For burnishing:
a smooth round pebble

Technique: Pottery is made indoors. Small pots are moulded entirely from the lump. For large vessels, the base is hollowed from the lump and to this are added rolls of clay in incomplete rings. As each ring is completed it is smoothed onto the wall below on both the inner and outer surface.

Drying: Pots are dried indoors for three days and on the fourth put outside in the sun. By this time they are usually dry enough for firing.

Decorating: After shaping a vessel, the potter decorated it with graphic or applied designs. Burnishing is done after the indoor drying period. A small amount of fat is smeared over the outer surface of the pot, which is then rubbed with a smooth pebble. A black finish is obtained by smoking the vessels in a grass fire after they have been fired.

Firing: One to three vessels are fired at a time. The pottery is placed on and covered with firewood. Grass is put inside each vessel and also used as kindling. The pots turn red during firing but
are blackened afterwards.

Sealing/Testing: Beer-brewing vessels are smeared with dung after firing. No method of sealing or testing was described for vessels with a fine finish.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field and described by the potter.

3. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pots.

These are subdivided into the four following groups on the basis of size, finish and use.

(i) Rough surfaced pots, generally smeared with dung after firing. No decoration. Height about 50 cms.

Name and use: imbiza (potter)

for storing beer (ditto)

(ii) Rough surfaced pots. No decoration. Height about 35 cms.

Name and use: isikhemba (potter)

(i) for making beer (ditto)

(ii) for serving beer or sour milk (Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

(iii) Pots with burnished black finish. Usually decorated.

Height 18-25 cms.

Name and use: ukhamba (potter)

for serving and storing beer (ditto)
(iv) Pots with burnished black finish. Decorated.

Height about 12-15 cm.

Name and use: iscatulo (potter)

for drinking beer and sometimes for sour porridge (ditto)

Decoration

Three types of decoration were described by the potter:

1. Triangular designs; these are either grooved or incised and were said to be Basuto in origin.

2. Arc designs (inyanga); the arcs are outlined with a grooved line made with the edge of a piece of tin, and patterned with stamped designs made with the head of a nail.

3. Lump designs (amasonya); balls round lumps of clay are applied to the surface of the pot by flattening the ball against the wall with a strip of iron.

System of Distribution

According to the potter many women in Emfanefile district make pottery, both for their own households and to fulfil orders from others.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Zulu potter interviewed had learnt to make pottery at the local school. The technique she used was the same as that demons-
trated by the Mabaso potter; moulding the lower section of the pot from the lump and building it up to the required size with rolls of clay joined together to form rings, and placed one on top of the other.

All the vessels observed were spherical, the large sizes being rough-surfaced and the smaller sizes having a black burnished finish. Grooved, incised and stamped designs were described.
13. NATAL NGUNI

d. Undifferentiated

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types, classified as Zulu were seen in museum collections, and in photographs in museum records.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

      (SAM. 1967 Utrecht, Natal)
      Name and use: umcengezi (Doke & Vilakazi 1958)
      no record

      Name and use: ukhamba (museum records)
      umge'engele (Bryant 1949)
      for serving food (museum records)
      for porridge and mashes (Bryant 1949)

B. POTS

1. Without necks:

   a. Very large, spherical and near spherical pots with cut or rounded rims and flattened bases. Height 40-60 cms.
      Rough surface, may be smeared with dung.
Name and use: imbiza (informants in the field) for making and storing beer (ditto)

b. Very large, almost straight-sided pot with flattened base. Height about 95 cms. Black finish. Decorated stamped impressions. (SAM records; photograph Mariannhill)

Name and use: imbiza (caption to photograph) for storing beer (ditto)

c. Large narrow-mouthed sub-spherical pot with rounded rim and flattened base. Height about 34 cms. Black finish. Decorated with stamped impressions. (Figure VII No. 29 SAM 8642 Ucomoo, Natal)

Name and use: imbiza (potter - museum records) for storing beer or water (ditto)

d. Spherical, near spherical and barrel-shaped pots with cut or rounded rims and flattened bases. Height 15-29 cms. Black finish. Sometimes further decorated. (Figure III No. 9 SAM 8438 Pietermaritzburg, No. 13 SAM 8403 Eshowe, No. 16 SAM 8979; Figure VI No. 24 AFRIK 58/1648)

Name and use: ukhamba (museum records) for serving and drinking beer (ditto)

e. Small spherical and bag-shaped pots with cut or rounded rims and flattened bases. Height 11-14 cms. Black finish. Decorated with graphic decoration and applied lumps.

(Figure VII No. 10 SAM 8414 Mahlabatini, Figure V No. 22 SAM 8415, Mahlabatini, No. 25 TVL 8313 Msinga)
Name and use: **umancishane** (stingy-one) (museum records)

**umancintshane/umancishane(a)** (Doke and Vilakazi 1958)

for drinking small quantities of beer

(museum records; Doke & Vilakazi)

2. **with necks**

   (i) **Upright:**

   Pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 30 cms. Black finish.

   Decorated with applied lumps. (SAM 1167 Utrecht)

   **Name and use:** **ingcazi/upiso** (museum records)

   for storing beer (ditto)

   (ii) **Everted:**

   Large spherical pots with straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded base.

   Black finish. Decorated (BLM H319 Mtondweni, BLM H 4225 Tugela Mouth)

   **Name and use:** no record

C. **BEAKERS**

   Barrel-shaped beaker with pedestal base. Black finish. Decorated (BLM H1504)

   **Name and use:** no record

E. **MISCELLANEOUS**

   Tall barrel-shaped vessels with cut rims and flattened bases.

   Height 22-24 cms. Red or black ware. Sometimes decorated,

   (Figure VI No. 24 TVL 13, No. 27 TVL 16. No locality )
Name and use: no record

for milking and other household purposes

(museum records)

Decoration

Decoration by means of applied lumps of clay in various designs was seen on a number of vessels. An alternative method of obtaining designs of raised lumps is to depress the clay with the fingernail or straight edged tool around the area to be raised. This method is commonly used in the Nelmooth district today.

Another common decorative technique is the use of stamped impressions which are either placed to form geometrical designs or bands which are outlined with incised or grooved lines, or used by themselves in an all over pattern or variety of designs. The impressions may be round, triangular or half-moon shaped as when made with the fingernail. Stamped impressions probably made with the end of a grass stalk were seen on pots in Dr. Killie Campbell's collection.

A multiple stamped design was seen on one example which is decorated with stamped arcs of a circle, one edge of the arc being plain and the other zig-zag (Figure VI No. 24).

Although simple grooved and incised designs are not as common as applied and stamped designs they are also found as is multiple grooving.
Stitch-like impressions were seen on a pot from Greytown, now in Dr. Killie Campbell's collection, where they were used to pattern diamond shapes between two bands.

Most of the fine Zulu ware was blackened and burnished.

**System of Distribution**

Today pottery is paid for in cash and there appears to be a recognised scale of payment according to the size of the vessel.

It was found that pottery is taught at schools and missions in Zululand and manufacture of earthenware articles is encouraged to a great extent by handicraft sections at annual agricultural shows. Clay vessels are made for the local tourist trade and for sale at the market in Durban, where they are bought both by Bantu living in the urban area and by tourists.

An interesting sideline of the pottery industry, resulting from contact with the European, is the modelling of busts and figurines by men for trade purposes. These are usually unfired.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

**Technology**

*Potters:* According to all literary sources the potters amongst the Natal Nguni are women (Shooter 1857, Bryant 1959, Krige 1950). Krige (1950) states further that most pottery is made by experts.

*Materials:* Bryant (1959) states that clays suitable for the manufacture of pottery were available in practically every district of Zululand and that coarse red clay was used for rough ware, while
finer brown and black clays were used in the manufacture of better quality pottery. The potter, having brought the clay home from the pit, allowed it to dry and then ground it to a fine powder using a grinding stone. Poor quality clay was mixed with powdered sherds, water was then added until the clay was the consistency of putty, at which stage it was ready for use. (Bryant 1949)

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build**
   
a grass ring (inkata) (Bryant 1949)

2. **As smoothers**
   
   (i) For inner surface:
   
a round flat stone (Krige 1950)

   a piece of calabash (Bryant 1949)

   (ii) For outer surface:
   
a piece of calabash (Bryant 1949)

3. **For decorating**
   
   (i) For applied decoration:
   
a small stick (Bryant 1949)

   (ii) For burnishing:
   
a smooth pebble (Bryant 1949)

**Technique:** The flat base of a pot was formed from a disc of clay, which was placed on the grass ring and the walls built up by the addition of thin sausage-like rolls of clay in the form of rings, one on top of the other until the vessel was the required size. It was then allowed to dry slightly indoors for twenty-four hours. The clay was still soft when the walls were scraped inside and out with
a piece of calabash, and smoothed with wetted fingers until the surface was even (Bryant 1949).

**Drying:** After shaping, the vessel was allowed to dry completely, first indoors and then outside in the shade (Bryant 1949). Drying took a few weeks (Krige 1950).

**Decorating:** According to Bryant (1949) the only method of decoration was the application of small lumps or nodules of clay in a variety of designs. This was carried out during the shaping of the vessel before it was set aside to dry for the first time. The pellets were pressed against the wet clay surface and rounded off with a small stick. Schofield (1943) describes the traditional method of attachment of the pellets by means of little clay stalks which were passed through the wall and turned over on the inside. Burnishing with a small pebble was done when the vessel had dried, just before firing.

Four methods of blackening pottery are described:

1. Mixing the clay with soot (Müller 1918).
2. Rubbing umsoco leaves against the surface of the vessel. (Krige 1950).
3. Smoking the vessel in a grass fire at any convenient time after firing, and then rubbing a little animal fat over the surface and polishing the pot with a small pebble or the hard, smooth nut-like disc found at the root of the umlunge plant (Antholyza paniculata Klatt.); and finally rubbing with the
leaves of the *ugumugumu* (Cape Gooseberry; *Physalis peruviana* L.) (Bryant 1949)

4. Rubbing the surface of the vessel with a compound made by mixing the pounded leaves of the *Wemvane* plant (*Sida rhombifolia*) with sifted soot, which produces a fine black polish (Schofield 1948).

Bryant states that nothing was known of the exclusion of air from the fire.

**Firing:** According to Krige (1950) the pots are "held round a fire for two or three hours according to the size". According to Bryant (1949) the pot, mouth upwards, was set on a bed of small sticks laid on the ground, and entirely surrounded and covered with firewood. The fire was lit at the bottom and the pot remained in position for six to eight hours, after which time it was a mottled red, yellow and black.

**Sealing/Testing:** No information.

**Mending:** Cracked pots were mended by drilling holes on either side of the fracture and tying the pieces together with vegetable fibre cord. The repair was then made waterproof with a dressing of moist clay which was renewed as often as necessary. (Schofield 1948)

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types are described in the literature.
A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthecl:

a. Broad, shallow, flat-bottomed basins with a diameter of roughly 37 cms. (Bryant 1949)

Name and use: umceengezi (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958)
for washing hands and face (Bryant 1949)

b. Small bowls, like "pudding basins". (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958; Krige 1950)

Name and use: umcakulo (ditto)
for eating from (ditto)

c. Small saucerlike plates (Krige 1950; Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

Name and use: isikhangezo (ditto)
for eating sour milk (Krige 1950)
for soft foods (Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

d. Basin-shaped bowls, slightly broader than b. above (Bryant 1949)

Name and use: umce'engele (ditto)
for porridges and mashees (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large pots made in a variety of shapes. Height about 60 cms. Rough surface. (Bryant 1949)

Name and use: imoiza - generic term (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958)
uhoho, umndindimana, usaga according to shape (Bryant 1949)
for fermenting beer principally (Bryant 1949)

impiza ye Mphala (Bryant 1959)

storing ornamental fur ropes (ditto)

b. Smaller vessels of same types as a. above.

(Holden 1866, Bryant 1949) Used with lid plastered into position.

Name and use: ikhanzi (Bryant 1949)

for cooking (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

c. Large spherical pot with flattened base. Height about 40 cms. Black finish. Decorated. (Schofield 1949; Plate XI Durban Museum, Cetewayo's kraal)

Name and use: impiza (Schofield 1948)

for brewing beer (ditto)

d. Spherical pot. Height about 30 cms. Black, polished finish. (Bryant 1949)

Name and use: ipangela/iphangela (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

for straining beer into (Bryant 1949)

for drinking; large size (Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

e. Near spherical pot. Height about 30 cms. Black polished finish. (Bryant 1949)

Name and use: isikamba/isikhamba (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958)

for serving beer into drinking vessels (ditto)

for serving sour milk (Doke & Vilakazi)

(Schofield 1949 Plate XI No. 11 and 14. Pietermaritzburg museum, Zululand)

Name and use: ikanzi (Schofield 1949) See b. p. 123) for cooking food (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large spherical pot with narrow upright neck.

(Bryant 1949)

Name and use: upiso/ulupiso (Bryant 1949; Doke & Vilakazi 1958) for carrying beer (Bryant 1949)

b. Small spherical pot with short neck. Basketwork lid. (Bryant 1949)

Name and use: ingcungu (ditto) for crushed, boiled maize grains mixed with sour clotted milk; to preserve it from beetles. (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

Spherical pot with everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection. Height about 25 cms.

Black finish. Decorated. (Schofield 1948 Plate XI No. 12 Pietermaritzburg museum. Zululand; Bryant 1949)

Name and use: uniso (Schofield 1948; Bryant 1949) for carrying beer or water (ditto)
C. BEAKERS

a. Small spherical beaker with long pedestal base.

Black finish, Decorated. (Schofield 1948 Plate XI No. 13 Mariannhill)

Name and use: no record for drinking (Schofield 1948)

b. Straight-sided drinking vessel (Bryant 1949)

Black finish.

Name and use: umggomo (Bryant 1949) for drinking beer (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Large spherical pot with four necks. Black finish. Decorated.

(Schofield 1948 Plate XI No. 10 Duroan museum, Cetawayo's kraal)

Name and use: uniso (Schofield 1948) no record

No description.

Name and use: udiwo (Doke & Vilakazi 1958) for drinking or holding sweet and sour milk (ditto).

Decoration

According to Bryant (1949) this pottery was traditionally blackened and decorated with pellets of clay which were applied in a variety of designs. The method of attachment of these pellets has changed (Schofield 1948).
Raised ridge are a form of decoration described and illustrated by Schofield from pottery in the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg. He points out that these motifs are all directly derived from those used on wooden utensils carved exclusively by men.

Although graphic techniques are not as widespread as applied and moulded, Schofield (1948) mentions designs formed with stitch-like impressions and very occasionally, the engraving of vessels after firing.

The variety of methods used in blackening pottery recorded in the literature are, with the exception of a modified version of Method 3, not in use today.

**System of Distribution**

Pottery was made by women experts and it was customary in the past to exchange a vessel for the amount of grain that it would contain (Krige 1950).
NATAL NGUNI - DISCUSSION

A great deal of pottery is made and used by the Natal Nguni today, although the range of types has decreased considerably since Bryant made his survey. The potters are women specialists who take orders or make pottery for sale at village markets. None of those interviewed had acquired the art from her mother but all had learnt at schools or by watching others at work. Traditional crafts have been encouraged by agricultural shows at which handiwork is exhibited and judged.

According to Bryant the traditional technique was the building with rings onto a flattened base and this technique was used by potters at Tugela Ferry and Melmoth. In Eshowe small pots are moulded from the lump and large ones started in the same way and built onto with rings. Similar variation of the ring technique are found amongst Cape and Immigrant Cape Nguni.

Collectively Natal Nguni pottery is distinctive and characterised by the burnished, black finish of the fine ware. It is, however, not possible to distinguish different pottery traditions amongst the tribal groups, all of whom make a range of pots without necks. Bowls and necked pots are seldom made today.

Apart from blackening and burnishing, pottery is decorated with a number of techniques in a wide variety of designs. Applied decoration, which was described by Bryant as being the only form, is still found, but is not as common as graphic and moulded types.

Western influence is seen in some decorative designs. Schools appear to have taught traditional shaping techniques, but it is possible that they introduced the method of firing in a reducing atmos-
sphere, which Bryant found was not known.

Slight dialectal differences in terminology were found in different districts, but the names of vessels are linked with shape, size and use.
14. SWAZI

This section is divided into two parts, the first (A), dealing with the Swazi of Swaziland and the second (B) with the Swazi of Sekhukhuneland.

A. SWAZI (Swaziland)

The Swazi were visited in 1962.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from potters at Esipocosini, Mbabane; Enqabaneni, Mankaiana; Hora Valley, Piggs Peak; near Zwane Store on the Stegi-Abercorn road, Stegi; and between Hlatikulu and Malombe, Hlatikulu.

Potters: All the potters were women who had learnt the art either from their mothers or by watching others at work. They make utensils either for their own, or for sale to neighbours who place orders or for sending to local markets.

Materials: Clay from deposits near rivers was the most suitable. All informants stressed the importance of the clay, which they selected themselves. Many of them travel several miles to fetch a suitable clay rather than use inferior clays close at hand.

In some cases the clay was dug wet and in others dry, but in all recorded instances water was added to the clay which had previously been ground, and the mixture was pounded on a flat stone with an oval river pebble until it was of the required consistency. The use of a filler was described only by the potter at St. John's, who mixed ground
potsherds into the wet clay. Some potters used their clay immediately after preparation, whereas others said that they preferred to let it stand overnight before using it.

Tools:

1. As a support on which to build
   - a flat stone
   - a potsherd
   - a grass ring (inkhata)
   - a metal lid
   - an enamel dish

2. As smoothers
   (i) For outside surface:
       - a piece of flat wood
       - a strip of tin
       - a stone
   (ii) For inner surface:
       - a spoonhead
       - a piece of calabash
       - a stone

3. For decorating
   (i) For graphic design:
       - a fine stick
       - a thorn
       - a nail
   (ii) For burnishing:
       - a smooth pebble
Technique: Pottery is made either indoors or out of doors, in a place sheltered from cold winds, which cause too rapid drying. In the Pigg's Peak district most pottery is manufactured during the autumn months, as by then work in the fields is practically over and wind and rain are not usual. The potter in the Hankalana district made most of her pottery in summer; again because of the absence of cold winds during this period.

The spiral or coil technique was used by all these potters (Plate IX Nos. 17-19). With the exception of one potter they all formed the base from a spiral pad of clay. In the exceptional case the base was hollowed from a small lump of clay. The rim of the vessel is cut during shaping while the clay is very wet. The base is finished off a couple of days later.

Drying: Once the pot is shaped it is put indoors and covered with a dry cloth so that drying is as slow and even as possible. After about a week the pots are put out into the sun each day for a period of from one to fourteen days. Each of the potters interviewed quoted a different time. (For possible reasons see Part II, Drying P. 25)

Decorating: Burnishing is done a couple of days after the initial shaping of the vessel.

Incised and stamped decoration is applied after shaping while the surface of the vessel is still wet, and lozenges are applied about forty-five minutes later. The Swazi, like the Zulu, deliberately blacken their pots; this is done either by standing them on three stones in the smoke of individual grass fires, or by playing lighted
bundles of grass stalks around each pot in such a way that the smoke comes into contact with it. Some potters rub a little animal fat onto the surface at this stage.

Another method of decoration, which was described by potters in the Pigg's Peak district, is to make a red and black design by applying wet woodash in designs to the surface of the vessel and then smoking it in a wood fire. The areas which are exposed to the fire become a shiny black, leaving the covered areas, after removal of the ash, the natural red colour of the fired clay.

**Firing:** A hot, still day is the most suitable for firing. From five to thirty pots are fired at one time, depending on the number ready. If fuel is scarce, as many vessels as possible are fired together. The firing is done in a shallow depression in the ground. This is lined with fuel and the pots are placed in position; the small and medium-sized ones upright and the large ones on their sides. Some of the potters supported the pots on stones or clods of earth, to allow the fire to get underneath them. The heap is then entirely covered with fuel, a little grass is used for kindling, and the fire is lit. Most of the informants used wood as a fuel because it burns slowly and gives a hot fire. A mixed fuel of dried aloe, cattle dung and wood was preferred by a potter at Moabane, who claimed that this combination produced the strongest pots. The use of dry aloe for fires is customary in that area.

Firing times varied from one to three hours, some potters preferring to fire quickly and the other slowly. A potter is able to tell
when firing is complete, either by the colour of the pot or the tone
of the sound it emits when tapped. Vessels fired in the afternoon are
generally left to cool in the ashes overnight and are removed the
following morning.

Sealing/Testing: Potters claimed that if a vessel was properly fired
it would be impervious to liquids. However, minor leaks are sometimes
cured by cooking a thin porridge in the pot, or by standing it on a
glowing fire and pouring hot beer into it.

Mending: Fine cracks in unfired pots are sometimes repaired by soft-
ening the area with water and rubbing with a small rounded river stone.
Sometimes cracks in old vessels are repaired with wire.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field and museum
collections.

A. jowis

1. without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Fairly large wide-mouthed bowl with rounded rim and
      flattened base. Height about 11 cms. Red burnished
      finish. (Figure VIII No. 30 SAM 8677 Figg's Peak,
      Swaziland)

      Name and use: umkhele (potter- museum records)
      for food (ditto)

   b. Small wide-mouthed bowls with cut rims and flattened
      bases. Height about 7 cms. Undecorated,
(Figure VIII No. 32, SAM 6040 Sekhukhuneland; included here as it appears to be in the Swazi tradition)

Name and use: morusoana oa godjela/muroashane oa godjela (Sotho; museum records)

for porridge (Venter H.J. in lit 22/4/64)

muroashane oa goshihela (ditto)
for meat or vegetables (ditto)

B. POTE

1. Without necks

a. Large spherical and bag-shaped vessels, with rounded or cut rims and flattened bases. Height 30-75 cms.
Undecorated. Rough outer surface sometimes smeared with dung after firing. (Plate VII No. 14)

Name and use: imbita/imbiza (informants in the field)
for brewing beer or cooking (ditto)

b. Spherical, sub-spherical and bag-shaped pots with rounded or cut rims and flattened bases. One example with two large handles (Plate VIII No. 16) Height 10-35 cms. Black finish. Decorated with graphic or applied designs or undecorated. (Figure VIII No. 31, SAM 8646, No. 33, SAM 8647 both Hlatikulu; No. 35, SAM 8666, No. 36, SAM 8665, both Mbabane; Plate VIII No. 15)

Name and use: lukhamba/ludiwo/ludiziwo (informants in the field)

Large sizes: for carrying and storing beer (ditto)

Small sizes: for drinking beer (ditto)
As a drum, a goatskin is held over the mouth of the vessel by the drummer's assistant.

(See also p. 138)

2. With necks

(i) upright:

Vessels with short neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded or cut rim and flattened base. Height 10-35 cms. Larger sizes undecorated, smaller sizes with black finish (Plate VII No. 13)

Name and use: These pots have the same names and uses as pots without necks of the corresponding sizes. (Informants in the field)

(iii) inward-sloping:

Spherical pot with short neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and flattened base. Height about 18 cms. (Figure VIII No. 34 SAM 8652 Hlatikulu, Swaziland)

Name and use: ludziwo (seller-museum records)

for drinking beer (ditto)

C. BEAKERS

Pedestal-based beakers. Enamel paint on natural buff or blackened surface. These vessels were generally very badly made in comparison with the other pottery.

Name and use: lokhamba (informants in the field)

for drinking tea, coffee or beer (ditto)
E. MISCELLANEOUS

Calabash-shaped vessels with large handles (Plate VIII No. 16 Steg). These were said to be modern in style, and very popular. However, the Mbabane potter referred to "double pots" which were used in the past to carry beer to the fields so that it did not spill, and it is possible that the vessels are in fact traditional, and only the handles are the result of European influence.

Name and use: isicinge (calabash)(informants in the field) for transporting and serving beer (ditto)

Decoration

Both rough and fine-textured pottery is made by the Swazi. Roughly finished ware is undecorated and the other generally blackened and burnished. The standard of burnishing is high.

Although most of the Swazi pottery seen was plain black burnished ware, potters described the use of a fine stick, thorn or nail for incising designs, and of a stone for stamping. Stamped designs impressed with the end of a grass stalk are popular (Figure VIII Nos. 31 and 33). Furthermore, decoration by means of clay lozenges of various sizes and shapes, applied in a variety of designs, was described by the potter at Mbabane as being traditional. Decoration by means of red and black designs was described but not seen.

Enamel paint is used as a decorative material, mainly in the Mlatikulu district.

The use of coloured beads, which are pressed into fine-textured
blackened pots in a variety of designs, was observed by Mr. Velcich of the Department of Santu Education and Development, Pretoria, amongst Swazi potters, about twelve miles south of Nelspruit in the Eastern Transvaal. This is probably a modern form of decoration.

System of Distribution

It is not known how specialised an art pottery was amongst the Swazi in the past, but there is a great deal of pottery manufacture and trade in Swaziland today. People are frequently seen carrying pots, or using them as drinking vessels, and potters are easy to find. Most of the potters manufacture pots for sale as well as for their own use.

In Swaziland the manufacture of local handicrafts is being greatly developed and encouraged by special markets at many towns, where goods are sold at standard prices. Some potters near these centres fulfil standing orders from these markets, and are able to earn a small but regular income. The manufacture of traditional pottery types is encouraged, but even so a certain amount of Western influence can be seen in some of the shapes, and in the use of enamel paint.

Tacos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

Usually only the potter may handle her pots before they are fired. Another potter, or someone with a recognised knowledge of pottery, may be allowed to touch them, but it is considered that anyone else would bewitch them and cause them to crack.
SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

Bowls and dishes (Schofield 1948; Hyburgh 1949; 1956)

Name and use: umoakulo (Hyburgh 1949)
for food (ditto)

2. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pots with a capacity of up to a gallon.

Undecorated (Schofield 1948)

Name and use: ludziwo/ludziyo - generic term (Marwick 1940; Hyburgh 1956)
for beer (Hyburgh 1949; 1956)

2. With necks

(1) Upright:

Spherical pots with short vertical necks. Undecorated.

(Schofield 1948)

Name and use: no record.

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Shaw (1938) describes a Swazi pipe from the Eastern Transvaal (SAM. M.L.C. 17) as follows:—Long, dark grey, unpolished eland horn water vessel, with large end open for mouth. Near the top there are two bands and a loop of raw hide made by splitting
two ends of a straight piece of hide, and slipping them both over
the end of the horn, leaving the centre piece to form the loop.
A small black clay bowl, round in cross-section, with a raised
ring around the neck and a side strap put on in the same way as
that on the horn, is placed on top of a long stout reed, which
when the pipe is in use is placed right down into the horn
through the mouth. When not in use the reed can be put through
the loops on bowl and horn for ease in carrying and storing.

Decoration

Both Harwick (1940) and Schofield (1948) state that Swazi
pottery is undecorated with the exception of occasional burnishing.

System of Distribution

Harwick (1940) states that trade amongst the Swazi themselves
appeared to be increasing, and that specially skilled persons were
producing more than their own requirements, and bartering the
surplus to others.

Taboos and other practices in connection with manufacture
and use of pottery

A drum is made by stretching a piece of skin over the mouth
of a pot and striking it with a reed. Drums are foreign to the
Swazi culture and were first used in connection with the exorcism
of a spirit disease called mandzawe (Harwick 1940).

Discussion

According to Schofield (1948) the manufacture of pottery in
Swaziland was on the decline; only a small quantity of pottery was made, and it was of very inferior quality, very few types being made and decoration being rare. In 1962 the pottery industry in Swaziland seemed to be flourishing, earthenware vessels were used by all the families visited and a number of women who specialised in the manufacture of pottery for sale to neighbours and to handi-craft markets, were interviewed. The interest which the Swaziland government show, in promoting the Swazi crafts is probably largely responsible for this change in the situation.

The Swazi use the spiral technique, either building the walls of the vessel on to a pad of clay formed spirally and flattened, or on to a base formed by hollowing a lump of clay. There is no record of their techniques in the literature.

Only a small range of pottery types is made, consisting mainly of spherical, sub-spherical and bag-shaped pots. A few pots have slight necks.

Both rough surfaced undecorated and burnished black ware are made, as amongst the Natal Nguni. Vessels of the former type are used in the preparation of beer, and those of the latter in its serving and as drinking vessels. Decoration is simple, being mainly stamped and applied.

The names given by the Swazi to pottery vessels were very similar to those used by the Zulu, and a number of Swazi did, in fact, use the Zulu terminology.

Western influence can be seen in the use of enamel paint as a decorative material, and in the manufacture of vessels with handles.
B. SWAZI (Sekhukhuneland)

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following account is based on information gained during a visit to a Swazi pottery on the Lulu Mountains, in 1962, and from answers to questionnaires sent to Mr. A. Venter at the Bantu Affairs Department, Sekhukhune. The Swazi immigrated to this area in 1874 (Schofield 1948).

Potters: The homestead visited was a very active centre in the manufacture of pottery. The dozen or more women living there all make pottery during the winter months for sale to the Pedi. In summer, lands have to be ploughed and cultivated and the potters are too busy to be able to practice their craft. Also in summer, which is the rainy season, it is difficult to obtain dry firewood, and the potters have no suitable facilities for manufacture on such a large scale indoors.

Materials: The potters dig wet clay from a deposit near a river and mix a white sand with it to prevent their wares cracking. The clay is used immediately after preparation, or wrapped in sacking and stored until it is required.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

   a potsherd placed on a narrow grass ring

   2. As smoothers

   For inner surface:

   a piece of calabash

   For outer surface:

   a piece of tin
3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:
   a nail

(ii) For burnishing:
   a smooth pebble

(iii) For applying colour:
   a piece of cloth

Technique: The potters' workshop was a derelict building without a roof, which served as a shelter from sun and wind. The spiral technique is used for building vessels of all sizes. The base of a vessel is formed from a pad of clay made spirally and flattened, and the walls are built up by vertical coiling. The four potters who demonstrated worked fast, and although they appeared to pay little attention to the position of the coils of clay, and even lifted the vessel off the stand during building, they produced well shaped vessels of even thickness.

Drying: After shaping, vessels are kept indoors, covered with sleeping mats or sacking, until they are quite dry. Very large vessels remain in the shelter for two or three days before they are dry enough to carry across to a hut, where they are turned upside down and the potsherd on which they are built removed. These large pots are frequently bound with a plaited grass rope just above the level of the potsherd for three days after shaping, so that they do not sag. Small pots take about a week to dry and large ones about two weeks. On the day of firing the pots are placed in the sun so that they are warm.
when they go into the fire and will not crack.

Decoration: All fine textured pottery made in the Pedi style is decorated both graphically and by the application of colour. Graphic decoration is carried out after shaping, before the pots are taken indoors, and the colour is applied when the vessel is dry, just before firing.

Ochre, bought from inhabitants of the Pietersburg district where it is obtained, is ground on a grinding stone and mixed in a small pot with water to a paste. To this mixture is added some of the grated fatty kernel of the suurpruim, *untunduluke* (*Ximenia caffra* Sond.) which is said to make the colour adhere to the surface of the vessel. It is applied with the fingers or a cloth and immediately well burnished.

Graphite, said to be obtained from mineworkers, is similarly ground and mixed with water. It is applied with a piece of cloth and burnished.

Firing: A still day is chosen for firing, if possible, and firing starts at about noon. Very large pots are placed on their sides and the others the right way up in the hearth which is lined with stones and kindling (Plate XX No. 56). The number of vessels fired at a time is not important, but potters prefer to fire as many as possible, so as to make full use of the fuel, which has to be collected a long way away. The fuel used is a mixture of wood, *bobbejaanstert* (*thutsi*; *Vellozia retenepia*) and dung. Grass is used as kindling. The fire burns until about sunset, but the pots are left to cool completely until the following morning.
Sealing/Testing: Large undecorated vessels are smeared with dung to make them waterproof.

Mending: The potters said that they had tried to mend broken vessels but had not found a successful method of doing so, and had abandoned the idea.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Information from Mr. Venter, Sekhukhune (in lit 17.9.1964) and from specimens seen in the field and museum collections.

A. Bowls

1. Without necks
   
   (i) Open-mouthed:
   
   Wide mouthed bowls with rounded or flattened bases.

   Made in varying sizes. Undecorated and decorated types.

   Name and use: murushoana - generic term (Venter)

   Large size: murushoana oa gohlapela (Venter) for washing in (ditto)

   Medium size: murushoana oa goshebela (Venter) for meat or vegetables (ditto)

   Small size: murushoana oa godjela (Venter) for eating porridge (ditto)

2. With necks

   (ii) Everted:

   Wide mouthed bowls with short curved everted necks, formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded or cut rims and rounded bases. Height about 15 cms. Decorated.
Name and use: murushoana - generic term (Venter)

murushoana oa gohlapela (Venter)

for washing in (ditto) [decorated with graphite]

murushoana oa lefisho (Venter)

for beer (ditto) [polychrome ware]

3. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pots with rounded base. Made in various sizes. Decorated.

Name and use: Large sizes: selepa (Venter)

for beer

Small sizes: moetana oa lefisho/

selepana oa lefisho (Venter)

for serving beer to one (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Large inverted bag-shaped pot, with upright neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Decorated (Figure XXXVII No. 156, SAM. 8758, Pokhnan, Transvaal; Plate XX No. 54)

Name and use: moetana (museum records)

for storing and transporting water (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Spherical pots with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Capacity 16-44 gallons.
Decorated or undecorated. (Venter)

Name and use: nkho/pitja - generic term (Venter)

Large sizes: nkho oa byala (Plate XX No. 55: Venter)
  for storing beer (decorated)
  for brewing beer (undecorated)

Small sizes: nkgoana/pitjana - generic term (Venter)

b. Spherical pots with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Capacity \( \frac{1}{2} \) to 12 gallons.

Decorated or undecorated.

Name and use:

Large sizes: moeta/selepa/lethoa - generic terms (Venter)
  cf. lethoa (museum records; Figure XXXIX No. 163)
    no record

Medium sizes: moetana/selepana (Venter)
  moetana oa metsoi (museum records; Figure XXXIX No. 165)
    for storing water (museum records)

Small size: moetana oa lefiso (Venter)
  moetana oa go nenela (ditto)[undecorated]
    for drinking beer (ditto)

Decoration

Most of the pottery made by the Swazi of Sekhukhuneland is made in the Pedi tradition. It is generally patterned with an arcade motif of grooved lines, the vessel being coloured black above and red below the pattern. There is often a band of deep, stamped oval
impressions around the mouth (Figure XXXIX Nos. 163, 164 and 165) or a band of cross-hatching (Plate XX No. 56). On one of the vessels illustrated a narrow arcade band coloured with graphite is outlined with stamped impressions, and there is a wide band of the same impressions below the neck (Figure XXXIX No. 166). Ochre is usually applied just inside the mouth of the vessels and sometimes on the rim. On an example from Pokhwani (Plate XX No. 54) the surface is coloured with orange ochre only to the widest diameter, the surface below this being left the natural buff of the fired clay.

System of Distribution

Vessels made by Swazi for sale amongst the Pedi of Sekukhuneland are carried down the mountains by the potters and loaded onto carts for transporting to Pedi villages. A road has now been built up the Lulu Mountains, which will most certainly facilitate the transport of these wares.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

No information in this section.

Decoration

According to Schofield (1948) the pottery made by the Swazi has supplanted a heavier yellow pottery formerly made in this area. He describes the decoration of the Swazi pottery as consisting of a line
of deep incisions below the lip, sometimes running down the neck as well, and an arcade design. According to him this arcade motif and the use of graphite and ochre have been adopted from the Pedi.

**System of Distribution**

The Swazi of Sekhukhuneland have assumed a similar role to that of the Lemba of Vendaland (Schofield 1948).

No further information in this section.

**DISCUSSION**

The Swazi immigrants who went to Sekhukhuneland nearly a century ago have established themselves as pottery specialists and suppliers of earthenware utensils to the Sotho there. Although they make their wares in the traditional Swazi way, by coiling, these potters produce vessels which in shape and decoration resemble those of the Sotho tradition.

Most of the pottery forms, both pots and bowls, have necks, although there are slight variations in the shapes of the bodies. With the exception of the very large pots used in beer-brewing and storing, all the pottery of this type is decorated with a grooved arcade design below the neck, and coloured with graphite and ochre. Apart from these vessels, small bowls with flattened bases and spherical pots without necks are also made. These are decorated in the same way or blackened by firing, a method of decoration which is not generally used amongst Sotho tribes. It is possible that this decorative technique and the manufacture of flat-based bowls are Swazi characteristics which the potters have
introduced into the Sotho tradition.

The terms used for pottery, even by the potters themselves are those of the Sotho dialects spoken in this district, with the exception of the large beer-brewing and storage vessel known to the Swazi as imita and the Sotho as nkgho.

Not a great deal of pottery was seen at Sotho homesteads in Sekukhuneland but the Swazi potters had a large quantity almost ready for sale at their homestead, and the potters who work at this every day during the dry season said they had a large market.

Both vessel shape and decorative designs appear to be traditional and unchanged by contact with the Western civilization.
15. **TRANSVAAL NDEBELE** (Southern)

No information concerning the pottery of this tribal group.

16. **TRANSVAAL NDEBELE** (Northern)

The Northern Transvaal Ndebele were not visited.

**SECTION I - Field**

**Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel was seen in a museum collection.

3. **POT**

1. **Without necks**

Inverted bag-shaped pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height 25 cms. Decorated with stamped design and colour (Figure IX No. 37 TVL 61/160 Grasvlei, Potgietersrust)

**Name and use:** motsegana (museum records) for drinking beer and water (ditto)

**Decoration**

The only vessel seen was patterned with a stamped design consisting of two horizontal lines forming a wide band within which there was a hatched crenulate pattern on a graphite-coloured background. The vessel was coloured with ochre, and a white material had been rubbed over the stamped areas.

No further information in this section.
SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are illustrated and described by Schofield (1948).

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Large open-mouthed bowl, with three short legs.
   Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIII No. 6 TL Langa clan, Mankopani Location, Potgietersrust)

   Name and use: no record.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   Small spherical pot with straight projecting base, black burnished and stamped design. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIII No. 7 TL Maghomabani Clan, Vaaltein Location, Potgietersrust)

   Name and use: no record

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:

   Spherical pot with short, curved upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, with three short legs and loop handles. Decorated with graphic design and colour.
(Schofield 1948 Plate XIII No. 10 TH. Moletlane Clan, Zebediela Location.)

Name and use: no record

(iii) Inturned:

Pot with tall, incurved neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Black burnish and stamped horizontal lines. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIII No. 11 TH. Magombani Clan, Vaaltein Location, Potgietersrust)

Name and use: no record.

Decoration

The above four vessels show differences in the types of decorative design used by the Langa, Magombani and Moletlane clans of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele. The Langa ware is burnished brown and patterned with a bold incised chevron design filled with a white material. That of the Magombani is burnished black and further decorated with a simple stamped design. The Moletlane pot is burnished red ware, with natroned and stamped designs coloured black and buff (Schofield 1948:201).

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

As this group have not been visited it is not known whether they make and use pottery today or not. Schofield (1948) states that the Ndebele of Potgietersrust district have been absorbed by the Pedi but that pottery made by them in the past shows that they used to have
a tradition of their own. The examples of their pottery which
he illustrates show characteristics which suggest a relationship
between them and the Natal Iguni (Maghombani in particular) and
Pedi ware (Moletlani in particular).

The only pottery term known to be used by them is in a Sotho
dialect (motsegana).

17. TSHANGANA.

See page 176 and following.
18. **RHODESIAN NDEBELE (Matabele)**

with the exception of a Shona homestead in the Belingwe district, where the woman was Matabele none of this group were visited.

**SECTION I - Field Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel types used by the Rhodesian Matabele were seen in museum collections and at the homestead visited in the Belingwe district.

3. **POTS**

1. **Without necks**

   Bag-shaped pot with rounded rim and flattened base.
   Height about 25 cms. Undecorated. (Figure IX No. 38 BWYO 2059 Matopo Hills, Rhodesia)

   **Name and use:** no record

   probably last used for storing (museum records)

2. **With necks**

   (i) **Upright:**

   a. Large wide-mouthed spherical pot with short upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, flattened thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 21 cms.

   Undecorated. (Figure X No. 42 SAM 1344 Empandeni, near Plumtree, Rhodesia)

   **Name and use:** no record
b. Narrow-mouthed pot with short neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and flattened base.

Height about 22 cm. (Figure X No. 44 BWYO 1996 Essexvale, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record.

c. Wide-mouthed spherical pots with short upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, flattened thickened rim and rounded bases. Height 15-17 cm.

Decorated with colour and graphic design or undecorated.

(Figure IX No. 39 BWYO 2059 Matopo Hills, Rhodesia; Figure X Nos. 40 and 41 SAM 1344 Empandeni; near Plumtree Rhodesia)

Name and use:  ingavi (Ndebele)/mbiya (Karanga) (informants at Belingwe)

no record.

(iii) Everted:

Spherical pots with curved everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and flattened base. Height 15 cm. Decorated with colour.

(Figure X No. 43, BWYO. 2025, Motokus, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Jug-shaped vessel with straight projecting base and handle.

Capacity of one gallon. Decorated with graphic designs. (Belingwe)

Name and use: ohiwani (informants at Belingwe)

for drinking beer (ditto)
Decoration

Some of the examples of Rhodesian Ndebele pottery are not decorated, the rest show a variety of decorative styles. These range from a single grooved line at the base of the neck of the vessel to complex designs of incised zig-zag bands and triangles coloured with graphite and ochre and a white material. One pot is coloured with ochre only, and another has a pattern consisting of a series of incised arcs pendant from a horizontal line at the base of the neck, which are filled with stippled depressions.

System of Distribution

According to a note in the records of the National Museum, Bulawayo, the pottery used by the Ndebele of the Essexvale district is made by Karanga women who have been absorbed by the Nguni conquerors.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: The potters were women (Hughes and van Velsen 1955)

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Hughes and van Velsen (1955) record the use of pottery for the following purposes.

(i) preparing beer
(ii) for cooking relish or porridge
(iii) for eating and drinking.

The generic term for pottery is imbiza (Hughes & van Velsen 1955)
DISCUSSION

It is not known whether the Matabele manufacture and use pottery today. Scofield (1948) points out that the Matabele invasion left no marked impression on the pottery traditions of Rhodesia and suggests that this was due to the fact that very few Matabele women reached what is now Matabeleland and that the men took wives from the conquered peoples. The pottery classified as Matabele consists of a number of vessels of varied shape and decoration, both features being more reminiscent of Shona than of Nguni ware.

No pottery terms other than the generic term, imbiza, which is common to Cape and Natal Nguni, and Swazi, are known.
The above study of the pottery of the peoples grouped together as Nguni, with the exception of the Southern Transvaal Ndebele, reveals the following facts.

With the exception of the Mpondomisi and Pingo tribal groups, of Cape and Immigrant Cape Nguni respectively, there is evidence that all the Nguni groups have a pottery tradition. It is most probable that the peoples of the two excepted groups had pottery traditions which were lost in the period of confusion during which they relinquished their true tribal identities.

Today there are still large numbers of potters amongst the Natal Nguni and Swazi, and a few amongst the Bomvana, Mpondo, and Hlubi. It is not known whether any of the Ndebele tribes make pottery today. Amongst all these peoples, the potters are women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery both for their own use and for sale to customers who give orders and at local markets. One of the reasons for the importance of the pottery industry amongst the Natal Nguni and Swazi today may be that it has been encouraged by missions, schools and ruling authorities. Schofield (1948) also points out that the Mpondo were able to afford European trade utensils to a greater extent than the Zulu.

The Techniques used by the Nguni potters fall into two groups. The coiling or spiral method is used by the Swazi, and some Mpondo, and variations of the ring technique by potters of the other tribes and some Mpondo. In most cases the vessel is started with the base; with a flattened pad of clay; some Natal Nguni start
large vessels and build small ones from a lump of clay which they hollow out, and some Hlubi/Basuto, are said to use the same method.

The Nguni in the Herschel District use pottery made by the Basuto there, the Mpondomisi in the Transkei use Hlubi pottery, and the Karanga (Shona) are said to make pottery for the Matabele, by whom they have been absorbed.

Generally speaking Nguni pottery is made in simple shapes, consisting of open-mouthed bowls, pots without necks and pots with narrow necks formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection. Very large barrel-shaped and spherical pots are made for beer-brewing and storage. The bodies of the pots are usually spherical, barrel-shaped or bag-shaped. Inverted bag-shapes are most unusual and where found amongst the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, they suggest Tswana influence. In the Matatiele district, Hlubi pottery has been strongly influenced by the Basuto tradition.

In regard to decoration there is great similarity between the wares of the Natal Nguni and Swazi, both of whom blacken their fine wares. Cape Nguni pottery is generally left the colour of the fired clay, and a fairly high percentage of Immigrant Cape Nguni ware is blackened. This ware has a number of features characteristic of both Natal and Cape Nguni pottery in regard to both graphic decorative techniques and shape. Some Transvaal Ndebele pottery, that of the Maghombani clan, Potgietersrust also has a black finish; while the decorative techniques of the Langa and Moletlani clans are akin to those of the Sotho rather than
the Nguni.

The terminology used by the Nguni tribes has dialectal variations of the term imbiza in common. The Swazi terms are very similar to those of the Natal Nguni, although there is not such a wide range. Immigrant Cape Nguni terms include both a number used by the Natal and by the Cape Nguni. The only Ndebele term recorded is a Sotho one, and the Matabele use at least one included in the Cape Nguni terminology, ingayi.

Contact between the Nguni and the European is shown in their pottery by the addition of handles to traditional pottery types, the loss, to a certain extent, of traditional decorative techniques (Natal Nguni) and most important, the manufacture of a smaller range of pottery utensils.

To sum up it can be said, that the wares of the southern Nguni groups are, generally speaking, of the same basic type, whereas those of the Northern Transvaal and Rhodesian Ndebele have been greatly influenced by contact with the Sotho in the first case, and with the Shona in the second.
2. TSONGA

21. SOUTHERN TSONGA (Ronga)

Visits were paid to Ronga homesteads in 1962 and potters at Vila Luiza, in the District of Lourenço Marques were interviewed.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following account of Ronga pottery techniques is based upon observation at a demonstration and on information obtained from the potters.

Potters: The two potters interviewed were a woman and her young daughter, to whom she had taught the craft.

Materials: The potters used a black clay from a deposit roughly half an hour's walk from their homestead. The clay was carried home by the potter in a tin or basket balanced on her head. The potters prepared the clay for use by mixing it with water and sand.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build
not used

2. As smoothers

(i) For inner and outer surfaces:

a flat piece of wood

the head of a spoon

a clam shell

(ii) For finishing the rim:

a very wet cloth
Tools: 3. For decorating

(i) For stamped designs:

a clam shell

Technique: Pottery is moulded from the lump (Plate X Nos. 20 and 21). A soft conical lump of plastic clay was placed point down in the soft sand, and hollowed with the fingers of the right hand while it was supported with the left. The walls of the vessel were smoothed up and out, and excess clay was scraped off both inner and outer surfaces. No further clay was added. The rim was finished by wetting and smoothing it with a very wet cloth (Plate XI No. 25). It took each potter approximately twenty minutes to form a vessel of medium size. After the pot had been dried outside in a sheltered place for a day, the base was finished and the entire vessel given a final smoothing.

Drying: The potters stated that it was necessary to leave the pots indoors to dry for two or three days before they could be fired.

Decorating: At the demonstration the vessel was decorated immediately after shaping, while the clay was still very wet. The potters used a clam shell, the ridged edge of which was rolled along the wet clay to give a stamped wavy line (Plate XI No. 24).

Firing: The hearth was built in a slight hollow in the ground and covered a circular area about five feet in diameter. The pots and firewood were said to be packed in alternate layers on a bed of kindling wood. The elder potter interviewed stated that pots for her own use were fired more quickly, in a hotter fire, than those for sale. The reason for this was that the product of the hotter fire would be of
better quality, although there were more likely to be breakages in firing. A rapid firing takes from ten to fifteen minutes.

Sealing/Testing: No further processing after firing was seen.

Mending: The potters stated definitely that they did not mend pottery.

Pottery names, forms and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. JEWELS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Shallow wide-mouthed carinated and sub-carinated bowls with short, straight, everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened rims and rounded bases. Height about 10-14 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XI No. 45 SAM 8787 Vila Luiza; No. 48 SAM 8786 Vila Luiza)

Name and use: inhlambeto (potter)

for cooking relish (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed sub-carinated bowl with short, curved, everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 12 cms. Graphic decoration. (Figure XI No. 47 SAM 8917 Vila Luiza)

Name and use: no record

c. Deep wide-mouthed bowl with tall, everted neck formed with carinated point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded
base. Height about 17 cms. Graphic decoration.

(Figure XI No. 49 SAM 8785 Vila Luiza)

Name and use: inhlambeto (potter - museum records)
for cooking porridge (ditto)

a. Deep wide-mouthed bowl with tall, compound everted
neck formed with carination at widest diameter, rounded
rim and rounded base. Height about 18 cms, Graphic
decoration. (Figure XI No. 50 SAM 8916 Vila Luiza)
Name and use; no record.

2. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Sub-carinated pots with upright neck formed with poorly-
defined point of inflection, rounded or thickened rims
and rounded or flattened bases. Height 11-14 cms.
Decorated with colour or undecorated. (Figure XI
No. 46 SAM 8788 Vila Luiza; No. 51 WITS 39/523 Ricatla)
Name and use: lekhuwana (potter - museum records)
for drinking beer; for exclusive use
of head of household (ditto). The specimen from Ricatla
was said to have been found on a grave of an exorcist;
and was said to have been filled with beer as an offer-
ing to his spirit by his wife and family (WITS records).
Decoration

From the examples of pottery studied it appears that decoration is seldom used today. When it occurs it takes the form of a simple, stamped band around the widest diameter of the vessel. No examples of vessels decorated with the simple incised designs recorded by Junod (1927) were seen, either in the field or in museum collections.

Ronga ware was thin-walled, well formed and well fired. Cooking vessels generally have a smooth but matt surface, and drinking vessels are lightly burnished and sometimes coloured.

System of Distribution

The fact that the Ronga still manufacture pottery both for their own use and for sale at local market centres is surprising, as vast quantities of pottery made in Portuguese-owned factories are available at very low prices. As has been mentioned previously (p.11) Bantu men are employed in these large pottery factories where a primitive kick-wheel is used for turning pots. These are made in both Portuguese and Bantu traditional styles. Factories of this type exist in Lourenço Marques, Vila de João Belo and at Xinavane, near Magude. Further, there are numerous independent, one-man factories in this region, owned by Bantu men who have mastered the techniques of the kick-wheel and started small businesses of their own. All along the main road North from Lourenço Marques and João Belo women were seen carrying factory-made pots rather than home-made wares. The factory-made vessels, although said to be traditional in style, are often painted
all over in bright colours and seem to be most popular.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

The following information is recorded by Junod (1927) and by Mr. Simoes Alberto (1962).

Potters: Potters were women. The craft was not limited to certain families, and anyone interested was free to practice it. (Junod)

Materials: There were many deposits of clay suitable for the manufacture of pottery in the region inhabited by the Ronga. That most commonly used was collected from marshes and buried at the foot of a tree to keep it damp until it was needed. It was prepared for use by the addition of ground potsherds (Junod; Alberto)

Tools: 3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:

a wooden chisel (Alberto)

a knife (ditto)

a table fork (ditto)

Technique: The very soft clay was worked into a ball which was gradually hollowed out to give the required shape (Junod; Alberto), the height of the vessel being increased by the addition of cigar-shaped pieces of clay which were smoothed into position (Alberto).

At this stage the vessel was put aside to dry for a few hours, after the mouth had been covered with a thin piece of wood to prevent the wind from spoiling its shape. As soon as the clay had dried suffic-
iently to allow safe handling, the base of the base was smoothed and the pot was put aside to dry. (Junod)

**Drying:** Vessels were dried indoors.

**Decoration:** Both Junod and Alberto record incised decoration, mainly triangular in design, which was done after shaping (Junod) or after a short period of drying before firing (Alberto). Junod states further that vessels were painted a brilliant brown, after firing, with a substance obtained by boiling the bark of the mangrove, *(nkapa - Bruguiera gymnorrhiza Lam.)* together with the bark of the *nkanve* (*Sclerocarya caffra* Sond.) and the leaves of a wild creeper with a viscous sap known as *mahlehla.* (Identifications by Alberto)

**Firing:** The pottery was placed in a hole dug in the sand, and covered with a heap of small pieces of wood or with palm pith. The fire was lit and kept burning until the potter considered that the pottery was done. The vessels were left in position until they had cooled (Junod). Photographs with Junod's account show the method of building the fire, and the fire, with the pots in position mouth upwards, ready for lighting.

**Sealing/Testing:** After firing, the potters washed each vessel thoroughly and cooked in it a little maize porridge, which was then thrown away. This process was known as *khangula* (cf. *Hangula* process of Venda p. 413 and Lemba p. 447), and it was a belief amongst the Ronga that anyone eating from a vessel which had not been treated in this way would become ill; and it was therefore taboo not to *khangula* all pots.
Mending: No information. Sherds were ground to use as a filler, if it was no longer possible to use them as utensils.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types are described in the literature.

A. **BOWLS**

1. Without necks
   
   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Wide-mouthed shallow bowls (Junod 1927)

   Name and use: **mbenga** (Junod 1927)
   
   for serving food (ditto)

   (ii) Incurved:

   Vessels with very wide mouths, made in a variety of sizes.

   According to Schofield (1948) these vessels are carinated.

   Name and use: **nhlambeto**(Ronga)/**mbita**(Djonga) (Junod)

   Small size: **dhlamboetwana/zhimbitana** (ditto)
   
   for cooking (ditto)

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:

   Spherical type pots with upright neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection. Made in various sizes.

   (Junod 1927)

   Name and use: Large size: **hotjo** (Junod 1927)

   for brewing beer (ditto)
Name and use: Medium size: **khuwana** (Junod 1927)

for serving beer or carrying water

(ditto)

Small size: no record

for drinking (Schofield 1948)

**Decoration**

According to Junod the Ronga potters decorated their vessels with very simple designs, usually triangular. Alberto (1962) states that decoration was incised and that triangles, angles, parallel lines and circles had been seen.

The colouring of pottery vessels with a specially prepared decoration has been described (p. 167)

**System of Distribution**

Junod (1927) records that potters in the district of Lourenco Marques supplied the whole country with clay utensils and were said to be masters of the art. It is not however, clear what was meant by the "whole country", but it is probable that people living in districts such as Funhalouro, where there was no suitable clay for pottery, bought the utensils they needed from potters in this southern district.

**Taboos and practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use**

The following are described by Junod (1927):

1. A potter is not greeted or noticed in any way when returning from collecting clay, since this will no doubt bring ill luck to the venture. (This taboo was no longer in force at the place visited)
2. When a party of women goes to collect clay, one of them digs it for them all. If the pots manufactured from this clay are successful it is agreed that the digger has a lucky hand and should do this work again.

3. It is taboo to tread on the spot where the clay is buried before use.

4. A child is responsible for the lighting of the fire, since she is young and innocent. Again, if the firing is successful, the same child will be requested to perform this duty on later occasions.

5. If all the above precautions are taken and a woman still has no success with her pottery, the bones are consulted and an offering made to her gods.

6. A small amount of dust from the floor of the potter's hut thrown onto the fire prevents cracking of vessels.

7. Pottery made in a vicinity where there are many potters are said to be more successful than that made by an isolated potter, since the potters "strengthen each other" (tivisana).

8. The khengula process (p. 167)

**DISCUSSION**

Pottery is still made and used amongst the Honga and a number of women specialise in the manufacture of earthenware utensils for sale at local markets. Vessels are generally moulded from the lump, but if the potter misjudges the amount of clay she will require, they are built up by the addition of rolls of clay joined to form rings
and placed one on top of the other on the wall termination.

Although, judging by descriptions in the literature the quantity and range of types of Ronga pottery manufactured today has decreased, the quality is amongst the finest examined in Southern Africa. Vessels are thin-walled, well fired and on the whole most symmetrical in shape. There are no obvious changes in style due to Western influence in the pottery made by Ronga women in spite of competition with factory goods; on the contrary, some traditional shapes are made by factories.

Pottery is used a great deal for cooking, and to a lesser extent for drinking. Large containers for brewing and storing beer were not in evidence. The shape, size, name and use of a vessel are closely linked.

The prices charged by potters for their wares appear to be no higher today than when Junod wrote in 1927. A cooking pot still costs from 5-10 cents (6d-1/-) at the most, and although no very large vessels were seen it is unlikely that they would cost more than a rand a piece (10/-).

Judging by the description of Ronga decorative techniques given by Junod (1927) decoration of pottery is even less important today than in the past.

It is interesting to note that the sealing and testing process practiced by potters in the past was so closely integrated with tribal custom that it was compulsory. Neither the khangula process nor the other taboos described by Junod were described by potters.
A NIlanganu potter's homestead was visited at Alexandria Farm, Bushouckridge in 1963. The potter was not present.

SECTION I - Field

The following information was obtained from members of a potter's family.

Potters: Most of the potters in that district were old women.

Materials: Clay was collected by the potter herself, who walked a fair distance to the site, and transported the raw material to the homestead in a basket. Clay from a river bank was most commonly used and it was prepared by mixing with water. It was allowed to stand for twenty-four hours before use.

Tools: No information

Technique: No information

Drying: No information

Decorating: Ochre and graphite were used to colour some pots. Graphite was bought. It was finely ground and mixed with water before application.

Firing: Firing took place on a level stretch of ground. Wood was used as a fuel and grass as kindling.

Sealing/Testing: No information

Mending: Vessels slightly cracked in firing were sometimes mended with black wax obtained from old beehives.
Pottery forms, names and uses

Vessel types seen and described in the field.

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical and near spherical pots with upright necks formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded bases and cut rims. Height 20-35 cms. Undecorated.

Name and use: Large size: mbita (informants in the field) for brewing beer (ditto)

Small size: khuwana (ditto) for storing beer (ditto)

(ii) Inward-sloping:

Spherical and near spherical pots with inward-sloping necks formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded bases and cut rims. Height 15-35 cms. Large sizes undecorated; small sizes decorated with colour.

(Figure XII No. 52 SAW. 8906, Bushbuckridge).

Name and use: Large size: mbita (informants in the field) for brewing beer (ditto)

Medium size : khuwana (ditto) for storing beer (ditto)

Small size: shikhuwana (ditto) for serving beer (ditto)
E. MISCELLANEOUS

No description given.

Name and use: djomela (informants in the field)
for drinking (ditto)

Decoration

The Nklangana vessels were heavy and roughly made, and although some were decorated with colour, and lightly burnished, they were poorly finished.

As the wares of only one potter were seen it is not possible to say whether this is the general standard of manufacture.

The only method of decoration was the application of graphite and ochre; the ochre was applied over the outer surface of the pot and inside the neck, and the graphite in bands or triangular designs around the mouth.

System of Distribution

As well as making pottery for their own use, potters take orders from their neighbours and also sell their wares at the village on pension days, which occur every two months.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.
CONCLUSION

There are still a few old women amongst the Nhlanganu who specialise in the manufacture of pottery. Nothing is, however, known of their techniques.

Only a small range of pottery is made. The vessels are made in four sizes and are spherical with narrow mouths and slight necks. Decoration takes the form of the application of ochre and graphite, but not all pots are decorated.

The Nhlanganu use pottery for the preparation and storage of beer and for drinking. The size of a vessel generally determines its use; and different names are given to each size.

No Western influence was observed in the shapes and decoration of Nhlanganu pottery.
Under this heading are grouped the following people who today call themselves "Shangaan", a term which appears to imply that they are all or part Tsonga in origin.

1. People of mixed Tsonga and Nguni origin who migrated into the Pilgrims Rest district of the Eastern Transvaal, from Mozambique.

2. People of mixed Tsonga origin living in Vendaland. These people no longer live even in a loosely knit tribal unit but in isolated groups. They are also immigrants from the East, who now live under Venda chiefs, having moved as a result of disturbances caused by Shoshangana and his following.

3. People of mixed Tsonga and Nguni origin, who live in the districts of Manjacaze and along the lower Limpopo Valley in Mozambique. It is from this group that ancestors of the people of Group I broke away.

1. Tshangana of the Eastern Transvaal

These people were not visited.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel attributed to the "Shangaan" was seen in a museum collection.

B. POTS

1. Without necks
Spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with band of graphite below the rim and incised and stamped lines. (AFRIK 59/2329)

Name and use: mbita (museum records)
for cooking (ditto)

Decoration

The only pot seen was decorated with a band of graphite below the rim, bordered by an incised line and two lines of stamped impressions made with the end of a grass stalk.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

DISCUSSION

It is not known whether the Tahangana of the Eastern Transvaal make and use pottery today.

The only pot seen which was attributed to them resembled that of the Venda in both shape and decoration.
2. Tshangana of the Northern Transvaal

No Tshangana were visited, but it was learnt that they still use pottery.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses.

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:


   Name and use: no record.

   (ii) Incurved:

   Incurved bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 10 cms. Decorated with incised design and colour. (AFRIK 59/2330)

   Name and use: mbita (museum records)

   for cooking (ditto)

2. With necks

   (ii) Everted:

   Carinated bowl with rounded rim and rounded base, with
curved everted neck formed with poorly defined point

(AFRIK 59/2332)

Name and use: no record

for cooking (museum records)

3. POTS.

1. Without necks

a. Bag-shaped pots with cut rims and slightly flattened
bases. Black finish. Applied decoration. (AFRIK
59/2324 A & C; AFRIK 59/2325) Height 14-25 cms.

Name and use: Large size: no record

for storing beer (museum records)

Small sizes: djomela (museum records)

for drinking beer (ditto)

b. Spherical pots with thickened rims and slightly flattened
or rounded bases. Height 12-25 cms. Decorated with colour
and graphic design or black finish and applied lumps.

Name and use: Large sizes: mukhuwana/sikhuwana (museum
records)

for fetching water (ditto)

Small sizes: no record

for drinking beer (museum records)
2. With necks:

(i) Upright:

Spherical pot with short upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 16 cms. (AFuK 59/2327)

Coloured with ochre.

Name and use: no record

for drinking beer (museum records)

Decoration

Two distinct decorative techniques were seen on this collection of Tshangana ware. Firstly, the deliberate blackening of the vessel and the application of lumps of clay, generally elongated in shape. Secondly, the use of graphite and ochre to colour designs outlined with incised and grooved lines. Although a number of the designs resemble those found on Lombe pottery in that they are made up of triangles, bands and arcs, the general effect is usually quite different. One of these designs is exactly the same as that seen on a Tswa pot in Mozambique.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

These people were not visited and nothing is known of their techniques, nor in fact whether they make pottery today. From a
study of the pottery used by them, two wares can be distinguished. The first, a black ware sometimes decorated with applied or moulded lozenges and single stamped impressions, consists of deep open-mouthed and carinated bowls and bag-shaped and spherical pots. The carinated bowl (AFRIK 59/2332) is strikingly like some bowls of Budjga and Tonga (Shona) manufacture and its raised and stamped decoration is comparable with the mazamu and maziso described by Mrs. Goodall (1946).

The second ware, with incised geometrical designs coloured with burnished ochre and graphite, includes incurved bowls and spherical and sub-spherical pots. The designs are similar to those of the Lemba but can also be compared with those used by the Nkuna of Tzaneen. It is interesting to note that exactly the same design was seen on two pots from Tswa territory, Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal respectively.
3. Tshangana of Mozambique.

The Tshangana were visited and a pottery demonstration attended.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following description is based upon observation and information supplied at a demonstration.

Potters: The potters are women. The potter interviewed was an old lady, who made her wares both for her own use and for sale to neighbours.

Materials: The potter collected the clay from a site on the Makupulane Plain about two and a half miles from her home. It was stored in dry clods in an old pot out of doors until required. A filler was prepared from large pieces of broken potsherds which were pounded as finely as possible in a wooden mortar and then winnowed in a shallow woven basket. Only the finest material was mixed with the clay. Once the clay had been mixed it was put aside and kneaded again thoroughly immediately before use.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

a potsherd

2. As smoothers

1. For outer surface:

   pieces of calabash; both rounded and rectangular

   a mussel shell

   a mealie cob
Tools: 2. As smoothers:

(ii) For inner surface:

a piece of calabash

3. For decorating

For notching rim:

a piece of calabash

Technique: The potter moulded the vessel, which was a medium-sized one, from the lump, without the addition of any further clay. The material appeared to be rather thick and dry, but the tools used were all taken from a small container of water kept at the potter's side, and she worked with wet hands. A sprinkling of finely powdered sherd on the support prevented the clay sticking to it. The potter was making a carinated vessel and started off by forming the lump of clay into a small bucket-shaped container. By exerting slow pressure, both outwards and downwards, around the central portion of the wall from the inside of the vessel, she altered the form entirely, to one in which the widest diameter was approximately half way up the vessel and jutted out over the lower section. The next stage was to push out the lower section of the wall below the bulge to form a sub-carinated vessel shorter than the original bucket-shaped one.

An everted neck was formed by carefully smoothing the wall outwards
from the inside while supporting it on the outside. Shaping to this stage took an hour and a quarter. The pot was then put indoors until the next day, when it was to be completed.

The vessel would then be taken off the potsherd and turned upside down, the lower section being wetted, and scraped with a piece of calabash so as to round the base. The central ridge would be enhanced by the addition of a narrow roll of clay, smoothed into position with the thumb in such a way as to form a well-defined carination.

**Drying:** Vessels are dried inside a hut for about fifteen days before firing.

**Decorating:** Only two methods of decoration were recorded; The notching of the rim, which is done immediately after building while the clay is still wet, and the application of a red material to the outer surface. This is also done before the vessel dries.

**Firing:** The pottery is fired in a circular hollow roughly fourteen inches deep and five and a half feet across the diameter. Grass, twigs and large pieces of bark are used as fuel. Firing takes from one and a half to four hours, depending upon the size of the vessels.

**Sealing/Testing:** No information

**Bending:** No information

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types were seen in use amongst the Tshungana mainly in the Chibuto district.
A. **BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**


   **Name and use:** *leniso* (informants in the field)

   **no record**

   b. Hemispherical bowls. Decorated with graphite and graphic design or undecorated. Variety of sizes.

   **Name and use:**
   - Large size: *ndvelo* (informants in the field) for serving food (ditto)
   - Small size: *nkamba* (ditto) for eating from.

2. **With necks**

   (i) **Upright:**

   a. Spherical bowl with short upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Height 12-15 cm. Undecorated.

   **Name and use:** *shimbitana* (informants in the field) for cooking (ditto)

   b. Shallow carinated bowl with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Undecorated.

   **Name and use:** *shimbitana* (informants in the field)

   (ii) **Everted:**

   Carinated bowl with short, straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection (Figure XII No.53
SAM . 8944, Chibuto, Mozambique

Name and use: shimbitana (informants in the field)
no record

B. VESI

1. Without necks


Red finish, burnished surface.

Name and use: tungu (informants in the field)
for water (ditto)

b. Small near spherical pots with small mouths. One example

coloured red.

Name and use: djomela (informants in the field)
for drinking (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large wide-mouthed vessels with upright neck formed

with poorly defined point of inflection. Height

about 75 cms. Undecorated.

Name and use: no record

for collecting rainwater from eaves

of hut (informants in the field)

b. Narrow-mouthed pots with upright neck formed with

poorly defined point of inflection. Height about

30-40 cms. Sometimes with red finish, or graphic
design.
Name and use:  *lidowa/khuwana* (informants in the field)

for carrying water (ditto)

c. Wide-mouthed spherical pots with upright necks
formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

Height 10-20 cms. Decorated with graphic design or
undeckored.

Name and use:  Large size:  *maita* (informants in the
field)

no record

Small size:  *shimbitana* (ditto)

for cooking (ditto)

d. Vessels as above with upright necks formed with

well-defined point of inflection.

Name and use:  as c. above

**Decoration**

Very little decorated pottery was seen. The most common forms
of decoration were the application of ocure to, and the burnishing
of the outer surface. The only other decoration used was incised;
a narrow band, either cross-hatched or hatched below the neck, or
a single horizontal line with spaced // 's below it, also at the
base of the neck.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

No information in this section.
CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made by women specialists amongst the Tshangana of Mozambique and it is used throughout the region in which they live.

The pottery seen had no characteristic features, on the contrary many slight variations in shape gave the impression of a heterogeneous ware. Decoration is uncommon, and in this too there seemed to be no characteristic techniques or designs.

At a demonstration a potter used the method of moulding from the lump to form a carinated vessel; the method of obtaining the carination being entirely different from those used by the Ronga and Chopi.

Taking into account the fact that the region now inhabited by the Tshangana has been the centre of much unrest and that it is now populated by people of Thonga, Nguni and Chopi stock, the lack of uniformity in the Tshangana pottery is not surprising.
TSHANGANA — DISCUSSION

It is not known whether the Tshangana of Eastern and Northern Transvaal make pottery today, although it is known that the latter still use it to a certain extent, and that the Venda have adopted their custom of using pottery drinking vessels.

The Tshangana of Mozambique both make and use pottery today; the technique observed differed from any other seen or described by informants or in the literature.

The pottery of the Tshangana of the Northern Transvaal and of Mozambique bears no resemblance to each other, the former being either polychrome or black and the latter, either buff, coloured with ochre or blackened by use. There is no resemblance in shape either. Nothing is known of the pottery of the Tshangana of the Eastern Transvaal.
The small group of Tsonga people living in the Tzaneen District Transvaal, under Chief Muhlava are described as "Nkuna and Others" by van Warmelo (1935) although they are known to their neighbours as "Shangaan". This group were visited in June 1962 and a potter gave a demonstration.

SECTION I - Field

The following account is based on observation and information supplied by a potter at a demonstration.

Potters: The potter had learnt the art from her mother, who in turn had learnt it as a young girl from hers. She was well-known in the district and made domestic utensils both for herself and for numerous customers, many of whom lived a long way away.

Materials: The potter had experimented with a number of clays in the district before finding the two types which she used. One of these was used without the addition of a filler, and a little of it was used as a filler for the second type. The method of preparation was the same, whichever clay was used.

The material was collected dry, and ground to a fine powder, which was then mixed to a plastic consistency with water. It was then stored for a few days in a tin covered with cloths to keep it damp. Before the clay was used a little water was sprinkled into the tin to ensure that it was damp enough.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build sherds neatly rounded off for the purpose, of varying sizes


Tools: 2. **As smoothers**

- For inside and outer surfaces:
  - the shell of a bi-valve mollusc

3. **For decorating**

   (i) For incising designs:
   - a metal awl, made by potter's husband

   (ii) For burnishing:
   - a river pebble

**Technique:** The potter, who was found working out of doors, explained that on a windy day she would have to work indoors. The ring technique was used in the manufacture of all vessels regardless of their size. A medium-sized vessel, about 45 cms. in height, was built from four very thick rolls of clay, the top of each roll being deliberately thinned before the addition of the next. (Plate XII Nos. 26 & 27) Each ring was placed on top of the one below in such a way that the basic shape of the vessel was formed as it was built. The base was roughly filled in with a pad of clay after the first ring had been formed, but it was finished off some days later when the pot had dried slightly. The wall of the vessel was further heightened by smoothing each ring upwards from the inside with one hand, while the other hand supported the clay on the outside (Plate XII No. 28). No tools were used until the vessel had attained its final height, when the surface was smoothed both inside and out with the shell (Plate XIII No. 29). Small pieces of clay which were removed in this way were dropped into the vessel to be used for patching if necessary.
This demonstration took twenty minutes. The base would be completed two or three days later, after a period of drying indoors.

Drying: The vessel was sprinkled liberally with water before it was put indoors, covered with sacking and left to dry for two or three days.

The pot would then be decorated and the base completed, after which it would be set aside to dry completely. After a drying period said to be as long as two months, the vessel would be ready for firing. The potter makes as many vessels as possible before having a firing, and the minimum drying time is less than two months.

Decorating: Graphic decoration was done after the short drying period of two to three days. Using the awl held at a low angle to the surface of the vessel, and drawing it towards her, the potter decorated the upper section with a geometrical design, without doing any preliminary measurement. She used more than one design.

The materials for the coloured decoration of the pots are ocher and graphite. The potter collects the ocher herself. This is ground to a fine powder between grinding stones (Plate XIII No. 31) and applied as a paint. The area to be decorated is damped. The graphite is bought from peddlars, but the potter was unable to say where they got it. The lump of graphite was used like a pencil to colour specific regions black. Both red and black areas were well burnished with the river pebbles.

Firing: When about ten pots are dried the potter has a firing session. Each vessel is fired the right way up. The fire is built on a level
stretch of ground. Wood, the most readily available fuel is used.
Firing is generally done in the afternoon, and takes up to an hour.
The morning after firing, when the pots are cold, they are removed from the ashes. Only a few vessels crack during firing and these are used by the potter herself.

Sealing/Testing: The potter claimed that a properly fired vessel could be used for any purpose and that it would become impervious with use.

Reading: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen at the potter's homestead and at the office of Chief Muhlava.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Hemispherical bowl with rounded rim and rounded base.
   Diameter about 17 cms. Decorated with colour. (Chief Muhlava's office)

   Name and use: shinkambane (informants in the field)
   for serving vegetables

   (ii) Incurved:

   Wide-mouthed, incurved bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Blackened by use (potter's place)

   Name and use: no record
   for cooking (judging by appearance)
B. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical and near spherical pots with narrow mouths, thickened rims and rounded bases. Made in a range of sizes.

Small sizes decorated with graphic designs and colour.

Large sizes not seen (Figure XII No. 54 SAI 8662 Tzaneen; Plate XIII No. 31 Tzaneen)

Name and use: Very Large size: moita (potter)
Large size: khuwana (potter)
Medium size: shikuwana (potter)
Small size: mukelo/ndenko (potter; informant at Muhlava's office)

for beer and water (ditto)

Decoration.

Small well-finished vessels are patterned with incised designs and coloured with ochre and graphite. All those seen had an incised band around the widest diameter of the vessel; this band was hatched alternately from right to left and from left to right. The upper half of the pot was coloured and patterned with triangular or arc designs. Food bowls were coloured both inside and out with highly burnished graphite, with a horizontal band of ochre on the outside below the rim.

The potter did not describe the other methods of decoration which are used.
System of Distribution

The potter interviewed made a great deal of pottery, much of which was sold to buyers who lived a long way away and came to her to give orders. This suggests that potters are not numerous in this district and that earthenware is still preferred to modern utensils by a number of people.

Taboos and practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

The potter does not allow anyone at all to touch her wares before they are fired, believing this would make them crack.

SECTION II - LITERATURE

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

There are still potters amongst the Nkuna of Tsaneen, one of whom demonstrated the ring technique which she used for building pottery of all sizes.

The range of pottery made by this potter was small, consisting mainly of spherical and near spherical pots, open-mouthed bowls and incurved bowls. With the exception of the incurved bowls and very large spherical pots these are decorated with graphic designs and colour.

Both the shapes and decoration of the pottery were traditional, and unchanged by contact with European culture.
NORTHERN TSONGA

a. Nwalungu

No information.

d. Hlengwe

The Hlengwe were not visited.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

B. Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   Wide-mouthed shallow bowls with rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 17 cm. Decorated with colour.

   (Figure XIII No. 62  BMYO 6342 Sabi, Rhodesia)

   Name and use: **mbita** (museum records)

   no record

   (ii) **Incurved:**

   Small incurved bowl with cut rim and rounded base.

   Undecorated. (Figure XIII No. 57  SAM 7185 Sabi-Lundi, Rhodesia)

   Name and use: **mbita** (museum records)

   no record
2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Small spherical wide-mouthed bowl with curved everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim on tapered wall, and rounded base. With handle. Height 10 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure XIII No. 61 SAM 7178 Sabi-Lundi, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record
drinking vessel (museum records)

B. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Spherical pots with curved, everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims on tapered walls and rounded bases. In two size ranges; Height 25-30 cms. Height 8-11 cms. Decorated with graphic design and with colour. (Figure XIII Nos. 55, SAM 7179; No. 56 SAM 7191; No. 58, SAM 7182; No. 60, SAM 7181 All from Sabi-Lundi, Rhodesia)

Name and use: mbita (museum records)

This appears to be the generic term.
no record
Decoration

This collection of Hlengwe ware consists of well formed, thin walled and well-fired vessels, with the exceptions of the bowls without necks and the bowl with handle. Decoration is fine and neatly executed, and consists of a band and triangle design patterned with cross-hatching. The vessels are coloured with ochre, graphite and a white material which was rubbed into the incised and grooved lines.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Hlengwe were not visited but it is known from museum records that pottery was being made by them as recently as 1952, although there is no information about their techniques.

The range of pottery seen is small, and consists of small, open-mouthed and incurved bowls and spherical pots with tall, curved everted necks, some large and some small. The large pots are probably used for storing and serving beer and water.

Decoration is incised, in band and triangle designs, and ochre, graphite and a white material are used for colouring. Western influence is seen in the addition of handles, such as are found on cups of European manufacture.
The Tswa people of Mozambique were visited in June 1963. Homesteads along the road through their territory were stopped at and notes made of the type of earthenware utensil in use. Owing to language difficulties it was not possible to obtain much information, and only one full demonstration and interview was possible.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained by observation and by questioning the potter at a demonstration near Panda. At a second partial demonstration, in the Homoine District, the same technique for shaping was used.

Potters: The potters were women. At the Panda demonstration pots were made by an old woman and her daughter, to whom she had taught the craft, which she had learnt from her mother. It was not possible to discover from the potters at Homoine where they had learnt the art.

Materials: Wet clay is dug from the river's edge. The potters at Panda stressed the fact that the clay was not used immediately, but deliberately left out of doors in a pot for a while. The potters at Homoine kept their clay wrapped in leaves until they were ready for it. To prepare the clay it is softened by sprinkling with water and pounding with a wooden pestle on the specially
prepared smooth surface of a log (Plate XIV No. 32). Finely ground potsherds are then sprinkled on the log, and the clay is kneaded into the powder. The potter knows how much filler is required from the consistency of the clay, and explained that either too little or too much of the admixture would result in the breaking of the pots.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

a potsherd; the potters at Homoine placed large, flat shiny leaves, resembling those of the Canna, on the sherd to prevent sticking.

2. As smoothers

(i) For outer surface:

head of a desertspoon

piece of calabash

piece of cloth

flat piece of wood

(ii) For inner surface:

head of desertspoon

piece of calabash

(iii) For rim:

piece of cloth

3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:

smooth wooden bodkin

(ii) For applying colour

piece of cloth
Technique: The potters said that it was possible to make pottery in any weather and at any time of day. Both groups of Tswa potters seen, moulded their pots from the lump, and built them up with the addition of small pieces of clay which had been either scraped out of the vessel or broken off the balance of the prepared material. Scraping on the outer surface was done with diagonal strokes from the base of the pot to the mouth. A great deal of care was taken in smoothing the vessel and in thinning the walls by scraping away the excess clay with the spoonhead. The final smoothing was done with a very wet cloth, which was gently dragged over the outer surface and along the rim. About three days after shaping the base is finally smoothed.

Drying: After shaping the pots are put outside in the sun during the day, and taken indoors during the night. Very large pots which are not easily moved are left outside overnight, wrapped in cloths. Times of from one to two weeks were given for the drying. Many potters like to make a large batch of pottery before having a firing session, and the pots may therefore dry for longer than is strictly necessary.

Decorating: Graphic decoration and the application of colour are carried out at different stages in the process. Graphic designs are done immediately after the shaping of the pot, while the clay is still wet, and the colour is applied after four or five days drying when the surface is almost dry.
The red finish of some pots is the result of the application of ochre (assumed from description of the material). The potters at Pwida dig the raw material, which is grey, from a river site, and bake it until it turns yellow. It is then stamped in a mortar, mixed with water, and formed into balls for storage.

The colour is applied with a piece of cloth dipped in the red liquid made by dissolving some of the prepared ochre in water.

Potters at Homoine collect a red material from a deposit near Mutambo station.

Firing: Vessels are placed on the ground on their sides, supporting each other, with the mouth of one vessel, facing the base of the one in front of it. Firing generally takes place in the afternoon, and although potters claim that firing takes only an hour, the vessels are left in the ashes overnight, to cool completely before they are moved. Wood is used as a fuel; in addition, the bark of the ntumba tree, which is said to give a particularly hot fire, is used if it is available.

Sealing/Testing: Potters were asked if vessels were treated in any way after firing. At Pwida they fill pots with water and stand them in the sand out of doors for a month, after which time they are taken into use.

Mending: The potters said they did not mend pots cracked during firing, but ground them for use as a filler. One vessel mended at the rim with wire was seen in Ntambote district.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**
   
   (i) Open-mouthed:
   
   
   **Name and use:** lehiso (informants at Panda)
   
   preparing yeast for beer (ditto)
   
   injalo (informants at Homoine)
   
   for serving food or making flour (ditto)
   
   b. Deep bowls, almost straight sided with rounded base.
   
   **Name and use:** shinge (informants in the field)
   
   for washing (ditto)

2. **With necks**

   (i) Upright:
   
   a. Near spherical bowls, with short necks formed with a poorly defined point of inflection, and rounded bases.
   
   **(Panda, Homoine, Vilanculous, Masinga) Sometimes decorated graphically.**
   
   **Name and use:** Large size: mbite (informants in the field)
   
   Small size: shimbitana (ditto)
   
   for cooking
b. Shallow wide-mouthed bowl with short upright neck

formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height

Undecorated. (Figure XIV No. 64 SAH 8924 Panda)

Name and use: palango (potter - Panda)

for cooking (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Small, sub-carinated or carinated, wide-mouthed bowls with short, straight everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut or rounded rims on tapered wall and rounded bases. Height 8-10 cms.

Decorated with colour. (Figure XV No. 67 SAH 8939; No. 63 SAH 8938 Both Morrumbene)

Name and use: no record

b. Large wide-mouthed bowl with compound everted neck, formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms.

Decorated graphic design and colour (Figure XIV No. 65 SAH 8925 Panda)

Name and use: palango (potter - Panda)

for cooking meat (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large pot; no further description (Panda)

Name and use: piva (informants at Panda)

for cooking large quantities (ditto)
b. Small spherical pot with narrow mouth and rounded base.

Undecorated. (Between Funhalouro and Mabote)

Name and use: shikajavelo (informants in the field)

for drinking (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Spherical pots with short necks, formed with poorly
defined point of inflection, rounded bases and
narrow mouths. (Panda)

Name and use: shikhawane/fuko (Panda)

for water (ditto)

shimbitana (informants East of Mabote)

for cooking (ditto)

b. Inverted bag-shaped pot with upright neck formed with
well defined point of inflection. (South of Mabote)

Name and use: lidoza (informants in the field)

no record; probably for beer or water
transport and storage.

(ii) Everted:

a. Wide-mouthed spherical pots with short necks formed with
poorly defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Made
in range of sizes. Usually coloured red and decorated with
graphic designs. (Figure XIV No. 63 SAM 8923 Panda)

(Plate XIV No. 33 SiTonga, used by Tswa)
Name and use: Mbita (informants in the field)
no record; usually for cooking

khwana (informants in the field)
for water (ditto)

b. Large carinated pot with short, straight, everted neck
formed with a well-defined point of inflection, cut rim
and rounded base. Height about 30 cms, decorated with
graphic design and colour. (Figure XV No. 66 SAI 8937
near Nkumbene)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

The decoration of pottery was not a notable feature, and although
about fifty percent of the vessels seen were decorated there seemed
to be no uniformity in either design or technique.

The most common form of decoration was the application of a red
colour, probably ochre, usually over the entire outer surface, some-
times excluding the rim. A small pot seen in the Homoine district
was coloured red with a band of inverted triangles, in black, around
the mouth. The only other example of red and black colouring on the
same vessel was seen just south of Nkoboto; in this case the upper
section of a spherical pot was divided into sections with vertical
incised lines ending on a horizontal band of hatching, each section
was coloured either red or black. (One example of a Tshangana pot
from the Northern Transvaal is practically the same and the design is
also comparable to a design found on Nkama pottery)
In the districts of Homoine and Mabote applied clay pellets were used for decoration. Graphic decoration took the form of incised zig-zag lines and designs. The vessel from Mutamba, seen north of Funhalouro (Plate XIV No. 55) was decorated with an incised design patterned with deep, jagged stamped impressions made with a sharp stylus. Shallow circular stamped impressions are also used (Figure XIV No. 66).

The potters at Panda decorated their wares with grooved triangles patterned with cross-hatching (Figure XIV Nos. 63 and 65).

**System of Distribution**

In the Panda and Homoine Districts, where two groups of potters were interviewed and the homestead of another was visited, it was learned that large quantities of pottery were made, as there are not many stores where utensils can be bought.

In the Tswa region, north of Maxixe, as far north-west as Mabote and as far north-east as Vilanculos, frequent halts were made at homesteads beside the road. A number of the homesteads were deserted and although pots were seen it was not possible to find out where they had come from. At some places in the Sitila-Funhalouro district, where no earthenware of any description was seen, but large quantities of calabashes, paraffin tins and bark vessels were in use, it was learnt that no clay suitable for pottery was available.

Pottery made by BiTonga at Mutamba, Maxixe, was on sale at a store near Thome, about fifty-five miles north of Funhalouro, and was seen
at homesteads both south and north of Funhalouro. Pots from Jangamo were seen at Massinga, west of Maphinhane and south of Chilene. Pottery said to come from Vilancubs and Morrumbene was also seen in these vicinities.

At Ungwana, between Nhachenque and Rios das Pedras a large number of factory-made vessels from Xinavane, near Magude, were seen for sale, together with a large consignment from Jangamo.

It would appear that, although there may be a certain amount of local pottery, a large percentage of the utensils seen were imported from a few centres where pottery is made on a large scale.

No further information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

There are still potters amongst the southern Tswa tribes and pottery is still made, although not to the same extent, amongst the northern tribes. It was learnt that there is not much clay suitable for pottery in Funhalouro and Mabote, and that most of the earthenware used in this region is imported from Bitonga, Tswa and Portuguese potteries in the south.

The southern Tswa potters mould their pottery from the lump and the range of their wares shows great similarity to those of the Bitonga. No pottery of this type was made in the northern districts.

Contact with the West does not appear to have influenced this pottery. The use of enamel paint was confined to factory ware.
Since nothing is known of the Hlengwe pottery techniques it is not possible to compare them with the Tswa method of building from the lump.

The pottery of the Hlengwe and Tswa is not similar in range of types, although both wares are sometimes decorated with incised and grooved cross-hatched triangular designs, which suggests a possible contact or common ancestry. The use of a cross-hatched triangular design is also found on Ndau pottery of the Sabi-Lundi valley, and on Teve ware. Neville Jones drew attention to the fact that the pottery decorative techniques and designs used by the Ndau were very similar to those used on pottery found at Mapungubwe. (Schofield 1948:176)

Neither Tswa nor Hlengwe pottery has been influenced much by contact with the European. Tswa ware shows no apparent changes of shape, but one Hlengwe bowl has a handle.

In shape Hlengwe pottery is similar to that of the Shona, whereas the Tswa pottery of the Panda-Homoine region resembles that of the BiTonga and Bonga.

26. MIXED TSONGA in Transvaal
No information concerning the pottery of this group.

27. CENTRAL TSONGA in Portuguese East Africa
No information concerning the pottery of this group.
TSONGA - DISCUSSION

The Central Tsonga of Mozambique and the groups of mixed Tsonga in the Transvaal are excluded from this discussion.

Although not all the other peoples grouped together as Tsonga have been visited, it seems apparent from the available information that, with the possible exception of the Tshangana of Pilgrimsrest and the northern Tswana tribes, they all use pottery of their own making today. The northern Tswana use pottery too, but most of it is imported as there is not much pottery clay in their territory.

Potters of Ronga, Tshangana, (P.E.A.) and Tswana groups mould their pottery from the lump entirely and only occasionally have to build up the walls to an even height with additional rolls or lumps of clay. The Nkuna potter used the ring technique only completing the base several days after shaping the body. All the potters interviewed were specialists who had learnt their craft from their mothers. It is difficult therefore, to account for the Nkuna woman's use of the ring technique which is neither typically Tsonga, nor used by other tribes in the Tzaneen district.

If at any time the pottery of the Tsonga shared a number of characteristics, this is no longer the case, although there are certain features which suggest a previous closer relationship. From this survey it appears that the pottery of the Tsonga tribes who now live outside the borders of Mozambique, is nearer in type to that of their neighbours than that made by Mozambique tribes.

In Mozambique, amongst the Tswana from Panda to Morrumbene and the Ronga, carinated and sub-carinated pots and bowls are typical. Amongst these Tswana decoration takes the form of graphic triangular designs.
below the neck of a vessel and the application of a red colour. The Ronga, who in the past decorated their wares with similar designs and a brown colour, seldom decorate their pottery today. A few examples of a black ware decorated with raised lumps of clay were seen in the districts of Homoine and Mabote. Pottery from the Tshangana (P.E.A.) consists of a variety of heterogeneous types, including a few carinated vessels. There is no characteristic form of decoration; the application of ochre over the entire outer surface being the most common.

In the Northern Transvaal the Tshangana and Nkuna make sub-spherical and spherical pots with thickened rims which are decorated with graphic designs, graphite and ochre. Although these are comparable in shape and decoration with Venda and Lemba pottery, the fact that a pot decorated with the same type of design was seen near Mabote in Tswa territory, Mozambique, must not be overlooked. The second type of pottery made by the Northern Transvaal Tshangana (a black ware decorated with raised decoration) may be related to the black ware seen in Tswa territory, but a carinated bowl with raised and stamped impressions suggests some connection with the Tonga and Budjga of north-east Rhodesia.

In the Eastern Transvaal only Nhlanganu pottery, consisting of spherical pots with inward-sloping necks, decorated with graphite and ochre, was seen.

Pottery from the Hlengwe of Sabi-Lundi is very similar in both shape and decoration, which takes the form of graphic triangular designs and the application of graphite, ochre and a white material, to that of the Ndau of the same district.
Pottery utensils appear to be named according to their function and although the shapes of vessels used for specific purposes show variation, use and shape are closely connected.

Some pottery terms are common to all Tsonga (mbite, khuwana). Amongst the Tshangana (P.E.A.) and the Nkuna, Nguni influence may be indicated by the use of the terms nkambana and nkambha, since the generic Zulu term for pot is ukhamba. Chopi and BiTonga pottery terms are used amongst the Tswana and Tshangana of Mozambique.

In conclusion it can be said that the pottery of the Tsonga peoples has been influenced to a marked degree by contact with peoples of other Bantu divisions. This may be partly due to the fact that, unlike the Nguni, they do not form closely-knit tribal units, and are therefore more susceptible to outside influence.
3. **SOTHO**

The Sotho people are widely distributed throughout South Africa and can be arbitrarily sub-divided, both geographically and ethnographically, into three main groups: Southern (Basuto), Western (Western and Eastern Tswana) and Eastern (Central, Eastern, North-Eastern and Northern Sotho) (van Warmelo 1935). All these people all speak variants of the same language, tradition and tribal names support the theory that they are derived from a number of different stocks and entered this region at different times by a variety of routes (van Warmelo 1935).

31. **SOUTHERN SOTHO**

The Basuto are a heterogeneous group of peoples whose forefathers were united by Moshesh roughly one hundred and thirty years ago, after invasions by Nguni peoples had caused confusion in the territory in which they were living (van Warmelo 1935).

In dealing with them, sub-divisions have been made, firstly on the basis of geographical regions; namely, Basutoland, Herschel, Eastern Cape and Northern Cape; and secondly, within these regions according to tribal groups, where they are differentiated.

A. **Basuto in Basutoland**

a. **Fokeng**

Two Fokeng potters at HaThlebere, near Mazenod Mission, Maseru and homesteads at Chief Goliah's, Mohales Hoek and at Lihlokong, Mafeteng were visited in December 1961 and February 1962. One of the potters was half finished making a
pot when the writer arrived.

SECTION I - Field

The following information was obtained from the potters and informants interviewed.

Potters: The potters are women.

Materials: There are a number of suitable clays for pottery. They are mixed with finely ground potsheards, when both materials are dry. Water is then added to the mixture, which is kneaded. The addition of a filler is said to strengthen the material.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

   a tin or enamel plate or basin; varying in size with the vessel to be built.

2. As smoothers

   For inner and outer surfaces:

   the blade of a knife

3. For decorating

   (i) For stamped designs:

      a grass stem

      a nail

      a knife

   (ii) For burnishing:

      a piece of glass

      a stone

      the hoof of an ox
**Technique:** The descriptions of the methods used by the potters interviewed show a certain amount of variation. One of the potters said that she moulded vessels from the lump without the addition of any further clay. The other potter, who was watched, was building a large vessel by the addition of large lumps of clay which she smoothed into position with her forefinger and then with the blade of a knife. The pot had probably been started with a large lump of clay which had been hollowed out, as there was no hole in the bottom. Two days after shaping the pot would be cut off the support. The spiral technique was described by the husband of a potter at Limiconong, but this information is accepted with caution.

**Drying:** The pots are put indoors to dry so that the process will take place as slowly as possible. Sometimes they are covered with dry cloths. The pots are sounded to test their dryness before they are fired.

**Decorating:** No information

**Firing:** Pots are placed upside down or on their sides on a layer of dry dung and covered with another layer. The fire is built in a sheltered place and may be further protected by a ring of stones. If no stones are available the pots are sometimes put into a specially dug hole. Some potters put a little dung into each pot; others emphasized the fact that they did not do this.

Firing times vary with the size of the vessels, but the pots are generally removed from the fire only when they are cold.
Three o'clock in the afternoon is a common time for starting the fire, which is then allowed to burn itself out, the pots being removed from the ashes the following morning.

Sealing/Testing: The scum off the beer is smeared over the inner and outer surfaces of a water pot before it is used, in order to make it impervious to liquids (Chief Goliath's). Kaffircorn may be used for the same purpose (HaThlebere).

Mending: No information

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

b. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large wide-mouthed pots, almost straight-sided with rounded base. (HaThlebere)

Name and use: morifi (potter; HaThlebere) for making beer (interpreter)

b. Carinated pots with thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 18 cms, Rim coloured (Figure XIX No. 89 SAM 8549 Mafetong, Basutoland)

Name and use: no record

c. Sub-carinated pots. Height about 20 cms. Undecorated (Lihlokong)

Name and use: moritswana (informant at Lihlokong) for porridge (ditto)
2. With necks

   (i) **Upright:**

   a. Spherical and barrel-shaped pots with upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rims and dimple or flattened bases. Height about 20 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XX No. 95 SAK 8586 Masuru, Basutoland)

   **Name and use:** nkho (potter; HaThalebere)

   **no record**

   b. Spherical pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 17 cms. Rim coloured. (Figure XXI No. 101 SAK 8587 Masuru, Basutoland)

   **Name and use:** lefiswana (potter; HaThalebere)

   **no record**

C. BEAKERS

Pedestal-based beakers.

**Name and use:** notswana (potter; HaThalebere)

for drinking; filled from mapotjwana

which holds two or three times as much (ditto)

**Decoration**

Although potters and informants described tools used for graphic decoration, no vessels with this type of decoration were seen. Two of the pots had blue rims, possibly coloured with ink, and black paint was also used for this purpose. All pots were
lightly burnished on the outer surface.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made by Pekeng women who specialise in its manufacture. The two potters interviewed used the same basic technique; moulding from the lump, large pots being increased to the required size by the addition of rings of clay placed one on top of the other.

The range of ware seen was small, consisting of only four types of vessel; large wide mouthed pots, pots with poorly defined necks made in various sizes, sub-carinated and carinated pots without necks, and beakers.

Decoration is unusual and is generally confined to small vessels where it takes the form of the application of colour and a lightly burnished surface.

Contact with the West has not influenced the shapes of pottery but can be seen in the use of synthetic decorative materials.
A. Basuto in Basutoland

b. Kwena

Two potters were interviewed; one at the village of Chief Tumane Mathele, Butha Buthe, who was at work, the other at HaPhalwane, near Nazareth Mission on the Mountain Road, Maseru, who gave a demonstration.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following account is based upon observation and information obtained from the potters interviewed.

Potters: Both potters were specialists who made pottery for sale as well as for domestic use. The potter at HaPhalwane had learnt the art from her mother, and sold quantities of pottery to others in that district. The other potter made pottery to fulfil a contract with an agent in Durban.

Materials: No information obtained from the potter at Butha Buthe. The potter at HaPhalwane dug her clay with an iron peg from the bank of a river about four hundred yards from her homestead. She dug only as much as she needed and fetched it immediately before use. No filler was added to the clay, which was dug wet, stamped with a stone and further moistened with water from the river. After about four minutes, of alternately pounding and kneading the clay the potter was satisfied with its consistency.
Tools: 1. As a support on which to build
the lid of an iron cooking pot (HaPhalwane)
a basket (Butha Buthe)

2. As smoothers
(i) For outer surface:
the blade and handle of a table knife (HaPhalwane)
a piece of calabash (Butha Buthe)
a smooth piece of wood (ditto)
(ii) For inner surface:
the blade and handle of a table knife (HaPhalwane)
a piece of calabash (Butha Buthe)
(iii) For rim:
a knife (HaPhalwane)

3. For decorating
(i) For incised designs:
hair of forefinger (Butha Buthe)
(ii) For burnishing:
a smooth stone (HaPhalwane)

Technique: The potter at Butha Buthe was watched building a very large pot which already reached half its finished height. The size was increased by smoothing thick rolls of clay formed between the palms of the hands on to the walls in incomplete rings. Most of the smoothing was done with the hands, a piece of calabash being used occasionally. Large pots are built in one sitting. (Plate XV No. 36)

The other potter worked out of doors in the shade. The clay was
kneaded once more before she used it. To start the pot small pieces of clay broken off the prepared lump were arranged in a circle around the rim of an iron pot lid. After smoothing these together the potter added larger pieces of clay, in the form of rolls, onto the clay ring already formed. Each piece of clay was kneaded before it was rolled. The pot was shaped by applying pressure from the inside while supporting the wall on the outside. It was then smoothed on the outside from base to rim. Towards the mouth smaller lumps of clay were used, as at the base. A great deal of time and care was spent on the rim. First it was smoothed with the thumb and forefinger, then protruding pieces of clay were cut off with a sharp knife to level it. Finally it was strengthened all the way round with clay added in small wet pieces, after which the rim was undercut with a knife about a quarter of an inch from the mouth and carefully smoothed. The base of the pot is completed two days later with additional clay also built on in incomplete rings.

Drying: Pots are dried indoors, the time they require to dry depending upon their size and the weather conditions. The potter at Butha Buthe allowed very large pots to dry for two to three weeks, whereas the small pots made by the potter at Phalwane were said to take only two or three days.

Decorating: Burnishing is carried out when the pots are dry.

Firing: Two people are required to carry large pots to the fireplace (Butha Buthe). They are fired individually, fuel being built up around them; no fuel is placed inside the pots.
Four or five small pots are fired at a time (Phalwane). They are placed in a row on their sides with cow dung packed between and over them. Stones are placed over the dung to hold it in position. The potter used cow dung only and claimed that horse dung fired the pots black. The fire is lit at about three o'clock and allowed to burn itself out. The pottery is removed the following morning. If firing is started at sunrise the pots are ready to be moved at about three o'clock.

Sealing/Testing: No information
Mending: No information

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

J. POTS

1. Without necks
   a. Very large wide-mouthed pots with widest diameter at the mouth. Height about 90 cms. Graphic or no decoration. (Butha Buthe)
      Name and use: setlotle (Butha Buthe)
      for brewing beer (ditto)
   b. Large wide-mouthed, almost straight sided pots. Height about 75 cms. Undecorated (Plate XV No. 36 Butha Buthe)
      Name and use: leritswana (potter, Butha Buthe)
      for brewing or storing beer (ditto)
2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large inverted bag-shaped pots with upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rims and rounded bases. Height about 30 cm. Undecorated.

(Figure XXI No. 105 SAM 8599 Maseru)

Name and use: *nkho* (potter; museum records)

for storing water (ditto)

b. Small pots with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rims and flattened bases. Height about 15 cm. Undecorated. (Haphalwane)

Name and use: *lefitawana* (potter; Haphalwane)

for storing water to keep it cool (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

Large sub-carinated inverted bag-shaped pot with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, cut rim and flattened base. Height about 37 cm. Rim painted black. (Figure XX No. 95 SAM 8590 Butha Buthe)

Name and use: *nakno* (potter; Butha Buthe)

for storing water (ditto)

C. **BANDOLS**

Pedestal-based vessels. Well burnished. Height about 15 cm.

(Butha Buthe)

Name and use: *seknona/mapotwana* (guide; Butha Buthe)

for drinking
Decoration

The potter at Butha-Buthe decorated large wide-mouthed vessels with a raised band of incised decoration around the mouth. With this exception, no pottery was seen decorated with graphic designs. Most vessels were well-burnished on the outer surface, and some examples had coloured rims.

System of Distribution

Specialists make pottery for sale to local households. One of the potters interviewed had a contract to make pottery for sale in Durban.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

There are still a number of Kwena women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery; the craft generally being passed down from mother to daughter. The two Kwena potters observed at work used different techniques, but they were, however, making vessels of entirely different shapes. One used the ring technique built onto a base in the manufacture of a very large wide-mouthed pot; the other, who was making a small pot, built it up with pieces and rolls of clay in a rough ring technique, and closed the base last.

The range of pottery seen was small, consisting only of three basic types of vessel: large wide-mouthed pots, sub-carinated, bag-
shaped and spherical pots with necks, and pedestal-based beakers. Decoration is simple and seldom used.
a. Basuto in Basutoland.

Ilakwana

A very old woman who used to make pottery at Sekhuthlong village, near Maputseng Mission, Kohalas Noek was visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following facts were supplied by the potter interviewed and obtained by the Reverend D. Cook of Mohlanapeng Mission, Qacha's Nek from potters in his district.

Potters: The potters are women who learn the art from their mothers and make pottery both for their own use and for sale.

Materials: The potters themselves collect the clay. A pick is used for digging and the raw material is transported to the homestead either by the potter on foot, or by donkey if she travels far to fetch it. The clay is mixed with either a black clay or ground potsherds to strengthen it. The raw materials are mixed with water and allowed to mature before use. The old woman at Sekhuthlong preferred river clay to any other.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

   a flat stone (Qacha's Nek)
   a basket (ditto)

2. As smoothers

   the blade of a knife (Qacha's Nek)
   a smooth stone (ditto)
Tools: 3. For decorating:

- a smooth stone (Qacha's Nek)
- the hoof of an ox (Sekhuthlong)

Technique: No information was obtained from the potter at Sekhuthlong. The potters at Qacha's Nek showed no preference for a particular place for making pots. They make pottery throughout the year and at any time of day. The vessels are built up with rolls of clay in rings placed one on top of each other until the pot is the required height. The base of the vessel is completed after the walls have been shaped.

Drying: Pots are put indoors in a sheltered place to dry. They may be covered with soaking so that they do not break or crack. They are left for about a week (Qacha's Nek; Sekhuthlong).

Decorating: Graphic designs are traditional and passed on from mother to daughter. Uchre (letswa) is sometimes used to colour pottery; this material is either dug locally or sought, and is applied by rubbing it onto the surface of the pot. Fat may be rubbed on the surface of a vessel to make it shiney before it is blackened in a grass fire. (Qacha's Nek)

Firing: Firing takes place on a still, clear day either in the morning or the evening. Dried cow dung is used as a fuel, either in natural pots or prepared cakes. (Qacha's Nek; Sekhuthlong) Four or five pots are fired at a time, they are placed between layers of dung in a shelter built of stones (Qacha's Nek; Sekhuthlong). The pots become red with black spots after firing.
Sealing/Testing: Pots are waterproof after being well burnished and fired (wacha's uk).

Mending: A decoction known as boku made from Ammocharis falcata is used for mending pots cracked in firing. (wacha's uk)

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen at Sekhuthlong.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

Large straight-sided pots with wide mouths. Height about 35 cms. Undecorated.

Name and use: moritswana (potter)

for storing dry foodstuffs (seen in use)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Inverted bag-shaped pots with upright necks formed with poorly defined point of inflection, thickened rims and rounded bases. Height 20-27 cms. Undecorated. (Figure AX No. 94 SAM 8605 Mohales Rock)

Name and use: mokane (potter; Sekhuthlong)

for storing water or making porridge (ditto)

Decoration

This pottery was undecorated, with the exception of a slight burnish.

System of Distribution.

Potters are specialists who sell their wares.
Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

Men are generally not allowed to touch unfired pots unless their help is specifically requested by a potter (Qacha's Nek)

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

There are still a number of Klakwana women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery. The art is passed from mother to daughter but anyone interested may learn it. The potters described the ring technique and stated that the base was completed last.

A very small range of Klakwana pottery was seen, consisting only of large wide-mouthed pots and pots with necks. Burnishing was the only form of decoration seen, but methods of blackening in a grass fire and the use of ochre as a decorative material were described.
A. Basuto in Basutoland

d. Tlaung

A potter at Majas a Court, on the Mountain Road, Maseru was interviewed and gave a demonstration in miniature.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

Potters: Potters are women specialists.

Materials: No information

Tools: As smoothers

    the blade of a knife

Technique: A pot is started with a pad of clay around which the walls are built up by means of rolls of clay added spirally. The clay is kept very wet and the surface are smoothed with the blade of a knife.

Drying: Two weeks lapse between shaping and firing a pot.

Decorating: After a day indoors the vessel is burnished.

Firing: Firing is started in the afternoon; the pottery is allowed to cool in position and removed from the ashes the following day. Pots are placed on their sides, supported below on three stones and covered with a mixture of dung and firewood. The method of blackening pottery by smothering the fire with powdered dung was known to the potter.

Sealing/Testing: No information

Mending: No information

Pottery forms, names and uses

No Tlaung pottery was seen, the following names were given by the
CONCLUSION

There are still women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery amongst the Thlaung. The only potter interviewed demonstrated in miniature the use of the coiling technique.

No Thlaung pottery was seen. A method of blackening pottery in a grass fire was described by the potter.
A. Basuto in Basutoland

e. Basuto (undifferentiated)

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types made by undifferentiated Basuto potters were seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:
   Wide-mouthed bowl with flattened base. Height about 10 cms. Undecorated. Black finish (SAM 1796 Sutha Buthe)

   Name and use: no record

   (ii) Incurved:

   Name and use: no record

   b. Sub-carinated bowls with thickened rims and flattened bases. Height about 13 cms. (Figure XIX No. 92 UCT E 50)

   Name and use: no record

B. JUGS

1. Without necks
B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Pot with carination at the widest diameter, with thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with ochre with black rim. Burnished. (Figure XVI No. 70 WITS 40.24 Basutoland)

Name and use: mopotshane /pitsa nkho (museum records) for cooking (museum records: this is not likely judging by shape and finish)

b. Sub-carinated pot with thickened rim and flattened base.

Height about 16 cms. Decorated graphically and with colour. (Figure AVIII No. 84 RAM. 8. 3)

Name and use: no record

c. Small oval-shaped pot with rounded rim and base. Height about 15 cms. Blackened by use. (Figure XIX No. 88 SAM 1796 Butha Buthe)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Sub-carinated pots with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rims and flattened bases. Height 30 cms. Rim coloured. (Figure XX No. 96 SAM 8011 Leribe)

Name and use: no record
b. Spherical pot with tall, curved, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 25 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure XVI No. 72 AFRIK 4117 Basuto)

Name and use: no record

c. Bag-shaped pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XX No. 99, SAM 8012 Leribe)

Name and use: no record

(ii) Everted:

a. Large inverted bag-shaped pot with tall, curved, everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and flattened base. Height 30-35 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XX No. 98, SAM 7072, Basutoland)

Name and use:

b. Wide-mouthed inverted bag-shaped pot with curved, everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, cut rim and flattened base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure XXI No. 106, SAM 596 Maseru)

Name and use: ? morifi (museum records)

for beer or water (ditto)
C. BEAKERS

a. Beakers measuring between 17-20 cms. in height with thickened rims and pedestal bases. Decorated with graphic designs and colour. (Figure XVII Nos. 75, SAM 8633; No. 77, SAM 8010 Leribe; No. 78 SAM 7440 Basutoland)

Name and use: no record for drinking (museum records)

b. Straight sided vessels with cut rim and projecting base.

Height about 15 cms. Lightly burnished. (Figure XVII No. 80 SAM 6575 Mohales Hoek)

Name and use: no record for drinking (museum records)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

a. A large number of jugs with handles, three-legged pots in imitation of iron pots, teapots, beorgottles, double beakers, sugar bowls, beakers with legs wearing shoes. (SAM) Examples of this type are registered as early as 1891 and appear to be well distributed. They were said to be used by the Basuto themselves.

b. At Thabatsoen, near Hafeteng, the son of Sam Makounyane, the sculptor, makes pottery figures for sale. These are in modern style, painted and fired.

Decoration

Very little decoration appears on modern Basuto ware; it mostly takes the form of coloured rims, ochre applied on the outer surface of the vessels, and a very fine burnish. Only one vessel in the collection
was decorated with graphite (Figure XVIII No. 86)

Graphic design is most common on the drinking vessels, stamped and moulded decoration were also seen.

Paint, blue, ink and other synthetic materials appear to have been used for decorative purposes for at least thirty years.

System of Distribution

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: Pottery was made by women (Burkly 1893:13; Christol 1900: 90;)

Materials: Clay was found in dongas and other places all over the country. It was dug by the potter and taken to the homestead, where it was ground on a grinding stone. The fine material was mixed with powdered sherds, water was added and the mixture kneaded and beaten until it was plastic. (Meyerowitz 1934) In one instance Meyerowitz (1934) saw raw clay being soaked in water in the course of preparation.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

Two or three flat stones placed one on top of the other to form a turntable (Meyerowitz 1934

2. As smoothers

a piece of wood (Meyerowitz 1934)

a bone (ditto)

a steel implement (ditto)
Tools: 3. For decorating:

(i) For stamping designs:
   a pointed stick (Meyerowitz 1934)
   the end of a reed (ditto)

(ii) For burnishing:
   a smooth stone (Meyerowitz 1934)
   a pig's tooth (ditto)
   a piece of bone (ditto)
   a highly polished agate (ditto)

Technique: A ball of clay was flattened to form a disc, which served as the base of the vessel. The walls were built up by placing rolls of clay in rings one on top of the other, smoothing them together, and shaping the pots as required (Meyerowitz 1934)

Drying: All pottery was dried slowly, generally indoors, covered with rags to protect it from draughts. Drying took from one to six weeks depending upon the size of the vessel (Meyerowitz 1934)

Decorating: Pottery was decorated graphically and coloured when it had dried to a leatherhard state (Meyerowitz 1934). The following materials were traditionally used for colouring (Meyerowitz 1934):

1. Ochre (letsoku). Good quality ochre was found all over the country, generally in "marble-sized" pieces. Before it was used to colour pottery it was fired in a dung fire and ground on a grinding stone to a fine powder. The powder was then mixed with water to the consistency of paint, applied in designs or over the whole pot, and burnished. It fired dark red.
2. An orange soil (khokhotsi). This was found in all districts. It was mixed with water and applied like ochre. It fired a light red.

3. Hard pea-like dark brown stones. These were crushed and mixed with water to form a paint (moking/mokiling). It fired a very dark brown and was generally used for colouring the rims of pots and for graphic designs.

4. A material found near clay deposits (motloko). This was softer than 3. above and was sometimes mixed with raw clay to produce a darker brown pot.

Meyerowitz gives the names of three other materials which were said by informants to be used for colouring pottery, but the information was not verified. These were, sekama and sevilo, said to fire black, and lekuetji, said to fire blue.

Vessels were also deliberately blackened by rubbing their outer surfaces with fat and slowly turning them over a soty grass or powdered dung fire (Meyerowitz 1934).

**Firing:** A dry spot, sheltered from the wind was chosen for the hearth, which consisted of a circle of stones, varying from three feet to seven and a half feet in diameter. The pots were laid between layers of dry dung (lisu) a little of which was placed inside each vessel. The wall of stones was then built up, sometimes vertically and sometimes to form an almost dome-shaped structure. The remaining aperture was covered with a sheet of tin or a light, flat stone. The fire was normally lit in the evening, and glowed for from two to six hours
depending on the amount of fuel and the weather conditions. The pots were removed from the ashes the following morning. There was a high percentage of breakages (two out of eight average). Under-firing was common; the inner and outer surfaces being fired and the middle section only partly so. The colour of the fired pot varied with the clay (Meyerowitz 1934).

Sealing/Testing: Porridge was kept in new vessels before they were put to use, to make them impervious (Meyerowitz 1934).

Mending: A black substance (boka) made from the root of a plant of the same name was used to mend vessels (Meyerowitz 1934).

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types and illustrated or described in the literature.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks:

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Deep, fairly straight-sided bowls, with thickened rims and rounded bases. Undecorated. (Meyerowitz 1934; mafapeli, suta-suthe)

   Name and use: lefisoana (lefiswana) (Meyerowitz 1934) for beer (ditto)

   b. Wide shallow dishes (Ashton 1952:160)

   Name and use: no record for food (Ashton 1952)
(ii) Incurved:

(Meyerowitz 1934; HaMapeli, Butha Buthe) (cf. Fig.XIX No.89)

b. Shallow incurved bowl with flattened base. (Meyerowitz 1934; Captain Balfe’s collection)

Name and use:  *mopotjoana* (*mapotjwana*) (Meyerowitz 1934)

no record

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large wide-mouthed pots with almost straight or slightly flared sides. Undecorated or decorated with graphic design around the mouth. Smeared with beerscum (Meyerowitz 1934; Duggan Cronin 1933)

Name and use: *moritsaona* / *morifi* (Meyerowitz 1934)

for storing beer (Meyerowitz 1934)

for making butter (Duggan-Cronin 1933)

b. Spherical and near-spherical pots. Decorated with graphic design and colour (Meyerowitz 1934; Butha Buthe, wuthing)

Name and use: *lefisoana* (*lefiswana*) / *mapotjoana*/*mapotwana*
(Meyerowitz 1934)

for serving beer or porridge (*ditto*)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Bag-shaped and sub-spherical pots, with upright neck
formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and flattened or rounded bases. Undecorated or with only rim decorated. (Meyerowitz 1934; Sutha Sutha, Leribe)

Name and use: nkho (Meyerowitz 1934)

for storing beer or water (ditto)

b. Small inverted bag-shaped and barrel-shaped pots, with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Meyerowitz 1934; Sutha Sutha, Qutaini)

Name and use: mapotjwana (mapotjwana) (Meyerowitz 1934)

for beer (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Large, inverted bag-shaped pots with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Undecorated, except for occasional coloured rim. (Meyerowitz 1934; Leribe)

Name and use: nkho (Meyerowitz 1934)

for storing beer or water (ditto)

b. Large spherical pot with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, decorated with graphic design and colour. (Meyerowitz 1934; Captain Balfe's collection)

Name and use: nkho (Meyerowitz 1934)

for storing beer or water (ditto)

C. BEAKERS

Pedestal-based beakers decorated with graphic design, and colour. Moulded and applied design also seen. (Meyerowitz 1934)
Name and use: likona (Meyerowitz 1934) for drinking (ditto)

D. ZOO MOR PHIC

1. Unfired animal figurines made by children. No ritual significance (Meyerowitz 1934)

2. Fired duck-shaped vessels. (Meyerowitz 1934)

Name and use: likona (ditto) for drinking

3. Dolls of baked clay dressed in hide and beads. (BM 6143)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Pottery vessels in the shape of calabash ladles. (Meyerowitz 1934)

2. Grain stores in the shape of huge pots with narrow mouths.

   Made in large or small sizes as required. Unfired. Built inside store huts. They stood on feet in order to keep out white ants and other pests. The aperture at the top of the vessel was closed with a small flat earthen dish, which was smeared into position. (Fritsch 1872)

3. Cooking pots used to be made until the iron-pots were introduced by traders (Minnie Martin 1903).

4. A black earthenware oil-lamp, about 6 cms. in height and 9 in diameter, filled with fat within which there is a wick (BM 6143)

Decoration

Decoration generally takes the form of coloring the rim with either
moking or letsoku (p238), though a number of beer and water storage pots with graphic designs have been photographed by Meyerowitz. These have triangular motifs, either outlined with incised lines and patterned with stamped impressions or merely formed of stamped impressions. Letsoku may be used to colour these patterns.

The drinking vessels are generally decorated with both design and colour. The designs may be moulded, incised or applied; letsoku is the most widely used decorative material, although moking is also frequently used.

Small beer or porridge pots are sometimes coloured black and decorated with incised designs.

Fine wares are usually well burnished, whether coloured or not.

System of Distribution

Meyerowitz (1934) found during his survey of Basutoland that specialists were very often widows who supported themselves on this home industry, and that there were fewer potters than in the past when most housewives used to make their own domestic utensils.

Ashton (1952) reported that there was a demand for Basuto pottery both locally and in South Africa, but that owing to the competition of cheap trade goods the market was not as good as it had been.

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use.

Pottery is hedged about with secrecy and taboos. Many women dislike men being near or watching their work, and some will not allow strangers to be present at a firing, in case they use evil
medicine (*steip* to destroy or damage the pots. Some women do not fire pottery when the moon is on the wane, as they believe this might weaken it (Ashton 1952:160).

Ellenberger and MacGregor (1912) write as follows concerning the use of an earthenware pot in the sighting of the new moon:—

"tradition tells of an ingenious method in use among the Basia, whereby the crescent could be detected in the sunlit firmament with the minimum of trouble to the observer. An earthen pot, made of glazed pottery, was filled with very clear limpid water, and as soon as the crescent appeared, it was reflected in the water even in the most glaring sunlight, and the first observer to discover the reflection in his pot ran to report to the chief, who announced the fact and summoned the feast by messengers. The successful astronomer, was, according to custom, declared to be ruler of the feast, and was entrusted with the distribution of the refreshments."

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made and used throughout Basutoland. Potters are women specialists, Meyerowitz found that a number of them were widows whose income came from the sale of their wares. Pottery is taught at schools and missions as well as by women to their daughters.

Poker, Kwena, Hlakwana and Tlaung potters were interviewed. According to Meyerowitz the traditional Basuto method is build with rings of clay onto a flattened pad of clay. It was found that the potters did not form well-defined rings, (cf. Shona) but smoothed each roll of clay into position individually. The base
of a vessel was found to be formed in other ways as well as that described by Meyerowitz; by hollowing a lump of clay, by smoothing the walls of the pots inwards after shaping the body, and by adding clay to the finished body and shaping it to close the opening at the bottom. The Tlaung potter used the spiral technique and a Fokeng potter moulded from the lump. These variations in technique are to be expected amongst a mixed group of people.

The most typical Basuto shapes are: large wide-mouthed vessels, inverted bag-shaped pots with tall, curved, everted necks formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection, smaller barrel-shaped pots, and pedestal-based beakers. There are, however, numerous variations of these shapes and of the type of rim and base. A sub-carination or carination is a fairly common feature.

Basuto pottery has a characteristic finish; either smooth and well burnished, or matt, and generally the colour of the fired clay, although potters know how to blacken their wares and sometimes do so. Decoration is very simple and seldom exceeds more than the application of ochre over the body surface, or the colouring of the rim of a vessel, except on beakers and small pots used for drinking, or porridge. From Meyerowitz's photographs and sherd finds it would seem that decoration was more plentiful and varied in the past.

Pottery is used mainly in the preparation, storing and drinking of beer and for storing water; food bowls are now rare. Vessels seem to be named according to use, shape and size, but it was found that although dialectal forms of the same basic terminology are used throughout the country, like vessels were not always given the same names.
B. Basuto in East Griqualand (undifferentiated)

On a field trip to Mount Ayliff and Matatiele in April 1961, manyBasuto were interviewed and some potters were visited; although no demonstrations of the whole process were given, one potter at Mount Ayliff showed the writer her method of shaping.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained during the field trip.

Potters: The potters are women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery.

Materials: A black river clay mixed with ground potsherds and kneaded with water until plastic was used by two potters. The addition of potsherds to the clay was described by most informants.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build
   a flat stone (Mount Ayliff)
   a plank (Pontseng, Matatiele)
   a piece of iron (ditto)

2. As smoothers
   a knife blade (Pontseng, Matatiele)

3. For decorating
   (i) For incised designs:
       implement with sharp point (Mount Ayliff)
   (ii) For stamped designs:
       the handle of a knife (Bethal School, Matatiele)
(iii) For burnishing:

a smooth stone (Mount Ayliff)

Technique: At the demonstration the potter started work with a ball of clay, which he hollowed out with her middle finger, smoothing up the walls so formed until they were fairly thin and of even thickness. The pot was increased in height by the addition of lumps of clay, of no particular size or shape, which were pressed into position from the inside of the vessel. The rim was flattened with the thumb.

None of the descriptions by other informants tallied with this method. In all other cases the base of the vessel was said to be added after the upper section had been built. Rolls of clay formed between the palms of the hands were used to build the pots, which shaped by applying pressure with one hand inside the vessel while supporting the wall on the outside with the other.

Drying: The times given for drying pottery before it was fired varied from two days, in the sun, out of the wind (Matatiele), to two weeks indoors for very large pots (Mount Ayliff).

Firing: One groups of potters, at Mount Ayliff, said that each pot to be fired was placed on a shard in hot ashes, and completely covered with more sherds and a heap of dung. Firing was said to take about an hour. A second group dug a hole, which they lined with dung. Two pots were laid on their sides, mouth to mouth, and covered with another layer of dung. No sherds were used by these potters, nor was any dung placed inside the vessels. Dung is also used as a fuel in the Matatiele district and the method of firing
is the same as that practised by the second group of potters at Mount Ayliff.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Pottery types seen in the field and in museum collections.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   a. Large almost straight-sided wide-mouthed vessels.

      Height about 60 cms. Undecorated or decorated with band of stamped impressions around the mouth. (Mount Ayliff)

      Name and use: *pitsa* (informants in the field)

      for making and storing beer (ditto)

   b. Barrel-shaped pots with slightly thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with graphic design. (Figure XIX No. 91 SAM 8453 Mount Ayliff)

      Name and use: *menotjwana* (potter - Mount Ayliff)

      for drinking beer; handed around a number of people.

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:

      Inverted bag-shaped pots, with curved, upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and flattened bases. (Figure XXI No. 104 SAM 8449
Decoration

Pottery was decorated with simple stamped and triangular incised and grooved designs. The use of graphite and ochre was seen on the pottery made by a group at Mount Ayliff.

System of Distribution

It was learnt during the field trip in 1961 that there were large numbers of itinerant Basuto potters in the Mount Ayliff, Mount Frere and neighbouring districts, who specialised in the manufacture of pottery for sale to the local Nguni peoples. Local trading stores buy pottery from these specialists for sale both to Bantu households and to tourists. In the Matatiele district, at the Basuto homesteads and schools visited, it was learned that there were a number of Basuto potters living in the neighbourhood who sold their wares. There is still a demand for pottery in spite of the availability of other more durable utensils, as it is more suitable for the storing of beer and porridge, which remain cool and fresh in these containers.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Amongst the Basuto living in this area there are a large number of potters, some of them itinerant, who have a good market for their
wares, amongst their own people, the Nguni tribes and tourists.

They use two techniques; moulding from the lump with the addition of lumps of clay to build the vessel to the required size, and the ring technique, with the completion of the base last. This latter method is used by some Cape Nguni tribes and by some Basuto in Basutoland. The method of starting from a moulded lump is used by some Natal Nguni and by some Basuto, both of whom build the vessel up with rolls of clay added to the wall termination.

Basuto terminology is used.
C. Basuto in Hereshal District

a. Fokeng

Demonstrations of making and firing pottery were attended in November 1961.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

Potteries: The potters are women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery for sale, both to other Basuto and to Nguni families in the district. Pottery is said to be taught at Basuto initiation schools.

Materials: A black, finely ground clay is mixed with ferrocrete/calcrete picked up off the roads by the potters. The raw materials are ground together on a grinding stone, the correct amount of filler being judged by the appearance and texture of the mixture. Too much filler is said to cause the pot to sag during building, but the correct amount prevents cracking during firing. The dry material is mixed with water and worked until it is the required consistency.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

   a flat piece of stone

2. As smoothers

   half a pair of sheep shears

3. For decorating

   (i) For stamped impressions:

   pumpkin pips
(ii) For graphic designs:
    a matchstick

(iii) For burnishing:
    a smooth stone

**Technique:** The potters work indoors. The pot is started with a flattened lump of clay which forms the base. The lower section of the walls is built up with pieces of clay of no particular shape or size, which are smoothed together both on the inner and outer surfaces. As the vessel grows the clay is added in rolls to the inner surface of the wall, and squashed and smoothed into position. A great deal of care is taken in smoothing and shaping the vessel, the clay being kept very wet. The rim of the pot is flattened with the thumb.

After a short period of drying, usually a day for small pots, the pot is removed from the support and the base is smoothed and finished.

**Drying:** The length of time that a pot takes to dry depends upon its size. Drying takes place indoors. A piece of aloe (*khalane*) is put into the vessel during the drying period to prevent bad luck.

**Decorating:** Applied decoration is carried out, after a period of drying, before firing. The potter stated that the red clay (*roratsi*) used for decorating the walls of the hut is sometimes used to colour pottery; it is applied very wet when the pot is dry. To blacken a pot deliberately it is smoked in a fire made by burning a bush which gives a particularly smoky fire.

**Firing:** Firing is best done in the early morning or late afternoon.
Clear weather is necessary. On the afternoon of the demonstration the weather had been threatening but had cleared up. The potter started preparing for the firing at five o'clock. (Plate XVI)

A circle of stones was placed in a sheltered spot and a floor of dung cakes placed within the circle with a few twigs for kindling. A small pot (nkhwane) was put upside down in the centre and a large pot (leritswana) over it. The surrounding wall was then built up vertically, more twigs were placed around the pots and dung cakes were packed round them. A small piece of aloe was put into the fire for luck. The fire was started from a grass spill taken from a small fire started outside the hearth, and the space between the pots and the shelter was entirely filled with dry dung. As the fuel burned it was pressed down and more dung heaped on top. The fire was fanned with an enamel basin and the potter complained that there was not enough wind to keep the fire burning. For an hour the potter tended the fire, keeping the pots covered with dung and fanning and poking the fire alternately. Having emptied the last of a second large sack of unprepared dung over the fire the potter left it to burn itself out. The following morning when the pots were removed, the ashes were still hot, although the potter said the fire had stopped burning between half past seven and eight o'clock. The small pot had burned black, which the potter attributed to too much fire.

Sealing/Testing: Beer-scum is smeared on vessels to protect them from the wind when they are being transported. They are said to be watertight without it.
Mending: Tar and cement are sometimes used to mend cracked pots.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Large open-mouthed bowl with cut rim and flattened base. Height 25-30 cms. Smooshed with beer-scum (Figure XXI No. 100 SAM 8521 Basuto Hill, Herschel)

   Name and use: le-titswane (impili; Xhosa) (informants in the field)

   no record

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   a. Very large, straight-sided wide-mouthed vessels. Sometimes half-buried in floor of hut (Basuto Hill, Herschel)

   Name and use: pitse/setlotlalo (potter, Basuto Hill)

   for brewing beer (ditto)

   b. Large, widemouthed, straight sided pots with cut or rounded rims and flattened or rounded bases. Height about 55 cms.

   Undecorated (Plate XV No. 35; SAM 8559, Basuto Hill, Herschel)

   Name and use: le-ritsawane (nkanjana; Xhosa) (potter; Basuto Hill)

   for making beer (ditto)

   c. Large narrow-mouthed barrel-shaped pots with cut or rounded rim
and flattened or rounded base. Height about 47 cms. (Plate XV
No. 34, SAM 8526 Basuto Hill, Herschel)

Name and use: *lepis* (lephiso; Xhosa) (potter; Basuto Hill)

for storing beer (ditto)

d. Wide-mouthed barrel-shaped pots with cut rims and flattened
bases. Height about 25 cms. Undecorated (Basuto Hill)

Name and use: *sekhwane* (i.e. calabash) (potter; Basuto Hill)

for milk (ditto)

e. Narrow-mouthed barrel-shaped pots without cut rims and flattened
bases. Height about 20 cms. Undecorated (Figure XIX No. 90
SAM 8671 Basuto Hill)

Name and use: *nikhwa* (potter; Basuto Hill)

no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Spherical, narrow-mouthed pots with upright necks formed with
poorly defined point of inflection. Height 30-37 cms.

(Basuto Hill, Herschel)

Name and use: *nikho* (ingxayi; Xhosa) (informants; Basuto Hill)

for beer (ditto)

b. Inverted bag-shaped or barrel-shaped pots with upright necks
formed with poorly defined point of inflection, cut rims and
flattened bases. Height about 20-30 cms. (Figure XX No. 97
Basuto Hill; Figure XIX No. 87 SAM 8522 Basuto Hill)

Name and use: *nikhwa* (*ingxawana*; Xhosa) (informants; Basuto
Hill)
for beer (ditto)

pitsa (informants in the field)

for porridge (ditto)

C. BEAKERS:

Wide-mouthed spherical and sub-curinated beakers with pedestal bases and cut or rounded rims. Height 15-20 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour (Figure XVII Nos. 79, SAM 8533 and 82; SAM 8525)

Name and use: myotjwane (mirane; kluui) (informants in the field) for drinking beer, or porridge (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Ashtrays. (i-ashtray) These are made for sale at trading stores.

Decoration

Only the drinking vessels seen were decorated with graphic designs; other vessels had a plain finish, the fine ware being unglazed.

System of Distribution

Pottery is widely used in the Basuto District, where the Basuto potters make sufficient pottery to fulfill the needs of all buyers, Xhosa, Hlubi and Basuto. At a number of homesteads visited it was learned that the pottery in use there had been bought from Basuto Hill.

Taboos and practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use.

1. No men are allowed near the fire during firing.

2. A piece of aloe placed in a drying pot and in the fire brings good luck.
3. If firing is done in the morning, it must be started before sunrise or hail would result.

4. Very large beer pots are bound with a strengthening thong to prevent the beer in it from turning sour if a relative should die.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Most of the pottery used in the Sterkspruit district of Herschel is made by Basuto and a great deal of that seen was said to be made at Basuto Mill, by a Fokeng specialist. This potter built her vessels with a modified ring technique, starting with a flattened pad of clay as the base of the vessel.

A large range of pottery is made; consisting of wide-mouthed pots, pots with and without necks and beakers, all in a range of sizes. Decoration is uncommon and the finer wares are generally only lightly burnished. Both Sotho and Nguni pottery terms are used, as the Klubi and Xhosa people also use this pottery.
SECTION I - Field

Technology

Information from informants in the Herschel District.

Potters: Women specialise in the manufacture of pottery for sale.

Materials: The clay is mixed with ferrocrete/calcrete picked off the road surface.

Tools: No information.

Technique: A potter was seen starting a vessel by joining two semi-circular pieces of clay which she had placed opposite each other on the support, and smoothing the clay upwards to form the walls of the pot. The base was filled in when the pot was dry (Mrs. Colbert, Verbal information). Potters visited at Malokovana were said to use the same method as the Fokeng potter at Basuto Hill. (p252)

Drying: No information

Decorating: Ochre is applied to drinking vessels in a very liquid form before firing (Figure XVII No. 74) Burnishing with a smooth stone gives a very shiny finish.

Firing: Too hot a fire causes the vessels coloured with the above solution of ochre to crack. An informant from whom a pot was bought explained that the vessel was black inside because the smoke had got into it when the pot was being fired; it had been placed upside down on a number of stones and covered with dung.

Sealing/Testing: The surface of a large number of vessels was
smeared with beer-scum after firing; this was said not to be necessary for the success of the pot by some informants. According to one person interviewed new pots should only be half-filled at first.

No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types of undifferentiated Basuto manufacture were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   medium-sized, wide-mouthed bowl; undecorated.

   (Hlusi homestead, Herschel)

   **Name and use:** likhamba (Hlusi) (informant in the field)

   no record

B. **POTS**

1. **Without necks**

   a. Spherical pots with thickened rims and flattened bases.

   Decorated. Height about 20 cms. (Figure XVI No. 69, SAN 932, Herschel, Thembu household)

   **Name and use:** no record

   b. Barrel-shaped pot with thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 17 cms. (Figure XVI No. 71 SAN 932, Herschel, Thembu household)

   **Name and use:** no record

   for cooking (museum records; judging by shape, this is unlikely)
c. Small sub-spherical pot with thickened rim and flattened base.
   Height about 12 cms. Decorated. (Figure XVII No. 73 SAM 8563
   Mdlokovana, Herschel)
   Name and use: no record

d. Narrow-mouthed barrel-shaped pots with rounded or cut rims
   and flattened or rounded bases. No decoration. Height about
   20 cms.
   Name and use: nkho (informants in the field)
   for beer (ditto)

e. Sub-carinated pot with thickened rim and projecting base.
   Height about 15 cms. Decorated with stamped design and burnished
   graphite. (Figure XVII No. 86 SAM 33.820 Herschel, Cape)
   Name and use: no record

2. With necks

   (i) Upright

   a. Jag-shaped pots with upright necks formed with poorly-defined
      point of inflection, thickened rim and flattened base. Height
      about 27 cms. (Figure XXI No. 102 SAM 8524, Telle Bridge, Herschel.
      Name and use: nkho (ingayi; Nguni) (informants in the field)
      no record

   b. Sub-carinated pot with upright neck formed with poorly-
      defined point of inflection, cut rim and cut base. Height
      about 30 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XXI No. 103 SAM 8536
      Majuba's Nek, Herschel)
      Name and use: nkho (ingayi; Nguni) (informants in the field)
      for beer (ditto)
C. BEAKERS

Pedestal-based beakers (Figure XVII Nos. 74, SAM 8464 Tjyindini, and 81; SAM 8562, Mdlokovana, both Herschel)

Height about 15-20 cms. Decorated with ochre, boot-polish and stamped designs.

Name and use: mpotjwana (mokirane; Hluvi) (informants in the field) for drinking

Decoration

Most of the pottery seen had no decoration, with the exception of some rims coloured with paint. Vessels made at a family pottery factory at Mdlokovana, Herschel were very well finished, with a high burnish, and polished with boot polish in addition. These vessels were decorated with stamped designs made with a small triangular stylus.

One of the pots, decorated round the mouth with triangles patterned with grooved lines, is coloured with red ochre over the rest of the body.

Fine ware is generally burnished, and in a few cases the use of ochre was seen. A drinking vessel is decorated with a "slip" of red clay.

System of Distribution

All of the pottery observed in use in this district was made by Basuto potters, and a great deal of it was said to have been bought at Basuto Hill. The potters interviewed brought their wares to the nearest store and bus-stop, where they would spend some time selling
them and taking orders. The vessels were paid for in cash, the prices varying with the size of the vessel; large beer-brewing pots cost up to R1.00 (10/-) and small drinking vessels 10-15 cents (1/- to 1/6).

Although basuto pottery was used throughout the district, Ngumi families used their own pottery terms.

**SECTION II - Literature**

No information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

Basuto potters in Herschel have a large market for their goods as the Nguni peoples of this region no longer make their own pottery but buy from them. The ring technique is the most common, but the typical Tsuwna technique of building from the widest diameter was also described by an informant.

- Vessels of the same type as those of Fokeng ware in this district are made, as well as better quality wares decorated with graphic designs and given a very high burnish. The latter are made expressly for sale in large cities.
D. Basuto in North-West Cape (undifferentiated)

A Basuto potter from Quthing, Basutoland, living at Matsheng in the Taung district was interviewed.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter at Matsheng.

Potters: The potter had been taught how to make pottery by her mother. She made it for sale as well as for her own use.

Materials: The potter collected a suitable clay from one of the pans near the village. She dug it dry and either crushed it in a mortar with an iron or wooden pestle, or ground it on a grinding stone. The material was then sieved and only the finest, which passed through the mesh, was mixed with water for use. A filler was added.

Tools:

1. As a support on which to build

   a flat stone

   a lid of a cooking pot

2. As a smoother

   the rib of an ox

3. For decorating

   (i) For graphic designs:

       a stone

   (ii) For stamped designs:

       a stone

   (iii) For burnishing:

       a stone
Technique: The potter works indoors and starts moulding the pot at its widest diameter. It is started and built up with rolls of clay, a number of which are joined to form each ring. The base of the pot is built onto the upper section when it has dried for a short while.

Drying: Pots are stored indoors, and covered with dry cloths for about two weeks before firing. The weather conditions affect the drying time; very great heat causes the pots to dry too rapidly and to crack.

Decorating: Ochre (letsoku) may be applied to pots after drying and before firing. Graphic designs are carried out while the pot is still wet. Grooved lines and stamped impressions were seen.

Firing: Sunrise and sunset are the best times for firing. If one pot is to be fired it is placed upside down on a level stretch of ground; if more, they are placed mouth to mouth on their sides, the important point being that the fire should not be allowed inside the pots. Dry cowdung is used as a fuel. It is packed around the pots and held in position with stones. The pots are left in the fire until it dies; they become red with black patches. Not many pots crack during firing.

Sealing/Testing: No information

Mending: Boka, a material dug from the ground, is used for mending cracks.

Pottery forms, names and uses
A. BOWLS

1. Without necks
   
   (i) Open-mouthed:
   
   Large bowls  (potter; Matshepeng)

   Name and use:  mohaniana (potter; Matshepeng)
   for cooling beer after first cooking,
   before fermenting (ditto)

B. POTS

2. With necks

   Pots with upright neck formed with poorly defined point of
   inflection.  Undecorated (Matshepeng)

   Name and use:  lehiswana (potter; Matshepeng)
   for beer or water; also used to transfer beer
   from large pot into drinking vessel (ditto)

C. BEAKERS

   Pedestal-based beakers.  Decorated. (Matshepeng)

   Name and use:  mpotswana  (potter; Matshepeng)
   for drinking (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

   No description

   Name and use:  moeta  (potter; Matshepeng)
   for making beer and holding it when strained.
   (ditto)
Decoration

Amongst the vessels seen only the beakers were decorated, both with ochre and a design outlined with grooved lines and patterned with stamped impressions.

System of Distribution

Pottery is bartered by specialists for kaffircorn or mealies.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

A Basuto potter from Quthing, living amongst the Tswana in the Taungs district, uses the ring technique in the manufacture of her wares, which she builds from the widest diameter to the mouth, completing the base last. She specialises in the manufacture of pottery utensils for her own domestic use and for sale to her neighbours.

From the description of the pottery given by the potter, and the wares seen, it appears that most of her wares are similar to those used in Basutoland, but that bowls used in the preparation of beer are also made. The pottery terminology is a mixture of Tswana and Sotho dialects. Only beakers were decorated.
BASUTO — DISCUSSION

With the coming of the European to Southern Africa, Basuto women acquired a reputation for their skill in the manufacture of pottery, probably engendered by their ability to imitate foreign wares. For, unlike many other Bantu people, the Basuto did not confine their craft to the making of domestic utensils for their own use, but also made bird-shaped vessels and copied Western ceramic- and glass-ware. Today, the Basuto are still known for their pottery, which amongst many of the women has become a source of income. In the Transkei, in particular, Basuto potters travel from place to place making pottery for Nguni tribes who no longer make their own. In Herschel, the Basuto inhabitants supply Nguni with earthenware domestic utensils. Basuto pottery is frequently seen for sale in large cities, and a potter interviewed at Butha-Buthe had a contract with a Durban agent for her wares.

The techniques used by the Basuto are mainly variations of the ring technique, sometimes combined with moulding from the lump. Basuto potters do not form distinct rings of clay before joining them to the vessel wall, as do the Shona, but attach each piece of clay immediately after rolling or forming it into a lump of the required size. The variations used are not particular to any tribe and are also used by some Cape and Natal Nguni. Building from the widest diameter, a typically Tswana method, and coiling, which is typically Swazi, were also described by informants.

Although a number of Basuto fire their wares in an open fire
most of them build a rudimentary "kiln" with stones around their wares. This method is not practised by any other Bantu potters, the nearest, but more developed, firing technique is that used by some Ambo tribes.

It is not possible to distinguish any of the pottery types as being typical of any of the tribal groups, the main types appear to be evenly distributed throughout Basutoland and are also made by Basuto potters in other regions.

Modern Basuto ware is not much decorated, but sherds of pottery found in the areas inhabited by the Basuto in the past show a large number of decorative techniques many of which differ from those practised today. Synthetic decorative materials are replacing traditional natural ones. It is interesting to note that the only decorative technique resembling the use of a slip found in Southern Africa, is used by Basuto of Herschel.

In conclusion it can be said that Basuto pottery is easily recognisable although there are a wide range of types, not all of which are domestic ware; that the same range of domestic vessels is made by most Basuto potters, whatever their tribe; that this range has been modified by contact with the European, and food bowls are no longer made; and lastly, that graphic and plastic decorative techniques used in the past, are now seldom seen.
32. **WESTERN TSWANA**

The following tribal groups form the Western Tswana sub-division of the Western Sotho (van Warmelo 1935). In some cases nothing is known of their pottery techniques, but examples of their ware have been studied. Also included in this section are the Sasura, Kxalaxadi and Kalanga people, who although not Tswana themselves, live amongst them.

a. **Thiharing**

This group was not visited.

**SECTION I - Field**

**Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses.**

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

2. **With necks**

   (i) **Upright:**

   Small spherical bowl with neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, flattened rim and rounded base. Height 12.5 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XV No. 118 Pitt R. 489, collected by Barnsall)

   **Name and use:** no record

3. **PUIS**

2. **With necks**
(ii) Everted:

a. Sub-spherical pots with short straight necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Height 25-30 cm. Decorated. (Figure LXVIII nos. 129, SAM 1968)

Name and use: nkgwana (museum records)

for serving beer (ditto)

b. Pot with short straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base, height about 30 cm. Decorated graphic design and colour. (Figure LXVIII no. 131 SAM 653 Langberg, Bechuanaland)

Name and use: nkgwana (museum records)

for serving beer (ditto)

Decoration.

The three examples of Telaping pottery seen are decorated by the application of ocre, lightly varnished, either over the entire outer surface of the vessel or in rough designs. The most elaborately decorated pot (figure LXVIII no. 129) has a wide band of fairly evenly spaced zig-zag lines, both grooved and consisting of deeply stamped impressions made with a very pointed stylus. Graphite, ocre and a white powder have been used to colour the upper section of the pot.

System of Distribution

Although no Telaping potters were interviewed during the survey, it was learnt that there were some living at Modimong, seven miles north of Taung. A Basuto potter interviewed at Matshego, in the Taung district, stated that she made pottery for sale to neighbours
who placed orders with her. She used a Tswana rather than Basuto
 technique (p. 264). There did not appear to be much pottery in use in
 the district.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

The following facts are recorded by Burc shall (1822-24: 416)
materials: Clay was well-kneaded and mixed with ashes and chopped
grass.

Firing: Pottery was burnt hard but not glazed or vitrified.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) open-mouthed:

       Straight-sided bowl, with rounded base. Capacity one and a
       half gallons. (Burc hall 1822-24: 32)

       Name and use: no record

       for cooking (Burc hall 1822-24)

2. With necks

   (i) unri cut:

       Sub-spherical bowl, with neck formed with well-defined point
       of inflection and rounded base. Height about 15 cms. Undecorated.

       Schulze 1907:628)
Name and use: **seyana** (Schultz 1907)

for fetching water (ditto)

**Decoration**

Thlaping pottery was described by Burchell (1822-24) as being well-shaped and neatly made, but he made no mention of decoration.

No further information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

Apart from the fact that there are still a number of Thlaping women who manufacture pottery, very little is known of the present state of this industry amongst them. The potters were not visited and there is no record of their techniques in the literature.

The very small range of pottery types, whether in museum collections or described in the literature, consists only of small, wide-mouthed cooking bowls, and bowls and pots with necks used for fetching water and serving beer respectively.

Decoration of these vessels takes the form of the application of ochre, burnishing and occasionally, graphic and stamped designs.
c. Huruthse

A Huruthse potter was interviewed at Makgudi, Maopesole, and another watched decorating a pot in the Zeerust District, near the Sechuanalaana border.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained at the interview and demonstration attended.

Potters: The potters are women, who learn the art from their mothers.

Materials: The potter at Makgudi uses anthill clay mixed with an asbestos-bearing ore, both raw materials being finely ground before they are mixed. After adding water, the potter kneads the mixture until it is the required consistency.
Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

Large vessels are built on the ground; no tool

2. As smoothers

rib of an ox
a piece of plank
a piece of calabash

3. For decorating:

(i) For graphic design:

a feather

(ii) For applying colour:

a feather

Technique: The potter at Mankgodi worked indoors, the one at Zeerust out-of-doors. Both potters make very large pots using the same method. The vessel is started at the widest diameter and built up to the mouth with roughly flattened pieces of clay placed in such a way that the height increases evenly. When this section has dried the potter turns it over, with assistance, and builds the lower part of the vessel onto it.

Drying: The pots are left to dry before firing.

Decorating: The potter at Zeerust decorated the upper section of the vessel both graphically and with colour before building on the base. No decorative techniques were described by the potter at Mankgodi.

Firing: The pots are placed in a dung-lined hole and covered
with more dung. The potter watches the firing adding more fuel if necessary. (Mankgodi)

Sealing/Testing: Cooked bran or the sticky substance obtained by cooking the root of the mogonono is smeared over the surface of the vessel to seal it. (Mankgodi)

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

3. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Spherical, bag-shaped and sub-carinated pots with short straight, everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded bases. Made in a wide range of sizes. Generally decorated with exception of very large sizes. (Figure XXIV No. 117 SAN 8723 Zeerust, Spherical; ELM H 25555 Zeerust, Bag-shaped; ELM H2554 Zeerust, Sub-carinated)

Name and use: no record

E. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Modern style carinated pot (ELM H2561 Zeerust, Transvaal)

2. Pottery copies of European crockery such as casserole dishes, jugs and vases are very popular in the district of Molepolole. These vessels are generally coloured with enamel paint.

3. Grain stores (sehala and polokelo) are still in use; although not made today. The potter at Mankgodi has two, one of which
she had made in 1934. These stores of unfired clay are built in much the same way as a hut, but with thinner walls over a foundation of sticks. They are built indoors and are slightly raised from the ground on wooden poles to prevent rats, mice and other pests getting into the grain. They have a capacity of from eighteen to forty-eight bags of grain.

**Decoration**

Both graphic design and the application of colour are used by Huruthse potters to decorate their wares. Graphic designs take the form of incised and grooved bands, either straight or crenulate, triangles, ovals and squares. These may be hatched, cross-hatched, stippled with stamped impressions or simply coloured with graphite or ochre. The majority of specimens seen were coloured with ochre, lightly burnished, either over the entire outer surface or above the widest diameter.

The use of store-bought paint to decorate pottery is very popular amongst the Huruthse in the Molepolole District. An entire vessel may be painted both inside and out in a plain colour, blue and green being the most popular, or it may be decorated with raised motifs painted white.

Generally speaking, Huruthse pottery is well-shaped, well decorated, even-walled, thick ware.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

Breutz records the use of pottery amongst the Huruthse of the
Zeerust (1953-54), Rustenburg and Pilansburg (1953) districts.

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are used by the hurutase of the Hurico District (Breutz 1953-54).

A. BOILS

1. Without necks

   No description

   Name and use:   (i) mothuba-thlogo (Breutz) 
                   for meat (ditto)

   (ii) potowane (Breutz)  
                   for serving food (ditto)

B. POTS

   No description.

   Name and use:   (i) nkgo/teaga  (Breutz)  
                   for beer  (ditto)

   (ii) nkgnane  (Breutz)  
                   for water  (ditto)

   (iii) pitsa/pitsana  (Breutz)  
                   for cooking  (ditto)

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made and used amongst the hurutase. The
Potters are specialists who learnt the art from their mothers and who make vessels for sale as well as for their own domestic use.

Both large and small vessels are built from the widest diameter up to the mouth, the base being completed with additional clay after the upper section has dried for a while. The pots are fired in a hole in the ground.

A very small range of pottery types is made, consisting only of small food bowls and pots with short everted necks made in a variety of sizes. A selection of pottery made in imitation of western utensils, such as casseroles, jugs and vases, has also been made by Huruthse potters.

Decoration is either carried out with graphic designs coloured with graphite and ochre, or else by painting the entire surface with enamel paint.

The effect which contact with Western civilisation has had, is reflected in the modern pottery shapes and the use of enamel paint as a decorative material.

Name, use and shape of vessels are closely related.

The above information applies to the Huruthse of Bechuanaland; although it is known that the Huruthse of the Transvaal use pottery very little is known of their wares and nothing of their techniques. Not all their pottery terminology is the same as that used by the Bechuanaland tribes.
32. WESTERN TSWANA

d. Ngwaketse

A demonstration given by a potter at Moswaana Cattle Post on the Lobatsi-Kanye road was attended, and the potter questioned.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at the demonstration and interview.

Potters: The potters are women, some of whom learn the art from their mothers. There are many potters in the Kanye district.

Materials: The potter fetches her own raw materials from deposits far from the cattle post. A brown and a grey clay are mixed to obtain a material of the correct consistency. The two substances are pounded before they are mixed, a preponderance of the grey clay being used. Water is added to the dry, crushed material and the mixture kneaded. The prepared clay may be either stored or used immediately.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

- the lid of an iron cooking pot placed upside down on a tin forms a support the height of a small table, at which the potter sits on a chair.

2. As smoothers

- For outer surface:

  - a smooth, shaped wooden tool (lengo; a rio)
3. For decorating

(i) For incised designs:

- a knife

(ii) For stamped impressions:

- a stick

(iii) For burnishing:

- a smooth stone

 Technique: The potter started moulding the vessel from the lump, increasing the height, by the addition of rolls of clay to the basic form. The everted neck was shaped with the hands and a piece of wood, and the rim cut with a knife. The base was finally shaped when the vessel had dried slightly and was cut off the support.

According to the interpreter this method was used only for small vessels; large ones being built from the widest diameter up to the mouth then inverted and completed to the base.

Drying: A short drying period of about twenty-four hours was necessary between shaping and firing.

Decorating: Graphic decoration was done after shaping, and colour applied a few hours later. The outer surface is sometimes rubbed with animal fat before the colour is applied. Ochre is bought in the lump from pedlars who obtain it from deposits in the Kalahari. It is then ground, mixed with water and applied with the finger. The black material is said to be manganese obtained from Kgwangwe mine, near Kayne. It is similarly prepared and applied. Burnishing completes the process.
Firing: Pots are placed in a specially dug hole about three feet deep, and covered with dung. The fire is lit in the evening and allowed to burn itself out. The pots are removed the following morning. Breakages are caused by too great a heat.

Sealing/testing: Porridge is cooked in new pots to seal them.

Mending: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

B. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Spherical and inverted bag-shaped pots with short everted necks formed with a well-defined point of inflection, cut rims and rounded bases. Made in a full range of sizes. Decorated with ochre and sometimes graphically. (Figures XXIII No. 111 SAM 1168 Kanye; No. 112 UCT 38.48 Kanye; Figure XXIV No. 113 SAM 8731 Kanye; No. 114 UCT 38.49; No. 116 SAM 1168 Kanye)

Name and use: Large size: tatelele (informants in the field) for brewing beer (ditto)

Medium:
Small sizes: nkwane (informants in the field)

Medium size: for storing beer and water (ditto)

Small size: for drinking (ditto)
Decoration

The use of ochre as a decorative material is very common.

The outer surface of a vessel is coloured and burnished from the mouth to a point approximately two-thirds of the way to the base.

Graphic decoration takes the form of incised patterns, either straight bands patterned with a triangular design (Figure XXIII No. 112) or bands of ovals (Figure XXIV No. 115) coloured with ochre or manganese.

A shiny area below the region of colour, probably due to the application of animal fat, referred to by the potter, was seen on a number of vessels.

Ngwaketse ware is on the whole, well formed and of even thickness. It is comparatively heavy and fairly well fired.

System of Distribution

The potter interviewed made large amounts of pottery which she took as far afield as Gaborones and Mafeking to sell. Pottery was made while she was staying at the cattle post. This seems to be the general practice as a batch of about twenty pots, of all sizes made by a Ngwaketse potter of Kanye were seen for sale at Lobatsi station. The potters pack their wares in sacks and travel with them, either by bus or train.

No further information in this section.

Section II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Stow (1905) describes the use of large grain stores with a
capacity of two hundred gallons and more.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

There are still potters amongst the Nguni; they are women,
most of whom learnt the art from their mothers and some of whom make
large quantities of pottery, most of which they sell.

Small vessels are moulded from the lump and large ones from the
widest diameter up to the mouth, the clay for the base being added
and shaped after a period of drying. Firing takes place in a hole dug
in the ground.

Most of the vessels are similar in type and are made in a range
of sizes. Pots are spherical or inverted bell-shaped and have short
everted necks, formed with a well-defined point of inflection.
These vessels are used for preparing, storing, serving and drinking
beer and as water containers.

Most pottery is decorated with red ocre applied over the upper
section of the outer surface and may in addition have a simple graphic
band design on the body just below the neck.

Contact with Western civilisation does not appear to have
affected either the shape or decorative style of this pottery.
32. WESTERN TSWANA

e. Kwena

A Kwena potter at Ntloedibe village, Molepolole was interviewed and the wife of the Kwena Chief showed the writer her range of pottery utensils.

SECTION I - Field
Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter interviewed.

Potters: Potters are women specialists who practice the craft as a means of supplementing the family income.

Materials: The materials used by the potter were a clay collected at Dithejwana, about ten miles away, and an asbestos-bearing ore. Each of these was pounded separately, mixed together in certain proportions and made into a "dough" by the addition of water.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build an enamel basin

2. As smoothers

   a piece of wood

3. For decorating

   (i) For graphic designs:

       a grass stem

   (ii) For burnishing:

       a stone

Technique: pots are started at the widest diameter and shaped to the mouth. They are turned over after a short period of
drying and the base is completed. The actual method of building is to place a number of flattened pieces of clay in a circle and smooth them together to form a cylinder, which is then shaped as required. The number of pieces of clay required at the start varies with the size of the vessel; two are enough for the smallest pots. After shaping, the vessel is given a final smoothing and is burnished.

Drying: Small pots need to dry for at least two days, the large sizes take about a week. Pots are left to dry in a sheltered spot indoors if it is windy, but otherwise out-of-doors in a shady place. Wind and sun cause the clay to dry too quickly and so to crack.

Decorating: Graphic decoration is done while the clay is damp; and ocher is applied before firing when the vessel is almost dry. The ocher is ground, mixed with water and applied with a piece of cloth. The potter at Kilقودي mentioned a black material, presumably either graphite or manganese, which was sometimes used for decoration, after firing. This material is now difficult to obtain.

Firing: The potter digs a hole about two feet six inches deep into which she puts the pots, on a layer of dry cow dung. A covering of tin is placed around the vessels to prevent the formation of black marks and dung is packed around this. The fire generally burns from six to ten o'clock in the evening but the pots are only removed the following morning.

Sealing/Testing: Several alternate methods of sealing were given:-

1. Pound ed melon seeds soaked in water are used to wash each vessel both inside and out.
2. Milk, if available, is sometimes used in the same way.

3. A handful of kaffircorn bran is rubbed over the pots both inside and out. The vessel is washed before use.

Mending: A large beerpot seen at Molepolole was mended with motu or boke; which was described as the moisture from a particular bulb mixed with fat.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

3. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Spherical and sub-spherical pots with short straight everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, and rounded bases. Made in a wide range of sizes. Very large sizes undecorated; others decorated with colour.

Name and use:

Very large sizes: tsaga/tutolela/tshekega (informants in the field)

for making beer (ditto)

Large sizes: nko (ditto)

for storing beer (ditto)

Medium sizes: ngaena (ditto)

for serving beer or making sour porridge (ditto)
Small sizes; *sejana* (ditto) for drinking (ditto)

**E. MISCELLANEOUS**

A large range of pottery vessels of modern shape, such as vases, jugs, casserole dishes. These vessels were painted, mostly lime green, gold and yellow, and ochre was sometimes seen on the same vessel. (Kwena Chief's place, Molepolole)

**Decoration**

The majority of traditional Kwena vessels seen was decorated with ochre only. The modern ware which they use, is decorated with enamel paint. No noteworthy designs were seen although potters mentioned tools for graphic decoration.

**System of Distribution**

A number of pottery specialists are still to be found amongst the Kwena. Pottery is made to order and sold for cash. In the past a system of barter was practised; a vessel was exchanged for the amount of grain it could contain. In the days when an ox was worth about R7.00 (£3.10.0), one was accepted in exchange for a very large beer-brewing pot.

In Molepolole pottery utensils are very seldom used anymore for fetching water although they are used for storage. Buckets and paraffin tins have replaced pottery for fetching water on account of their durability.

The Kwena Chief's wife said that many of the Kwena inhabitants of Molepolole, bought pottery from Kxalakudi potters, who lived in the
desert and brought their wares into town for sale. A number of utensils at the Chief's home was decorated with an unmistakably Kxalaxadi design.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

The following information is recorded by MacDonald (1940) who made a study amongst the Kwena of Tamposstad, fifteen miles North-East of Groot Marico and of Molepolole.

Potters: The potters are women who practice the art for extra income.

Materials: The clay is mixed with water and an equal amount of a particular soft stone, which is crushed. The mixture is well kneaded until it is the required consistency.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

   a potsherd

   a plate

   a dish

   a flat stone

   sometimes the potter works on the ground, with no support.

2. As smoothers:

   (i) For inner surface:

      a spoon

   (ii) For outer surface:

      a piece of plank
3. For decorating:

(i) For incising designs:
   a thorn

(ii) For applying colour:
   a piece of cloth

(iii) For burnishing:
   a stone

**Technique:** This is not fully recorded. The base is completed after
the pot has been shaped up to the mouth, and allowed to dry for a day.
The vessel is smoothed inside a day after completing the base, when
hollows in the surface are carefully filled in with clay and the
vessel is burnished.

**Drying:** Vessels are put indoors for a week to dry before firing.

**Decorating:** Before firing, pots may be coloured red with a preparation
made by pounding a certain soft stone and mixing the powder with water.
Incised designs are carried out before firing, when the pot is still
fairly soft.

**Firing:** A sheltered spot out of the wind is chosen for the fire.
A shallow pit, wide enough for six to eight pots is prepared, and each
pot is placed mouth up on three pieces of brick on a layer of dung.
All pots are filled with dry dung cakes and completely covered with
more dung. The fire is usually lit in the evening and the pots are
left in position overnight.

No further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

B. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Spherical pots with slightly flattened bases and everted necks. (Macdonald 1940)

Name and use: Large size: nkho (Duigan Cronin for storing beer (utto)

Decoration

No information beyond that given under Decorating (p.289)

System of Distribution

As pottery is a specialised craft there is a certain amount of trade within the group. Pots are generally exchanged for their content in grain, although a very small specimen may be expected to be filled twice or even four times. Pottery may be bartered for fowls, but money is preferred, the prices varying with the nature and size of the article (Macdonald 1940).

Conclusion

Pottery is still made by a number of Kwen women, although at Hlepolole a large amount is made by the Ksalaxadi. Pots are built from the widest diameter up to the mouth, turned over and the base closed by the addition and shaping of more clay. Firing takes place in a hole dug in the ground.

The range of traditional pottery types is very small; most vessels are spherical or sub-spherical with short everted necks, and they are
made in a variety of sizes.

Decoration was seen only on small pots, where it took the form of colouring with ochre, which was burnished.

Western contact has resulted in the manufacture of copies of modern European containers which are generally painted with enamel paint.
f. Mangwato

The Mangwato of Serowe were visited in September 1962. There were no well-known potters in the town but informants said that there were potters at Ratholo.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following facts were obtained from a Mangwato from Ratholo from whom a Mangwato pot was bought. According to him there were a number of potters in that district.

Potteries: The potters are women.

Tools: 2. As smoothers

an oxrib

Technique: The pot is started with four large pieces of clay which are joined together and shaped to the mouth. The base is completed when the upper section has dried slightly.

Firing: Wood is used as a fuel and is packed both inside and around each vessel.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses.

The following pottery types attributed to the Mangwato have been seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(ii) Incurved:
Shallow wide-mouthed incurved bowl with thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 7.5 cm. Decorated with stamped honeycomb pattern. (Figure XVII No. 127 UCT 36.8; Schofield (1943) classes this vessel with ancient pottery)

Name and use: no record

b. POTS

1. Without necks

Sub-spherical pot with rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cm. Decorated with red ochre. (Figure XVIII No. 136 UCT 35/126)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Large spherical pot with short, curved everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 40 cm. Undecorated. (Figure XVII No. 108 SAM 8757 Kotholo)

Name and use: pitsa (seller; museum records) for storing beer (ditto)

b. Spherical, sub-spherical, inverted bag-shaped and carinated pots with short compound or curved, everted necks formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Height 25-30 cm. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XVII No. 107 SAM 2048 Sueke; Figure XVII No. 125 UCT
35.28)

Name and use: no record
for carrying water (museum records)

C. Carinated pot with short, straight, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 28 cms. Graphic and coloured decoration. (Figure XXVII No. 126, UCT. 35.25)

Name and use: no record for carrying water (museum records)

(iii) Inward-sloping:

Spherical pot with inward-sloping neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Socket lid with knob. Decorated with moulded ridges and colour. (Figure XXVI No. 128, COP. G. 6523 Serowe)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

The examples pf pottery attributed to the Mangwato show three types of decoration:

1. Multiple stamping in a honey-comb pattern was used on a small bowl with a matt brown finish, of a type not made today.

2. Moulded vertical ridges were used on a pot of modern shape with a lid. The ridges surround the upper section of the body. Both moulded area and the rim are coloured with ochre.

3. The application of red and black decorative materials in designs, sometimes outlined with incised lines. The red
is ochre, the black either graphite or clay.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

No information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

Very few Mangwato potters are found today, none were known of in Serowe, where the majority of the population is Mangwato, but according to informants there are a few at Ratholo. These potters were said to build their vessels from the widest diameter, completing the base last, as do most other Western Tswana potters.

Four types of pottery were seen in the range of wares attributed to the Mangwato: a small shallow incurved bowl which was classified by Schofield (1948:128) as Class BP₁ ware; pots with short, everted necks which are of two types, spherical pots with curved necks and carinated and sub-carinated pots with straight necks. The former are almost undoubtedly made by the Kalanga or are imitations of their ware, the latter are more likely to be Mangwato, as a short straight, everted neck is characteristic of Western Tswana pottery. The two other types, one of which is a neckless pot and the other a pot of a modern shape, are not typical of the ware of either of these groups.

The decoration of the necked pots tends to support the suggestion that the curved, everted neck is made by the Kalanga and the straight type by the Mangwato, or at least the Tswana. Pots with curved necks are decorated with graphite and ochre,
and graphic designs outlined with incised lines, those with straight necks are coloured with ochre and black clay in designs similar to those found on Tlokwa and Kgatla pottery from Gaberones and Mochudi (cf. Figure XXXII Nos. 139 and 143)

Although the pot from Ratholo was said to be made by Mangwato, this too has a curved, everted neck, which suggests that these potters are also Karanga.

No terminology is recorded in the literature, and only the term pitsa, a Sotho one, was given by an informant in the field.
Kxalaxadi

The Kxalaxadi are believed to be of Tswana-Bushman origin (van Wunnello 1935). A very productive potter at Mathalwatshane, in the arid region west of Molepolele village was visited and found to be decorating her wares.

**SECTION I - Field**

**Technology**

**Potters:** A number of women specialise in the manufacture of pottery for sale in order to augment the family income.

**Materials:** The potter interviewed obtained her clay from a deposit near Lithejwane. This she mixed with an asbestos-bearing material from the same place. Both raw materials are pounded and mixed with water until the mixture is plastic.

**Tools:**

1. As a support on which to build an enamel dish

3. For decorating

   (i) For incised designs:
       a thorn

   (ii) For applying colour:
       a cloth

   (iii) ForBurnishing:
       a smooth stone
Techniques: The pot is started by making a flat, rectangular piece of clay the short edges of which are smoothed together to form a cylinder, which is then shaped as desired. The size of the vessel is increased by the addition of rolls of clay if necessary. The base is completed four or five hours later when the upper section has dried slightly.

Drying: The vessel is put to dry outside the hut in the shade before firing, for two or three days. Sun and wind cause the clay to dry too quickly and to crack.

Decorating: Graphic decoration is done with a thorn when the clay is wet, soon after shaping. Ochre (letsoku) is applied on the following day. The ochre is dug from deposits in the Ngwaketse Reserve and is bought by the potter. It is prepared by pounding and mixing with water to form a paint which is then applied with a piece of cloth.

After firing the pots are further decorated with enamel paints of different colours which are applied with a thorn within the limits of the incised design.

Firing: Pots are packed on their sides into a hole deep enough to contain them, and covered with fuel. Pieces of tin are used to hold the fuel in position over the pots. Dry cow dung and the bark of either of three particular trees which gives a hot and lasting heat are used.

monato: used by local smiths as a fuel
mosu: a thornbush with straight thorns
mokwa: a thornbush with curved thorns
The fire is lit in the evening and left until the following morning when the vessels are removed.

Sealing/Testing: Treating newly fired vessels by smearing kaffir corn over the inner and outer surfaces is said to be a traditional practice which also serves to close the pores of the vessel. The potter's small daughter helped with this chore.

Mending: The potter was unable to give any reasons for cracking of pots during firing. She used a mixture of cement and black paint or the gum of a root mixed with fat (motu/boka) for mending.

Pottery forms, names and types

The following pottery types were seen in the field:

B. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Spherical and sub-spherical pots with short, straight everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Made in a wide range of sizes. Decorated with graphic designs and colour. (Figure XVI No. 119 SAM 8734 Molepolole, Figure XVI No. 124, SAM 8735 Molepolole)

Name and use:

Large size: tsaga/tsagana (informants in the field)

Medium size: akwana (ditto)

Small size: sejana (ditto)

Large size: for making beer

Medium size: for storing beer or water (ditto)
Small size: no record

Decoration

The wares of the Kxalaxadi potters were beautifully shaped, well fired and finely and neatly decorated. Ochre was evenly applied and very well burnished. Incised designs were clear and neatly outlined and the use of enamel paint restrained and delicate.

System of Distribution

Kxalaxadi potters make not only for their own domestic use and for sale to neighbours of their own tribes, but also for sale to other Tswana tribes, particularly the Kwena of Molopo-lole.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

A number of Kxalaxadi women make pottery for sale, especially those in the neighbourhood of Molopo-lole where there is a large market amongst the Kwena.

A small range of pottery types is made; mainly spherical and sub-spherical pots with short straight everted necks in a large range of sizes. The distinguishing characteristic is the decoration of the vessels with incised designs, coloured very delicately with different colours of enamel paint, slightly below
the neck on the burnished red ochre background.

The names and uses of these vessels correspond with those used by other western Tswana tribes and apply to both size and function.
The Kalanga are people of Rhodesian origin believed to have lived in Bechuanaland for sixty to seventy years. Many Kalanga were interviewed at Serowe, amongst them four potters, two of whom gave demonstrations of shaping.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at interviews with Kalanga potters and their families at Serowe.

Potters: The potters are women, who in most cases learnt the art from their mothers.

Materials: The Kalanga do not use clay from termite heaps as do the Tswana. At least one of the potters collected clay at Shushong a distance of some thirty miles as the crow flies from Serowe. The importance of preparing the clay thoroughly was stressed. First the dry raw material is ground fine, one potter sieved it after grinding, and then very well mixed with water. No filler was used.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build an enamel dish a basket

2. As smoothers: a smooth piece of wood, specially shaped
3. For decorating

(i) For applying colour:

the forefinger

(ii) For burnishing:

a smooth stone

**Technique:** Two of the Kalanga potters interviewed described techniques identical to those of the Tswana potters, namely, building the vessel from the widest diameter towards the mouth with "bricks" of clay, onto which further pieces were added. After a short drying period the lower section is completed. A third potter, although she fashioned her vessel in the same way, showed that it was not necessary to add further clay to build the vessel up if she judged the amount of clay correctly. This potter claimed that she could, while smoothing and shaping the vessel, scrape out sufficient clay for a second pot. Another method partly demonstrated, was that of hollowing out a lump of clay to form the walls of a vessel, leaving a hole at the bottom, which was filled in later with rough lumps of clay, smoothed into alignment with the wooden spatula.

**Drying:** Pots are dried indoors for from two days to two weeks, sometimes covered with sacking to prevent rapid drying.

**Decorating:** Ochre is applied before firing, after the vessel has been well burnished. The ochre (*letsoku*), dug by the potters from a nearby river deposit, is ground to a powder, mixed with water and applied with the finger. This is the same method of
preparation and application as that used for graphite. This material is obtained from sides near the Shashe and Itokwane Rivers.

Firing: Vessels are fired on a stretch of level ground with wood packed around them. Very short firing times of between thirty and ninety minutes were given by potters, who claimed that the vessels become red hot within this time. Breakages are caused by poorly prepared clay or wrong firing temperatures.

Sealing/Testing: No practice of this type is carried out.

Mending: Cracks are mended with the gum of a tree mixed with paint (moka)

Pottery forms, names and uses

B. POTS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted: Spherical, sub-spherical and bag-shaped pots with short, curved, everted necks formed with well- or poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. A wide range of sizes is made. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure XXII No. 109, SAM 8750, Serowe; Figure XXVI No. 122, SAM 967, Serowe; No. 123, SAM 8751, Serowe, Figure XXX No. 135 Bechuanaland)

Name and use: Large size: tatolela (museum records) for brewing beer (ditto)

Medium size: nkzwane (informants in field) for beer or water (ditto)
pitsana (informants in the field) for cooking (ditto)
sevjrana (ditto) for water

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Large unfired storage bins (sehala). (informant in the field)

Decoration

The use of red ochre, well burnished, applied over the entire surface or the upper half of the outer surface is the most general form of decoration. Simple triangular designs outlined with incised lines and coloured with burnished graphite. One vessel has a zig-zag band of graphite.

Pottery is of a high standard, well formed and of medium thickness. It is usually well fired.

System of Distribution

Kalanga potters in Serowe make domestic ware both for their own use and for sale to the Bangwato who apparently no longer make their own pottery.

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

One of the potters attributed the fact that her pots had broken during firing to the death of three members of her family, since she had never had breakages before.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.
CONCLUSION

At Serowe there are a number of Kalanga women whose families have been settled in this area for several generations, who make pottery both for their own domestic use and for sale to Mangwato households.

The techniques described and observed were with one exception slight modifications of the Tswana method. In the exceptional case the potter moulded from the lump which she entirely hollowed and then formed the base with additional lumps of clay which she smoothed and shaped into position. This was the method for making small pots described by a Karanga potter in the Belingwe Reserve, Rhodesia. Kalanga and Tswana firing methods are also different.

Kalanga pottery is generally thinner walled and lighter in weight than that of the Tswana. Pots have short, curved, everted necks which are typical of Rhodesian Karanga pottery, and not short, straight everted necks which are a feature of Tswana ware.

Kalanga pottery is either decorated with ochre only or with graphic design, graphite and ochre. The latter form is very similar to that found on a number of examples of Karanga pottery from the Gwai Reserve, and Matopo Hills, Rhodesia. (cf. Figure LX No. 260 and 263)

It appears from this survey that although some Karanga potters have adopted the Tswana techniques and terminology, their ware is still distinctive and more reminiscent of Shona than of Tswana pottery.
i. Sasura

The Sasura of Peleng village, Lobatsi, are people of Rhodesian origin said to be related to the Korsten people of Port Elizabeth and to the group known as the Zulu in Serowe. The Masasura have been settled in Lobatsi for about ten years. A potter was interviewed at Peleng village.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

Potters: The potters are women, who make pottery for sale.

Materials: The potter collects dry clay from a source a long way from the village. The raw material is pounded and then ground finely and mixed with water. It is then ready for use.

Tools: 2. As smoothers

a piece of smooth, shaped wood.

Technique: A pot is started with two pieces of clay which are placed opposite each other, and joined together by smoothing, to form a cylinder. The size is increased by the addition of lumps of clay, smoothed into position with the wooden tool.

A roll of clay placed in a circle around the aperture of the formed vessel is shaped with the fingers and the smoother to form the neck. The base is finished after a short period of drying.

Drying: Each pot is kept indoors for at least a week before firing.
Decorating: Enamel paint is applied after firing.

Firing: A hole deep enough to contain the vessel is dug and lined with dry dung. The pots are put in position and entirely covered with more dung and the fire is lit. The pots remain in position for twenty-four hours.

Sealing/Testing: Vessels are said to be waterproof after firing.

Naming: No information.

Potter, forms, names and uses

Only duck-shaped vessels made as flower pots were seen. The names of other vessels given by informants are as follows:

Large size: meromo
Medium size: tsairongo
Small size: zibfuko
Duck-shaped: zamba
Generic term: hari

These are Shona and not Tswana terms.

System of Distribution

Pottery is one of the large number of industries practiced by the Sasara who have no agricultural activities, and concentrate on the manufacture of articles for sale in Lobatsi, and neighbouring villages as well as to passengers on trains passing through Lobatsi between the Republic and Rhodesia.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.
CONCLUSION

Amongst the Sasura, who are a trading people, who immigrated from Rhodesia recently to settle in Bechuanaland, there are a large number of women who make pottery for sale.

From descriptions by informants it seems that they use the Tswana techniques of building from the widest diameter, and of firing in a deep hole.

The range of pottery was not seen. Shona terminology is used.
Western Tswana tribes of the Transvaal are excluded from this discussion.

Pottery is made by women specialists amongst the Western Tswana and associated tribes in Bechuanaland. With the exception of a Ngwaketse potter, the Tswana tribes build all their wares from the widest diameter up to the mouth with roughly flattened pieces of clay, completing the base after the upper section has dried slightly. The Ngwaketse potter interviewed used this method for large pots but moulded small ones from the lump with the addition of rolls of clay to build them up to the required height. Most Kalanga potters used variations of the Tswana method but one of them entirely hollowed a lump of clay in the same way as that described by a Karanga potter from Belingwe.

The Tswana method of firing is to place the pottery in a hole deep enough to contain it. Dung was used as a fuel and firing took place slowly, the vessels being removed only when they were cold. The Karanga method is entirely different, a wood fire is built on a level stretch of ground, and firing takes only from sixty to ninety minutes.

Western Tswana pottery, excluding that of the Mangwato consists mainly of spherical pots with short, straight everted necks made in a wide range of sizes. Most pots are coloured with ochre and sometimes with incised and stamped designs as well. Karanga pottery although also consisting of spherical pots of various sizes is characterised by short, curved, everted necks, a feature common to
Shona ware. This link with the Shona is also shown by their decorative style, which, although they use the same decorative materials and techniques as the Tswana, is closer to that of the Shona.

Mangwato pottery, which has a carinated or sub-carinated profile, is closer in form and decoration to that of the Eastern Tswana than the Western.

Amongst the Western Tswana, especially those living in the southern districts a great deal of pottery of modern shape, decorated with enamel paint is made. This ware is extremely popular.

Pottery is widely used, mainly in the manufacture of beer and for storage of beer and water. On account of their durability paraffin tins and buckets have largely replaced pottery containers for transporting water. Both water and beer, however, are stored in pottery because it keeps the liquids cool and fresh.

The same terminology is used by all the Western Tswana tribes of Bechuanaland and the Kalanga. The Sasura, who are the most recent immigrants, use the Shona pottery terms.
33. EASTERN TSWANA

Only Kgatla and Tlokwa were visited on a trip to Bechuanaland in 1962. None of the tribes living in the Transvaal were visited.

a. Kgatla

Four Kgatla potters were interviewed in the field; two at Mochudi, where one of them taught pottery at the local Handicraft School; one at Kwarape Pan, a cattle post in the same district; and the fourth at Thamaga in the district of Molepolole.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained from the potters interviewed.

Potters: The potters are women specialists who make pottery for sale as well as for their own use.

Materials: A clay deposit on the west side of Mochudi was used by two of the potters, one of whom transported the raw material by sledge to Kwarape Pan, some thirteen miles away, where she made her pots. The potter at Thamaga used ant hill clay. It is not known where the other potter obtained her clay. All the potters used a filler. Both filler and clay were stamped to a fine powder before being mixed together and made plastic by the addition of water.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

- an enamel basin (Thamaga)
- an iron pot lid (Handicraft school)
2. As smoothners

an oxrib (Handicraft School)

a smooth piece of wood (Thamaga)

3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:

the blade of a knife (Thamaga)

(ii) For applying colour:

an hare's foot (Thamaga)

(iii) For burnishing:

a smooth stone (Kwarape Pan, Thamaga and Handicraft School)

Technique: The potter at Thamaga started vessels at the widest diameter and worked them up to the mouth, completing the base when the upper section had dried slightly. Two of the others, the teacher at Kochndi and the potter at Kwarape Pan, started at the widest diameter and worked towards the base, building the upper section onto the slightly dried base. The actual building and shaping techniques used by all potters were the same. A number of flat pieces of clay were placed on edge and joined together to form the basic shape, to which lumps of clay were added to build the vessel to the required height. At the Handicraft school the girls were taught to close the small hole at the base of the vessel which remained after shaping, with a ring of clay, the edges of which were smoothed inwards to meet each other.

Drying: A period of from three to ten days elapsed between shaping and firing to allow the pots to dry. Vessels are generally placed indoors and are sometimes covered with sacking during this period.
Decorating: The potter at Thamaga decorated her pottery with incised designs as soon as she had shaped the vessel; she was the only one who mentioned this type of decoration. Colour was applied by all potters when the vessel had dried slightly. The Handicraft School bought ochre from Saulspoort, Thamaga or Moshupa at a cost of 5/- for a piece approximately the size of a tennis ball. The potter at Thamaga bought it from Kxalaxadi salesmen and the Kwarape Pan potter bought both red and yellow ochre from the Bakgatla Store, Mocnudi. Colour is mixed with water and applied as a thickish paste which is burnished after application. The potter at Thamaga rubbed the surface of the vessels with sheep's fat before applying the colour. No graphite was seen either in use or on finished articles, and according to an informant it is now very expensive.

Firing: The pots to be fired are placed in a deep, dung-lined hole, on their sides (Kwarape Pan, Thamaga) and in some cases supported on three stones. Shords and pieces of zinc are packed around the pots and the pile is covered with dung. The number of vessels fired at a time depends upon the amount of available fuel; it is possible to process as many as thirty pots at once. The fire is generally lit in the evening and allowed to burn itself out. The pots are removed the following morning.

Sealing/Testing: The potter at Thamaga described the following means of sealing new pots:

1. Pouring liquid porridge into the pot and smearing it over the outer surface.
2. Smearing hot cooked bran over inner and outer surfaces of pot.

3. Smearing the substance obtained from the roots of the mogonono over the inner and outer surfaces of the vessel.

No further information in this section.

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**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

1. Without necks.

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   Wide-mouthed bowl with flattened, thickened rim and short projecting base. Height about 12 cm. Decorated with colour applied in designs. (Figure XXXII No. 143 UCT 61/E36)

   **Name and use:** no record

   (ii) **Incurved:**

   a. Large wide-mouthed incurved bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Very thick-walled, undecorated ware.

   (Plate XVII No. 43 Kwarapa Pan, Mochudi)

   **Name and use:** lefwswa (potter; museum records)

   no record

   b. Sub-convoluted bowl with rounded rim and flattened base.

   Height about 15 cm. Moulded and coloured decoration.

   (Figure XXXII No. 138 SAM 8748 Mochudi)

   **Name and use:** sejana (guide; Mochudi)

   for eating from (ditto)
2. **With necks.**

(ii) **Everted:**

Sub-carinated bowls with short, straight, everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and flattened bases. Height 13-25 cms. One example has a double sub-carination. Decorated with colour. (Figure XXXII No. 139, UCT 61.35; No. 140, UCT 32.28 Mochudi; No. 142, UCT 32.29 Mochudi)

**Name and use:**
- Large size: kgamelwana (guide; Mochudi) for serving beer (ditto)
- Small size: tsagana (guide; Mochudi) for sour porridge (ditto)

B. **POTS**

2. **With necks**

(ii) **Everted:**

a. Very large sub-spherical and spherical pots, with everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Both decorated and undecorated types (Plate XX 55; Plate XVII No. 44)

**Name and use:**
- tsaga (large), setsega (small)

(informants in the field)

for storing or making beer, or for storing grain, (ditto)

OR

nkho (large, nkgwana (small) (ditto)

for storing water (ditto)
The largest sizes are sometimes sunk in the earth in the shade of the hut with a ring of clay plastered around them at ground level.

b. Wide-mouthed, carinated pot (borderline) with everted neck formed at point of carination, rounded rim and flattened base. Height about 28 cms. Decorated with red ochre and clay. (Figure XXXIV No. 145 Mochudi)

Name and use: no record

E. MISCELLANEOUS

A number of grain stores of different shapes were seen at Thamaga, Molepolole. They are still used but are no longer made. They were made of a mixture of clay and dung and were not fired. Stores with capacities of sixty and sixty-eight bags of grain were seen. These stores are known as sehalana. Very much smaller ones, of a portable size are known as popejane.

Decoration

Most of the Kgalagadi pottery seen, with the exception of some of the very large pots, was decorated with a burnished red ochre finish. The use of yellow ochre was also seen on pottery made at Kwarape Pan, where it was used in conjunction with red ochre (Plate XX No. 53).

The pottery teacher at Mochudi who made the sub-carinated bowl with moulded decoration, said that this type of decora-
ution was modern.

A black material, probably clay, was frequently used in designs on the red ochre finish of vessels.

System of Distribution

The pottery industry is busiest during the summer months when families move to their cattle posts. Large quantities of the pottery are brought into the towns for sale and to fulfil orders placed earlier. Vessels used to be bartered for the amount of grain they could contain, now a cash transaction is more common.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: Potters were women, who were to a certain extent specialists, as the craft was confined largely to certain families within which it was handed down from one generation to the next (Lestrade, In Duggan Cronin 1928, Schapera 1933)

Materials: Pot clay was separated from the earth by a process of gravitation in a winnowing basket (loselo); (Lestrade; In Duggan-Cronin 1928). (It is more likely that this "winnowing" process was to separate the coarse and fine clay.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a grass ring (kgare) (Duggan Cronin 1928)

Techniques: Pots were built from the widest diameter up to the mouth, with strips of clay (Lestrade In Duggan Cronin 1928)

No further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are used by the Kgatla of Mosothla. (van Zyl 1958)

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   No description

   Name and use: lengatana
                   for cooking
                   Lefiswana
                   for serving meat and vegetables

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   a. Large open-mouthed pot with rounded base and lid.

      Made in sizes with a capacity of from 1-8 galls.

      Name and use: pitsa
                   Large size: for cooking for feasts
                   Small size: for cooking family meals

   b. Smaller vessel of same type as A. above

      Name and use: pitsana ya sesaba
                   for cooking gravy or relish

   c. Narrow-mouthed, flat-bottomed pots. Capacity of up to 4 galls.

      Name and use: nkgo
                   for transporting water


      Name and use: motsega
                   for beer

   e. Pots of the same type as d. above, but smaller.

      Name and use: motsegana
                   for preparing yeast
E. MISCELLANEOUS

Grain stores built with a mixture of clay and dung. Oval in shape, with an aperture at the top covered with a lid of the same material, sealed with dung. A small aperture near the bottom from which the grain is obtained, is plugged with a piece of wood. A large specimen stands in a hut specially built for it and smaller ones under the eaves of the hut.

Decoration

No information in this section.

System of Distribution

Breutz (1953) states that the Kgatla of Rustenburg and Pilansberg were well-known for their pottery, which they also sold to neighbouring tribes.

Potters used to sell their wares for grain, the amount being determined by the capacity of the vessel. They also sold to European visitors for cash. Today, money transactions are usual with all buyers. The potters kept what they earned from their pottery, with the exception of a small sum which they sometimes gave to their husbands for delivering their wares. (Lestrade In Duggan Cronin 1928)

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made and used amongst the Kgatla of SothuanaLand and the Transvaal. The potters are women who specialise in the manufacture of utensils both for their own domestic use and for sale.
The building and shaping techniques of all the potters interviewed were found to be the same, and the method varied only in the fact that some potters shaped the upper half of the vessel first and others the lower section. At a handicraft school at Mochudi traditional pottery techniques are taught, but some modern shapes are made. Nothing is known of the techniques of the Transvaal branch of this group.

The range of pottery types is small amongst the Kgalagadi in BechuanaLand most of the vessels, both bowls and pots are sub-carinated or carinated, and have short everted necks. Pots of all sizes are made. The Kgalagadi of Nosetla make quite a different type of pottery; mostly pots without necks, according to van Zyl's descriptions.

Graphite is very scarce and many examples of pottery were decorated with designs coloured with what appears to be black clay. Most of the vessels are coloured with red ochre applied over the entire surface and yellow ochre is also used. Nothing is known of the decoration of Transvaal Kgalagadi wares.

In BechuanaLand the pottery terms, with few exceptions, are the same as those used by the Western Tswana tribes; a different terminology is, however, recorded by van Zyl amongst the Kgalagadi of Nosetla. In both cases, the name of the vessel appears to be connected with function and shape.
The following headings are those of individual tribes which have not been classified into groups by van Warmelo (1939).

b. Kwena

The Kwena were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following example of Kwena on Sehoga pottery was seen in a museum collection.

A. Bowls

2. With hooks

(ii) Everted:

Carinated bowl with everted neck, formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and flattened base. Height 9-12 cms. Decorated with colour.

(Figure XXXII No. 141 SAN 87/96 Rustenburg)

Name and use: rkgwana (museum records)

no record

Decoration

The bowl is coloured brown on the outer surface and is very well burnished; it has not been possible to identify the decorative material.

No further information in this section.
SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are mentioned or described in the literature.

A. HoUs

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Wide-mouthed spherical bowl with short, straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded base. (Dorman 1925)

Name and use: no record

for water (Dorman 1925)

B. Pots

Breutz gives the following uses and names of pots used amongst the Kwa of Rustenburg and Pilansburg (1953) and Venterdorp (1954-5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Rustenburg and Pilansburg Name</th>
<th>Venterdorp Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for beer</td>
<td>nkgo</td>
<td>moeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for water</td>
<td>ngwana</td>
<td>lehiskwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for medicine</td>
<td>pitsanyana</td>
<td>no record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for cooking</td>
<td>pitsa</td>
<td>no record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no record</td>
<td></td>
<td>nkgo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decoration

No information in this section.

Distribution

Some women in the Rustenburg and Pilansburg Districts specialise in the manufacture of pottery (Breutz 1936).

CONCLUSION

The Eastern Kwena were not visited, and the only examples of their pottery observed were collected in the Rustenburg district in 1936. It is known from literary sources that the Kwena of Rustenburg, Pilansburg and Venterdorp do in fact make and use pottery, but there is no record of their techniques or the range of pottery in use.

Different terminology is used by the Kwena of Rustenburg and Pilansburg, and Venterdorp.
c. Phalane

The Phalane were not visited.

SECTION I – Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II – Literature

Breutz (1955) states that locally made pots are to be found in most Phalane homesteads in the Rustenburg and Pilansburg Districts, although some are bought from other tribes.

No further information in this section.

d. Phiring

The Phiring were not visited.

SECTION I – Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II – Literature

Breutz (1955) records that pottery is made by Phiring in the Rustenburg and Pilansburg Districts but that it is also imported from the bushveld. (Breutz classes the Phiring as western Tswana)

No further information in this section.

e. Taung

The Taung were not visited.

SECTION I – Field

No information in this section.
SECTION II - Literature

Breutz (1953) records that pottery is still used for beer and water by Taung in the Rustenburg and Pilansburg districts. The Taung (Mobena) buy what they require from other tribes, and there is no record of other Taung tribes making their own clay utensils.

No further information in this section.

f. Po

The Po were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

No information in this section.

g. Hlulerwa

The Hlulerwa were not visited.

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

In the Venterdorp District there are a few potters who make vessels of various sizes (Breutz 1954-55).

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following names and uses of pottery vessels are given by Breutz (1954-55).
(i) moeta (ii) lehiswana (iii) nkpo
for beer for water no record

No further information in this section.

a. Mulete

The Mulete were not visited.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

B. POTTERY

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Sub-carinated pots with short, straight everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and flattened bases. Height 25-30 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure XXV No. 120, UCT 39.131 kambotsa, No. 121, SAM 5532 kambotsa)

Name and use: no record

E. MISCELLANEOUS

A number of pottery vessels of modern shape, such as vases with carinated body and everted neck, jugs with or without short pointed legs and lids, and carinated pots with legs. These vessels are decorated with red ochre and a black material, and with incised motifs.
Decoration

The use of red ochre, well burnished, appears to be the most common form of decoration. The ochre is applied over the entire surface of the vessel and on one example there is a crenulate band of a white colour outlined with a black material, possibly clay.

The modern-shaped vessels are decorated with red ochre and crenulate bands and strange symbolic-type motifs in black.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

The Malete wa Nokgobiwa of the Marico District make pottery for their own use (Breutz 1953-4).

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Breutz (1953-4) records the names and uses of the vessel types used by the Malete wa Nokgobiwa of the Marico District.

(i) nkgo          (ii) nkayana       (iii) pitsanyana
        for beer          for water        for medicines

(iv) pitsa
        for cooking; mostly replaced by three-legged iron pots.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The malete of Marico still manufacture pottery for their own use, but there is no record of their techniques nor the
range of pottery types they make.

The Kaloete of Bechuanaland made and used pottery in 1932 but it is not known whether they still do so. A few examples of their pottery from Ramotswa resemble Kgatla specimens in that they are sub-carinated with short everted necks, and have a burnished red ochre finish.

A wide variety of utensils in imitation of Western crockery and of the traditional type with the addition of legs and lids, have also been attributed to the Kaloete.
33. EASTERN TSWANA

5. Tlokwa

The Tlokwa of Gaberones, Shumannaland were visited in September, 1962 and a potter interviewed.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter at Gaberones at a demonstration and interview.

Potters: The potter had learnt the art from her mother. She made domestic ware for her own use and for sale to other women in the village.

Materials: Anthill clay is mixed with a proportion of another material to strengthen it. Both materials are ground finely on a grinding stone, the filler being kneaded into the clay, when it has been mixed to a plastic consistency with water. The clay is then ready for use.

The potter insists on collecting the clay herself, although she accepts help with its transport to her home.

Tools: 1. As a stand on which to build

   the lid of an iron cooking pot

2. As smoothers

   a piece of flat wood; specially shaped

3. For decorating

   For furnishing:

   a smooth stone
Technique: A large piece of prepared clay is kneaded on an old grain mat, then rolled and flattened into a simple wide, flat strip which is arranged on its edge around the rim of an iron pot lid. If the ends do not meet, another flattened piece of clay is put in to complete the circle. This shape is then smoothed upwards, first with the hands (Plate XVIII No. 45) and then with the smoother (Plate XVIII No. 46). The lid is turned by its handle during the process. The potter then shapes the vessel with very wet hands, swelling its shape by applying pressure from the inside with one hand, while the other supports the wall on the outside. The neck is everted in the same way, and small pieces of wet clay are added to even the edge. A wet cloth is then tied around the lower part of the wall to keep it damp enough to work, and the vessel is set aside to dry for a few hours (Plate XVIII No. 47).

To complete the base, the vessel is inverted and the support removed (Plate XVIII No. 48); without the addition of clay the potter smooths the walls inwards with the smoother, (Plate XIX No. 49) the pot being lifted and turned when necessary. When the aperture has been decreased as much as possible an extra ring of clay, slightly flattened, is added (Plate XIX Nos. 50 and 51) and smoothed inwards to close the hole entirely (Plate XIX No. 52). A small smooth pebble is used to complete the smoothing.

Drying: Each batch of pottery is covered while it is very wet and set aside to dry for about two weeks.
Decorating: Pottery is coloured red with ochre (*letsoku*), obtained from Ramoutsa. A very small amount of it is prepared at a time. It is ground, wetted and smeared onto the surface of the pot, which is then burnished. Each section of the vessel is coloured separately as it reaches the correct dryness.

Firing: The hearth is a hole lined with dung. The pots are placed on their sides with mouths facing one another; the small ones are put inside the large ones, and the heap covered with dung. The fire is lit at about five o'clock in the evening and stoked until ten. It is then left until about noon the following day, by which time the pots are cold and are removed from the ashes. A few breakages occur; these are the result of the use of unsuitable clay or poor preparation of the correct clay.

Mending: Cracks are mended with cement softened with raw linseed oil.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Small hemi-spherical bowls  (Potter's place, Gaberones)

   Name and use: *moko:jwane* (potter; Gaberones)

   for porridge, after cooking (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   Spherical pots with cut or rounded rims and rounded bases.
Height about 25 cms. Decorated with colour. (Gaberones)

**Name and use:** kamelwana (potter; Gaberones)

for measuring (ditto)

2. With necks:

(ii) Everted:

Sub-carinated pots with everted necks, formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded or flattened bases. Height 13-40 cms.

Large sizes undecorated, small sizes coloured.

(Figure XXXII No. 144, UCT 35/197 Gaberones)

**Name and use:** Large size: teaga (potter; Gaberones)

for storing and making beer (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Grain stores of cattle dung and ash made in the form of a hut, either thatched or sealed at the top with a clay mixture. These stores hold about two hundred pounds of grain. They are known as sehala. (Informants in the field)

**Decoration**

Apart from the use of red ochre on the outer surface of the pots, the only other decorative method observed was the outlining of designs with a black clay.

**System of Distribution**

The potters are specialists who make pottery for their own use and for sale to those who place orders. Pottery is made mostly during the early summer months when the climate is suitable and the potters are not too busy in the fields.

No further information in this section.
The Sedumedi group of Tlokwa in the Rustenburg-Pilansburg District no longer manufacture pottery of their own, buying what they need from other tribes; but the Kgosi group make their own (Breutz 1953). Nothing is known of the techniques used by these potters, or of the type of pottery they make.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still used amongst the Tlokwa tribes both of Bechuanaland and the Transvaal, although not all of them make their own. Nothing is known of the techniques used by the Transvaal tribes, nor of the range of the pottery types which they use.

A Tlokwa potter at Gabriones built her pottery from the widest diameter towards the mouth, and completed the base after a short drying period.

Most common types amongst the Tlokwa of Bechuanaland are sub-curinated pots with short, everted necks, made in a range of sizes. Ochre is used to colour the outer surface and black clay applied in designs similar to those used by the Kgatla. Pots without necks are occasionally seen.

There appears to be no change in the shape or decoration of pottery types due to contact with the West.
The Eastern Tswana of both the Transvaal and Bechuanaland use pottery today.

In the Transvaal, in the Rustenberg and Pilansberg Districts the Kgatla and Kwena are best-known for their pottery which they sell to neighbouring Phalane, Taung, Po, and the Sedumedi group of the Tlokwa tribes. The Hlalerwa of Ventersdorp and the Malete of Marico make their own domestic utensils. There is no record of the techniques used by the potters of these tribes, and from the partial description of the vessels used by the Kgatla of Mosethla it seems that their pottery does not resemble that of the Bechuanaland tribes and that it is put to a wider range of uses. The pottery terms used by tribes in the Pilansberg Rustenburg and Marico Districts are different from those used in the Ventersdorp area, and both terminologies differ from that used in Bechuanaland.

Potters of the Kgatla and Tloka tribes of Bechuanaland were interviewed. The Malete were not visited and it is not known whether they make pottery today although it made and used by them as recently as 1932.

The Kgatla and Tlokwa techniques are, like those of the Eastern Tswana, variations of the method of building a pot from the widest diameter. Most potters build the upper section of the vessel first, but some Kgatla prefer to start by shaping the lower half. At the Tlokwa demonstration the same variation as that described by a Kalanga potter was seen; the vessel was started with two flattened rectangular pieces of clay, placed on edge and
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joined to form a cylinder which was shaped to form the entire vessel without the addition of clay, except to close a very small hole at the base. The Eastern Tswana use the same method of firing as the Western Tswana.

The pottery of the Eastern Tswana consists of a wider range of types than that of the Western group. Apart from making pots in all sizes, with short, straight, everted necks, which are mostly sug-carinated, they make; open-mouthed bowls, sometimes of enormous size; sub-carinated bowls and carinated pots. The range of modern shapes amongst Western Tswana was not seen amongst the Eastern tribes in the field, but a collection of vessels with "legs", lids, handles and spouts, was made from the Malete in 1932.

Decoration takes the form of the application of ochre, and sometimes of black clay applied in designs, as well. It is this latter form of decoration which is similar to that of the Mangwato. Moulded decoration was seen on one vessel, but this was said to be a modern innovation.

The pottery terminology used by the Eastern Tswana of Bechuanaland is far more comprehensive than that used by Western Tswana, but includes a number of the same terms.

Earthenware utensils are used mainly for storing beer and water, for making beer and for serving porridge.

A short, straight everted neck is common to some types of both Eastern and Western Tswana pottery, but those of the former can be distinguished from the latter by a sub-carinated or carinated profile.
34. **CENTRAL SOTHO**

The Central Sotho, frequently referred to as the Pedi, since the Pedi proper imposed their rule over Tau, Kwena, Koni and Roka tribes of the Central Transvaal, are not differentiated in this section.

The only people visited were those living in the vicinity of the Lulu Mountains. No pottery was seen at the homesteads, but they were said to use that made by the local Swazi (p.141).

**SECTION I e Field**

**Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

**A. BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed**:

   a. Large, straight-sided, wide-mouthed bowl with rounded base. Decorated with colour and graphic design.

   (BLM. H 2562 Boomplaats, Lydenburg)

   **Name and use**: no record

   b. Wide-mouthed bowl with pedestal base. Rough, undecorated ware. (Figure XXXVI No. 154, SAM 6159, Sekhukhuneland)

   **Name and use**: marosi/maroosi (museum records)

   for vegetables or as a lid (ditto)

   See also p. 341.
(ii) Incurved:

Bowls with rounded rims and rounded bases. Height 8-22 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design.

(Figure XXXV No. 148, SAM 6589 Lydenburg; Figure XXVI No. 153, SAM 6587 Lydenburg; Figure XXXVIII No. 159, B.M. 1933-1-93 Sekhukhuneland; SAM 6582, Lydenburg, not illustrated)

Name and use: Large size: letowa (museum records)

Medium size: letowana (ditto)

Small size: letowanyana (ditto)

no record

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Wide-mouthed inverted bag-shaped bowls with short, curved, everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and slightly flattened bases. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXVI No. 155, SAM 6578 Lydenburg)

Name and use: moetana (museum records)

for water (van Warmelo 1964)

b. Spherical bowl with short, curved, everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and straight projecting base. Height 12 cms. Stamped and coloured decoration. (Figure XXXV No. 151, Transvaal)

Name and use: no record
B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Pots with carination at the widest diameter, thickened rims and flattened bases. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXVIII No. 160 AFRIK 59/2334A Sekhukhuneland)

Name and use: No record for carrying water (museum records)

b. Spherical pot with rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXVIII No. 161, AFRIK 58/1649 Pietersburg)

Name and use: No record

c. Barrel-shaped pot with cut rim and flattened base. Height about 17 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXVIII No. 162 BM. 1933 1-9-5 Sekhukhuneland)

Name and use: No record

2. With necks

(i) Everted:

a. Inverted bag-shaped vessels with curved, everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 31 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXV No. 146, SAM 6577 Lydenburg)

Name and use: moeta (museum records)

for water (van Warmelo 1964)
b. Inverted bag-shaped pots with curved, everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXV No. 147, SAM 6579 Boomplaats, Lydenburg)

Name and use: selepana (museum records)

no record; according to van Warmelo (1964) "selepa" literally means Lemba custom; and therefore in connection with pottery denotes pots without necks as in the Lemba style.

c. Inverted bag-shaped pots with curved, everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and slightly flattened bases. Height about 19 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXVII No. 157, SAM 6580 Lydenburg)

Name and use: sedibelwana (museum records)

for serving savoury or storing fat

(van Warmelo 1964)

Decoration

Most of the pottery studied came from Boomplaats, Lydenburg, and the decoration was very distinctive. All this ware was coloured with highly burnished graphite and ochre, the former being applied over the greater part of the outer surface, and the latter being used to colour the designs which were outlined with deep, wide, grooved lines. Most of the vessels had three grooved lines forming either an arcade design or a horizontal band. Below this pattern, which was at the base of the neck, there were
either wider bands, with triangles outlined within them, or single oval and triangular motifs at intervals around the vessel. The deep, oval impressions found on the pottery made by the Swazi of Sekhukhuneland were also sometimes used.

A second type of decoration, also polychrome, and very reminiscent of Lemba or Venda pottery was used on a range of neckless pots collected between 1931 and 1959 mostly in Sekhukhuneland. (Figure XXXVIII Nos. 159-162) The designs on these vessels consist mainly of triangular- and diamond-shapes and hatched bands.

A small spherical bowl with everted neck was decorated with horizontal lines and triangles outlined with stamped impressions, and also coloured with graphite and ochre. This was the only example of this type of decoration seen.

System of Distribution

Much of the pottery used by the tribes of Sekhukhuneland is made by the Swazi who live on the Lulu Mountains (p. 141), although the tribes of the Nebo district, who are Sotho, make their own wares which are said to be similar in shape and colouring to those made by the Swazi, but with a rougher finish (Venter in lit. 17/9/1964)

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

The following information concerning the use of the pottery lid (mambo) is recorded by Barnard (Africana Museum
records, Johannesburg).

"In the old days it was customary to sacrifice the weakest of the twins, which was placed in an earthenware pot and covered with this (the marosi) and buried in a vlei or another damp place. The mother was appeased by being told that this would ensure rain and prosperity."

"The Marosi was also used in connection with war. After a battle and at the dance of the assegai, if a warrior had killed an enemy he would be honoured at a gathering at the chief's or headman's kraal. A circle was formed and the hero was made to take meat placed in the marosi using his mouth only, his hands being tied behind his back. For amusement the marosi would be pulled away and the hero would have to hop after it. This was done to give the hero courage or to regain his nerve so that he would not be molested by the spirit of the victim."

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: The potters were women specialists who learnt the art from their mothers. The potter was a highly respected member of the community, who was referred to as mmopi wa dipitsa (Quin 1959)

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are described and sometimes illus-
treated in the literature.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Hemi-spherical bowl with a capacity of about 1-2 pints. Rough undecorated ware. (Quin 1959 Plate 107)

      Name and use: thiswana (Quin 1959)

      for serving relish to men (ditto)

   b. Shallow, saucer-shaped dish. (Quin 1959)

      Name and use: sekhurumâlô (Quin 1959)

      (i) lid for cooking pot (ditto)

      (ii) for relish for women and children (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   a. Wide-mouthed, near-spherical pots with rounded bases.

      Made in two size ranges; 1-2 gallons and ½-½ gallon.

      No decoration. (Quin 1959 Plate 107)

      Name and use: Large size: pîtsa (Quin 1959)

      for cooking everything except milk and relishes (ditto)

      Small size: pîtse (ditto)

      for cooking meat and relishes (ditto)
(Quin 1959 Plate 105)

Name and use: nkgo (Quin 1959)
for brewing beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Wide-mouthed spherical pots with upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, with rounded bases. Made with capacity of from 5-20 gallons. Sometimes with stoppered hole in the bottom. Undecorated. (Quin 1959, Plate 105)

Name and use: Large size: nkgo (Quin 1959)
for brewing beer (ditto)

Small size: nkgwana (ditto)
for beer (ditto)

"Stoppered type": nkgwana ya maswi (ditto)
for preparing curdled milk; whey is drained through the hole in the bottom (ditto)

When damaged: mokgeré (ditto)
for storing dry beans (ditto)
b. Inverted bag-shaped vessels with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and rounded bases. In two size ranges; 1-2 gallons and 2-3 gallons. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Quin 1959, Plate 106; Duggan Cronin 1928, Plate XLVII)

Name and use: Large size: mošta (Quin 1959) for carting and storage of beer (ditto)

Small size: moštana (ditto) for training young girls to carry water (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

Vessel types described under Upright a. and b. are also made with curved, everted necks formed with a poorly defined point of inflection. They have the same names and uses.

c. Spherical pots with wide mouths, curved, everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded or flattened bases. One example illustrated by Schofield (1948) has three short legs. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Quin 1959, Plate 105; Schofield 1948, Plate XIII Nos. 1 and 2 Pretoria, and No. 7 Sekhukhuneland)

Name and use: lefiswana (Quin 1959) pitsa (Schofield 1948) for serving beer (Quin 1959)
d. Spherical pot with short, curved, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 18 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIII No. 8 Lydenburg)

Name and use: no record

C. BEAKERS

Tumbler-shaped drinking vessels. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIII No. 5 Lydenburg)

Name and use: no record

for drinking (Schofield 1948)

D. MISCELLANEOUS

Other vessels mentioned by Quin (1959) which it is not possible to classify are as follows:

a. moruswi; generally used for boiling milk, but sometimes as a mixing bowl.

b. tshikwana; used exclusively as a fresh milk container.

Decoration

According to Schofield (1948: 199) typical Pedi pottery was decorated with a "comb" made from a piece of gourd rind, with a notched edge, with which the arcade design was easily outlined. Two of the vessels which he illustrates (Plate XIII Nos. 1 and 2) are decorated with stamped lines, the one in an arcade design and the other with a design consisting of horizontal lines and of triangles. The other two illustrated pots
are decorated with the same two basic designs, but they are outlined with incised or grooved lines, not stamped.

Photographs by Duggan Cronin (1928 Plate LXVII) show vessels decorated with the band and triangle design illustrated by Schofield or the arcade design illustrated by Quin (1959 Plate 106) and found to be made by the Swazi potters of Sekhukhuneland (cf. Figure XXXIX No. 163-165).

All fine ware is decorated with burnished ochre and graphite (Schofield 1948) but the cooking and beer-brewing and storage pots photographed by Quinn are undecorated.

System of Distribution

The potters are specialists (Quin 1959).

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use.

Quin (1959) records the following information:—

"During the first year of her married life, the Pedi bride is referred to as a ngwetsi and is virtually a slave to her mother-in-law being responsible for the cooking of her entire household. During this period she is not permitted to have her own hearth but uses that of her mother-in-law. After she has served her apprenticeship, her mother-in-law presents her with the traditional cooking pot (pitsa) as a token that she is now worthy of the status of a housewife and entitled to her own hearth."
"Hospitality and food are virtually synonymous with the Pedi and it is tradition that upon arrival, irrespective of the time of day, a visitor or stranger will not be asked whether he or she is in need of food, but the housewife will forthwith commence cleaning the cooking pot. If food is required she will be allowed to proceed with the preparation, otherwise she is stopped."

"The Pedi woman does not hide food for her husband but it is tradition that with a beer party, a small clay pot (mogtana) or gourd vessel (lesatha) full of beer is cached as a surprise for her husband after both beer and friends have departed. The Pedi refer to this beer as phiho."

CENTRAL SOTHO (undifferentiated) - DISCUSSION

The Central Sotho still use pottery although it is not always of their own manufacture. The Swazi of Sekhukhuneland provide the Sotho families in that vicinity with domestic ware.

No Central Sotho potters were met and there is no record of their techniques in the literature.

Quin's descriptions and illustrations of the pottery types used by the Pedi, show three main types of vessel; open-mouthed bowls, which are undecorated, large neckless pots, also undecorated, and pots with short, everted or upright necks, the finer examples of which are decorated with both colour and graphic design. Examples of the bowls and rough-surfaced vessels were not seen in either the field or museum collections, but the fine, necked pots and bowls were decorated in the same way as the
pottery made by the Swazi on the Lulu Mountains of Sekhukhuneland.

Polychrome pots with slight necks decorated with a band and triangle design are attributed by both Schofield and Duggan Cronin to this group.

Another range of polychrome pottery collected in Sekhukhuneland between 1933 and 1959, consists of neckless pots (spherical, carinated and barrel-shaped) and an incurved bowl. In decoration this ware is more reminiscent of Lemba or Venda pottery than that of the Sotho, although the shapes, with the exception of the spherical pot, are not typical of either. It may be that this pottery was made by a group of people from the Zoutpansberg who moved south and became incorporated in the Central Sotho.

Quin (1959) describes the use of pottery for serving food and beer, for cooking, brewing, storing milk and beer, and for carting and storing water. From the terminology which he gives it appears that the vessels are named according to shape, size and use.

European influence may have resulted in the addition of three short legs to some pots, and the manufacture of tumbler-shaped beakers, but these types have been found at archaeological sites (Schofield 1948) and are not very recent innovations.

No clear picture of the Central Sotho pottery traditions emerges from the above information. It seems, however, that the arcade design, said to be typical of true Pedi pottery, has now become characteristic of the pottery of all these tribes.
including that of the Swazi of Sekhukhuneland. There is no resemblance between the modern ware of the Central Sotho and those of the Tswana or of the Basuto.

35. **EASTERN SOTHO**

No information in this section.
36. NORTH-EASTERN SOTHO

a. Phalaborwa

The Phalaborwa were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Mr. du Toit, previously Ethnologist at the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria who was doing a survey of the Phalaborwa tribes gave the only information collected in connection with this group. According to him the Phalaborwa no longer make their own pottery but buy what they need from neighbouring Tshangana, Ndebele and Sai tribes.

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are used by the Phalaborwa (du Toit; verbal information)

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks
   a. (i) Open-mouthed:
      a. Wide-mouthed bowls.

      Name and use: no record
      for washing (no longer in use)

   b. Deep bowls with rounded bases and serrated inner surface.

      Decorated with simple hatched band.

      Name and use: seeta sa letsoku
      for grinding tobacco for snuff
c. Small, shallow wide-mouthed bowls with rounded bases.

Decorated with graphic design.

Name and use: seriswana

for serving meat and vegetables

3. POTs

1. Without necks

a. Large sub-spherical pots about 55 cms. in height.

Name and use: nkg(h)o

for storing beer

c. Pots about 37 cms. in height. Enamel dish used as lid.

Name and use: thala

for making and storing marula beer

c. Spherical pots. Height about 20 cms.

Name and use: mokgelo

for sour porridge

C. MISCELLANEOUS

Pot. No further description.

Name and use: selelelo

for carrying beer or water

Decoration

Cooking pots have only a simple incised design; a single horizontal line is most common. Beer pots are generally decorated with colour, ochre (letsoku) and graphite (pomo) as well as incised designs made with an awl, thorn, piece of wire, or a grass stalk.
System of Distribution

The Phalaborwa buy pottery from neighbouring tribes (p. 351)

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

As part of rain and ancestor rites new pots, pita(ne) ya pula, are buried at the foot of the marula tree.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

According to our informant, the Phalaborwa used to make their own pottery, but no longer do so, preferring to buy what they need from neighbouring tribes.

There is no record of the techniques previously used by Phalaborwa potters and no examples of their pottery have been observed. From descriptions of the pottery given by Mr. du Toit it seems that open-mouthed bowls and spherical pots are the most widely used, and that these have a wide range of uses.

The pottery terminology is very similar to that used by the Lobedu and since they buy their pottery from Tsangana, Ndebele and Sai, it seems that they have retained their own terminology.
36. NORTH-EASTERN SUTHO

b. Lobedu

The Lobedu at Kodjadji's kraal, Duiwelskloof were visited in June 1962 and a pottery demonstration attended.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at the pottery demonstration attended and from photographs (E.J. Krige, WITS records).

Potters: The potter who gave the demonstration learnt how to make pottery by watching others and then experimenting herself. Her mother did not know how to make pottery.

Materials: The potter experimented with a number of clays before finding one suitable for pottery. The clay is collected from a deposit in the valley below the settlement; it appeared to be very sandy and no filler was used. The raw material is stomped and mixed with water; it may then be used immediately or stored until it is required. It is pounded once again with a short wooden pestle before use. The clay is sometimes ground between grinding stones (WITS).

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

   a potsherd

2. As smoothers

   (i) For outer surface:

   a bean pod (thema) [Bauhinia kirkii Oliv.]

   (ii) For rim:

   a piece of very soft hide
3. For decorating

(i) For incised designs:

- a sharp tool

(ii) For burnishing:

- a smooth stone

Technique: The potter works outside in the shade unless it is raining. A vessel is started with a roll of clay which is placed in a ring on the sherd and smoothed upwards slightly. A second roll is placed around the edge of this and building continued spirally until the pot is the required height. The walls are then smoothed upwards so as to level the edge, and the pot shaped as required. The rim is formed by the addition of another roll of clay which is made very wet and evened by pinching off and adding small pieces where necessary. The thumb and forefinger, and a piece of very wet leather are used to smooth the edge and a thickened finish is obtained by making a slight depression below the rim with a thumb pod. At the demonstration the shaping of the rim took a long time. The base of the vessel is completed the following day. A lump of clay flattened so as to fit the hole in the base, is smoothed into position with the pod, while the vessel is the right way up. After a short drying period the vessel is removed from the sherd and the entire outer surface smoothed and finished off.

Although it is not possible to see from the photograph what technique is used the caption states that rolls of clay are not used as amongst the Nguni (photograph WIN).
Drying: The vessel is allowed to dry for four weeks before it is fired so that it shrinks completely. Drying vessels are placed indoors but are not covered. They are put in the sun for a short while before firing.

Decorating: Incised decoration is carried out after shaping, and given a preliminary burnishing the following day. Colour is applied when the vessel is drier. Lead bought from the local store is used to blackened and is rubbed directly onto the surface. The ochre, available in the district, is applied as a paint after it has been finely ground and mixed with water. The coloured areas are then burnished again.

Firing: About three pots are fired at a time; they are placed on stones to support them, in a shallow hearth and covered with firewood, dung and grass which is used as kindling. Breakages are caused by the use of the wrong clay.

A photograph shows the hearth, which is built in a slight hollow. The pots are placed mouth upwards, some on top of the others, and covered with bark. According to the caption the fire is lit at sunset and left smouldering overnight (Photograph 9115).

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

A. Bowls

1. Without necks

   (i) open-mouthed:
a. Large wide-mouthed bowls with rounded rims and rounded bases. Height about 22 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XXXII No. 178 UCT 38.89 N. Tvl. Lowveld)

Name and use: **lebêta** (Krieger; museum records)

for straining beer into (ditto)

b. Bowls with thickened rims and rounded bases. Height about 11 cms. Decorated or undecorated. (Figure XXXII No. 151 UCT 38.90 N. Tvl. Lowveld)

Name and use:

(i) **morifi** (Krieger; museum records)

for roasting edible ants and grasshoppers; for serving relish; as lid for spherical pot about 20 cms. in height which is used for beer (ditto)

(ii) **morufini** (Krieger; museum records in lit 12/10/1962)

lid for cooking pot (ditto)

c. Wide shallow bowls. Height about 10 cms. Decorated both inside and out. (Figure XXXII No. 182 UCT 38.90 N. Tvl. Lowveld)

Name and use: **lesabêlo** (Krieger; museum records)

for washing (ditto)

d. Open-mouthed bowls with thickened rims and rounded bases. Height about 8 cms. Decorated on outer surface. (Figure XXXII No. 180 SAN 8304 Pietersburg)

Name and use: no record

for serving vegetables (museum records)
c. Bowls with thickened rims and rounded bases, made in a
variety of sizes. Decorated inside and out. (Figure XXXII
No. 179 UCT 38.34 N. Tvl. Lowveld) [These bowls differ from
morüfi only in being more finely made; Krige, museum records]
Name and use: khiritswane/seriswana (Krige; museum records/
Kashale in lit 12/8/1962)

for serving relish or for drinking marula
cider (ditto)

2. Incurved bowls
Wide-mouthed bowls with thickened rims and rounded bases.
Made in a range of sizes. Decorated with colour and cross-
hatched horizontal band. (Figure XXXI No. 175 UCT 38.36 N. Tvl.
Lowveld; TVL 61/143, TVL 61/142)
Name and use: Large size: khetelo/nitsa (Krige; museum
records/Kashale in lit 12/8/1962)

for cooking porridge (ditto)

Medium size: khepitsana/nitsana (Krige; museum
records/Kashale in lit 12/8/1962; TVL. museum records)

for cooking porridge and other foods
(Krige; museum records)

for cooking medicines (TVL 61/142
museum records)

Small size: nitsana ya morogo (Kashale in lit)

for cooking vegetables (ditto)
b. Wide-mouthed incurved bowls with thickened rims and small 
pedestal base. Height 12 cms. Inner surface serrated. 
Decorated with band of graphite. (Figure XXXI No. 173 UCT 
38.87 N. Tvl. Lowveld)

Name and use:  knitsikiyo (Krige; museum records) 
for grinding tobacco; the leaves are placed 
in the pot and a stick about a yard long and an inch and a 
half in diameter is used as a pestle (ditto).

c. Narrow-mouthed incurved sub-carinated bowl with thickened 
rim and slightly flattened base. Height about 12 cms. 
Decorated. (Figure XXX No. 170 SAM 8800 Pietersburg)

Name and use:  no record

B. POTs

1. Without necks

a. Spherical and near spherical pots with thickened rims and 
rounded bases. Made in a range of sizes up to 30 cms. 
Decorated. (Figure XXXI No. 171 UCT 39.83 N. Tvl. Lowveld; 
No. 172 SAM 8684 Duiwelskloof; No. 176 UCT 38.32 N. Tvl. 
Lowveld; Figure XXXII No. 177 TVL 61/141 Duiwelskloof)

Name and use:  Large size:  themula /nigo (Krige; museum 
records/Mashale in lit 12/8/1962) 

for carrying and storing water, 
these are used in every household, although water may be fetch-
ed in a tin, it is never left standing in one (Krige; museum 
records)

for carrying beer or water (Mashale)
Medium size: **motsega** (Maahale in lit 12/8/1962)
for beer or water (ditto)

**thukwane** (Krige; museum records)
for serving beer

Small size: **thukwane** (Maahale in lit 12/8/1962)
for beer (ditto)

**thukwane ya moyane** (TVL records)
for preparing porridge for

**babies.** (ditto)

b. Bag-shaped pots with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 12 cms. Decorated. (Figure XXXI No. 174 UCT 38.66 N. Tvl. Lowveld)

**Name and use:** **letjomelo** (Krige; museum records)
for serving beer to guests; a Shangaan custom  
(ditto)

2. With necks

(ii) **Upright:** +

a. Spherical pots with very short upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 25 cms. Decorated. (Figure XXXI No. 167 SAM 8826 Pietersburg)

**Name and use:** no record

b. Sub-carinated pots with short upright neck formed with well defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 18 cms. Decorated. (Figure XXXI No. 168 SAM 8796 Pietersburg)

**Name and use:** no record
c. Carinated pots with short upright neck formed with well defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 14 cms. Decorated. (Figure XXX No. 169 SAM 8799 Pietersburg)

Name and use: no record

The necks of these pots are very short and could be classified as outsized rims.

Decoration

Decoration consists mainly of straight bands outlined with incised, grooved and stamped lines, which are patterned with cross-hatching, hatching and compound hatching (that is, first in one direction and then in the other). The hatching may be grooved or stamped. A set of examples from Medingen, Pietersburg are decorated in a different style with stamped designs built up from arcs of a circle.

Graphite and ochre are used to colour fine ware and both are highly burnished. Graphite is often used by itself to colour the rim or a band below the rim, of a cooking vessel and is used to give a smooth burnished finish to the inside of food-and wash-bowls.

Lobedu pottery is of medium thickness and weight, it is well-shaped and neatly decorated.

System of distribution

The potters are specialists who make pottery for their own use and for sale to neighbours.
A note by Professor E.J. Krige with the *lesabèlo* reads:

"Before serving food to a guest or a newly married husband, water must be brought in in a *lesabèlo* for him to wash his hands. During the first week of marriage the bridal party bring water to every hut first thing in the morning for the inmates of the whole village to wash their face and hands. The enamel bowl is fast replacing this earthenware pot."

**SECTION II - Literature**

No information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

Pottery is still made and used amongst the Lobedu. The potters are women specialists; the craft is not confined to particular families but may be practised by anyone who is interested.

The traditional techniques have not been ascertained and the available information is conflicting. The spiral technique was observed in the field, whereas the fact that rolls of clay are not used in the building of pottery is recorded by Krige.

The range of Lobedu pottery types is small, although there is great variety in both size and use. Spherical pots and open-mouthed bowls and incurved bowls are the most wide-spread types. The pottery types from Sedingen, Pietersburg are entirely different in both shape and decoration.
Lobedu pottery is well finished and decoration generally takes the form of grooved or stamped designs coloured with graphite and ochre. There is a striking resemblance between the Lobedu and Venda and Lemba range of pottery and both have the same three distinct types of decoration for open-mouthed bowls, cooking vessels and beer and water pots, although their decorative designs are different.

Different pottery terms were recorded by Krige and by Mr. Mashale of Duiwelskloof, those given by the latter being the same or dialectal variations of those used by the Eastern Tswana and Northern Sotho. Krige's terms, although suggesting a relationship with other Sotho are far more distinctive.

Contact with the European does not appear to have greatly affected either the shapes or decoration of Lobedu pottery. Only one pot with a modern design, on its base, was seen.
c. Undifferentiated:

The Sotho living in Muhlava's location, Tzaneen were visited in June 1962 and a pottery demonstration attended.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at the demonstration of shaping and interview with the potter.

Potters: The potter had been taught the art of pottery by her mother. She made domestic ware for her own use and for a large number of customers.

Materials: The potter collected her own clay from a deposit about seven miles away. The raw material was dry when she dug it and was prepared by grinding it finely and mixing it with water. No filler was used. Prepared clay was stored in an old pot ready for use.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a potsherd

2. As smoothers

(i) For outer surface:

a piece of wood

a bean pod; thema (Bauhinia kirkii Oliv.)

(ii) For inner surface:

a bean pod; thema
3. For decorating:

(i) For incised designs:

- a safety pin

(ii) For burnishing:

- a smooth stone

**Technique:** The potter works either indoors or out of doors in a shady place sheltered from the wind. To start the pot she places a large lump of clay on a potsherd and breaks it into three pieces which she moulds together to form the basic shape. The potter keeps both the clay and her hands wet while she works. The vessel is built up in height by the addition of smaller lumps of clay added where necessary, and smoothed on both inner and outer surfaces. After forming the rim of the vessel with her fingers, the potter puts it aside to dry until the following day when she turns it upside down and completes the base.

**Drying:** The potter fired her pottery a month after shaping it. All the pots were stored indoors covered with dry sacking, and only after the first week did she look at them.

**Decorating:** According to the potter both graphic designs and colour were applied before drying. Red ochre, white clay and powdered manganese, obtained from torch batteries, are used as decorative materials. Enamel paint, which is applied after tiring, is also used.

**Firing:** About twenty pots are fired at a time. They are placed on their sides, base to base in a shallow hole on a layer of fire-
wood and grass and covered with another layer of fuel. Some grass is placed inside each pot. The fire is started at about five o'clock in the afternoon and allowed to burn itself out without the addition of fuel. The pots are left in position until morning. They fire a light reddish brown.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen at the potter’s homestead.

3. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Spherical pots with thickened rims and rounded bases. Made in a variety of sizes. Decorated with simple graphic design.

*Name and use:* Large size: *mbita* (potter)

for making porridge or beer (ditto)

when damaged they are used for storing dry foodstuffs (ditto)

*Small size:* *shimapitane* (potter)

for cooking vegetables (ditto)

b. Carinated and sub-carinated; pots with thickened rims and rounded bases. Decorated with colour and graphic design.

*Name and use:* *mabeso* (potter)

for beer or water (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical to inverted bag-shaped pots with upright necks formed with poorly defined point of indentation, and rounded
bases. Made in a range of sizes. Decorated with graphic designs.

Name and use: no record

b. Small pots with upright neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection. Decorated with graphic design and colour.

Name and use: dzomela (potter)

for drinking from (ditto)

Decoration

Large vessels with an unburnished finish were decorated with either a band of hatching or cross-hatching, or a single incised line about three inches below the rim. Smaller pots with a better finish were decorated with more complicated arc, band and triangle designs and coloured with either traditional materials or enameled paint.

System of Distribution

Specialist potters sell to buyers who place orders with them.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Amongst these Sotho people of Tsamma pottery is still made by a few women specialists. The potter interviewed had learnt the art from her mother, and used a modification of the Tswana method of
building the vessel from the widest diameter and completing the base last.

Although very few pottery types were seen they did not seem to form a consistent range. The carinated and sub-carinated types are similar in shape to those made by the Lobedu of Pietersburg, and the large uncoloured wares similar to those of the Venda. The Tsonga custom of drinking beer from pottery beakers has been adopted.

The pottery terminology given by the potter was mainly Tsonga.

The use of manganese from old torch batteries and of enamel paint, for decorating show modern influence on the pottery.
NORTH-EASTERN SOTHO - DISCUSSION

Not a great deal of information has been collected concerning the pottery of the North-Eastern Sotho, and with the exception of the Lobedu, no distinct pattern of the individual pottery traditions or their relationship to each other appears from the available data.

It is known, however, that the North-Eastern Sotho use pottery today; the Lobedu make their own, as do some Sotho potters in the Tsaneen District, but the Phalaborwa buy what they need from neighbouring tribes, not all of whom are Sotho.

Three different techniques are known to be used by potters; the spiral, and another in which the vessels are built up without forming the clay into rolls, by the Lobedu, and a method comparable to that used by the Tswana of Bechuanaland by a potter in the Tsaneen District.

A representative range of pottery collected by Krige from the Lobedu in 1938, consists of open-mouthed bowls and spherical and near-spherical pots very like those of the Venda and Lemba in type. From Mr. du Toit's description it sounds as if the Phalaborwa use pottery of the same type.

Krige's collection of Lobedu ware also resembles that of the Venda and Lemba in that the type and degree of decoration varies with the type of vessel. It is, however, possible to distinguish Lobedu ware from that of the latter groups, by its decoration. For although the Lobedu use the same decorative materials and graphic techniques, they also use stamping and their designs are different.
In 1936 a small collection of a different type of polychrome Lobedu ware was acquired by Dr, van Warmelo in the Pietersburg district. The pots are mainly sub-carinated and carinated types and are decorated with patterns outlined with stamped impressions only. The decorated pottery seen at the Sotho potter's kraal in Muhlava's location was more like this than the Venda-type Lobedu ware, or the pottery of the Tshangana amongst whom the Sotho there live.

A study of the pottery terms used by the North-Eastern Sotho shows that the Lobedu had a wide, distinctive vocabulary, which today seems to have changed since recorded by Krige in 1938 to become nearer that used by other Eastern Sotho tribes. The Phalaborwa terminology seems to be a mixture of old Lobedu and terms common to the Sotho division, whereas the Sotho of Muhlava's location use mainly Tsonga terms.

In conclusion it can be said that with the exception of the Lobedu pottery which is related to that of the Venda and the Lemba, it is not possible to obtain much of a picture of the pottery traditions of the North-Eastern Sotho. All that can be said from the available information is that the pottery used by the Sotho tribes of Tzaneen seems to be related to that made by the Lobedu of Pietersburg, which differs from the main Lobedu tradition, and that the Phalaborwa used the same type of ware as most Lobedu, although they no longer make their own.
The following information was recorded by Mr. Velcich on visits to the Koni of Dikgale's, Matok's and Kathlala's locations in the Pietersburg district in 1957.

**Potters:** The potters were women specialists who made pottery in large quantities for sale. The knowledge of the methods was passed from mother to daughter and was said to be a secret closely guarded within the family.

**Materials:** A deposit of suitable clay at Dikgale's location was used by all potters there. The potter at Kathlala's location bought her raw material at three rands a load from a chief in the Potgietersrust district.

The clay was taken home and kept indoors out of wind and rain until the potter was ready for it. It was prepared by grinding finely on a grinding stone, mixing with water and kneading to the correct consistency. The potters never used the clay immediately after preparation but allowed it to stand for a day as it was then much better to work with.
Tools: 1. As a support on which to work
a wooden dish

2. As smoothers:
(i) For inner and outer surfaces:
a theme pod (Bauminia Kirkii oliv.)

(ii) For rim:
a piece of goatskin

3. For decorating
(i) For graphic design:
a piece of calabash

Technique: Potters worked indoors both during the day and at night
by the light of an home-made paraffin lamp. Pottery was made only
during the summer months because the potters found that when the
weather was cold the pots cracked. A pot was started by coiling
a roll of clay approximately six to eight inches long. (There is
no further record of the method.) The rim was smoothed with a piece
of wet goatskin. When the upper section of the vessel was shaped
it was allowed to dry for a while before it was removed from the
support in order to complete the base.

Drying: There was a period of drying before firing.

Decorating: Pottery was decorated after a short drying period.
Graphic decoration was carried out with either a piece of calabash
or a theme pod, the edge of which was dipped in dry sifted ash and
"rolled" along the clay surface. It was necessary to dip the tool
repeatedly into the ash. Colour was applied at a slightly later stage. A red colour was obtained either from earth from anthills or other local deposits or from a source near the tin mine at Potgietersrust where it was bought for about twenty-five cents a pound. To obtain the best results this earth was "roasted", mixed with water and applied as a paint. Graphite obtained from Bochum was used to blacken vessels. Black ash was also said to be used.

Firing: All the potters at a homestead fired their wares at once. The vessels to be fired were placed upside down on the level ground in a heap and covered with dry cowdung. At a firing of thirty-three pots eight bags of dung were used. Maize stalks were used as kindling and aloe leaves and potsherds were packed around the heap in such a way as to hold the fuel in position. At kathulula's kraal the potters liked to fire at noon. The fire was stoked for an hour and any exposed vessels re-covered with dung immediately. The pottery was allowed to cool down before it was removed from the ashes and taken indoors. During firing the potters offered prayers to prevent the pots from cracking.

The direction and strength of the wind were important factors during firing. The best results were obtained when the wind was from the east, if it was only a slight breeze the onlookers were requested not to stand in its way, and if it was rather stronger than required the company stood so as to obstruct it as much as possible.
At Hathlala's location a hole about fourteen inches deep was dug and the pots piled into it and covered with firewood. Potters here attributed cracking of vessels to the use of poor clay. Vessels were sounded to test the degree to which they were fired.

Sealing/testing:
1. The potter smeared large pots with cow dung to close the pores after firing (Hathlala's location).

2. A cooking pot was heated over a fire; when it was very hot it was filled with cold water which was brought to the boil. If the pot did not crack it was considered a good one. (Dikgale's location).

3. Beer pots were heated and then smeared inside and outside with dung while they were hot. When they cooled they were filled with cold water and thoroughly washed. (Dikgale's location).

Tests 2 and 3 were carried out by buyers before they used new pots.

Bending: No record

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were mentioned by Mr. Velcich in his report and seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed.

   Deep bowl with rounded rim and flattened base. Not at about 15 cms. Inner surface serrated. (Figure XXXV, No. 191 SAM 3329 Pietersburg).
Name and use: no record
for grinding snuff (Velcich; museum records)

b. Deep wide-mouthed bowl. Decorated with graphic design and
colour. (TVL 8146, TVL 3289 Both Pietersburg; cf. Figure
XXXVI Nos. 199 and 200)

Name and use: lehlapela/lesepela (TVL records/Velcich)
for washing (TVL records)

c. Deep wide-mouthed bowl with rounded base. Decorated with
graphic design. (Velcich notes)

Name and use: morufai on mutai (Velcich)
for boiling milk (ditto)

d. Shallow bowl. Decorated. (Velcich notes)

Name and use: sengetana/thuwana ego sebotja (Velcich)
for relish (ditto)

(ii) Incurved bowls:

a. Wide-mouthed incurved bowl. (Velcich notes)

Name and use: tshikwana (Velcich)
for sour milk (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed incurved bowls. Made in range of sizes.

Undecorated. (Velcich notes)

Name and use: Large size: pitja (Velcich)
for cooking porridge (ditto)

Small size: pitjuna (ditto)
for cooking meat and vegetables
(ditto)
c. Incurved bowls (Velcich)

Name and use: Large size: sibepe (Velcich)

for feeding small children (ditto)

Small size: sehepitjana (ditto)

for cooking soft porridge for young babies; also container from which baby is fed by hand (ditto).

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Large pots with a capacity of 12 gallons. Undecorated.

Name and use: nkgo (Velcich)

for brewing and storing beer (ditto)

b. Large pots. Decorated with colour and graphic design.

(Velcich)

Name and use: motsega/khudu (Velcich)

for transporting water (ditto)

c. Pots with capacity of 1 gallon (Velcich)

Name and use: tafelwana/motsega (Velcich)

for serving beer to one or two visitors (ditto)

2. With necks

(iv) Undifferentiated:

Pot with neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. (Velcich)

Name and use: sedibelo (Velcich)

for carrying beer or water; or a container for sour porridge (ditto).
C. **BEAKERS**

Barrel-shaped pot. Height about 18 cms. (Figure XXXV No. 190 Velcich, Department of Bantu Education, Pretoria)

**Name and use:** tshomela (Velcich)

for drinking (ditto) It is, however, a Tshangana custom to drink from pottery, Sotho use calabash cups.

E. **MISCELLANEOUS**

a. No description

**Name and use:** lefishwana (Velcich)

for fermenting babies food overnight, before cooking in sibepe. (Velcich)

b. Bin made of a mixture of clay, dung and grass. (Velcich)

**Name and use:** peule mabere sefulu (Velcich)

for storing grain (ditto)

**Decoration**

Very little is known about the decoration. One bowl in the Transvaal Museum has a wide horizontal band outlined with grooved lines and patterned with a double zig-zag line, the triangles so formed being decorated with cross-hatching and the band with colour. (cf. Figure XXXVI Nos. 199 and 200).

Another design is the use of curvulate and straight lines to form a horizontal band, which is coloured.

The drinking vessel has wavy vertical bands patterned with cross-hatching, and horizontal bands with compound hatching have also been seen.
System of Distribution

Finished pots were taken into the location to sell. Cash prices varied from 75c (7/6) to R7.00 (£3.10.0) depending upon the size and type of vessel. A number of potters sometimes hired a lorry to take a load of pottery to a location where there was grain for sale and where they were able to barter their wares. Vessels were exchanged for twice the amount of grain they could contain. Bartering was preferred to cash sales.

Velcich found that pottery was used because people preferred the taste of food prepared in clay vessels, and beer and water kept so fresh and cool.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Koni were not visited and nothing is known of the techniques and types of pottery which they make today. It is in fact not known whether they still make and use pottery, although in 1957 they were making large quantities both for domestic use and for sale. The potters were women who kept their techniques a closely guarded secret within the family. Earthenware utensils were bartered for grain rather than sold, although money was accepted.

Only two examples of Koni pottery were seen but from descriptions and sketches made, and terminology collected by Mr. Velcich, it appears that they had a large range of pottery types, and both
an undecorated and a decorated ware. Several of the names recorded by Mr. Velcich are the same or variants of those recorded by Quin (1959) amongst the Central Sotho, who used pottery for the same purposes, and apparently made a similar range of types. Although the range is also very similar to that made by Venda, Lemba and Lobedu, the suggestion that the relationship to Central Sotho ware is probably closer, is strengthened by the fact that the Koni also use a decorative arcade design made by rolling a piece of calabash or a pod, on edge, over the wet clay surface of a vessel.

There is no record of Western influence on this pottery. Tsonga influence is seen in the adoption of clay drinking vessels (*tshomela*).
37. **NORTHERN SOThO**

c. **Nirwa**

No information.

d. **Tlokwa**

A Tlokwa homestead on Sothoest farm, at Bochum, Northern Transvaal was visited in June 1962.

**SECTION I - Field**

The following information was obtained from informants at the interview at a Tlokwa homestead.

**Potters:** A number of women in the district specialise in the manufacture of pottery for sale.

**Materials:** Potters fetch the clay themselves from Soclicku nr where there is a deposit of suitable clay. The raw material is fetched dry and is mixed with water and kneaded. No filler is used. The clay is sometimes used on the day of preparation.

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build**
   - a wooden dish
   - an enamel plate

2. **As smoothers**
   - For inner and outer surfaces:
     - a piece of calabash
   - For rim:
     - a wet cloth
   - For beating walls together:
     - a piece of plank
3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:

a sharp tool

(ii) For applying colour:

a piece of cloth

Technique: Pots are made indoors, out of the wind. They are started with a lump of clay which is entirely hollowed to form the walls. The size is increased by building onto the basic shape with rolls of clay which are flattened and smoothed into position. The rim is completed by the addition of a thin roll of clay smoothed into position around the mouth, and given the finishing touches with a very wet piece of cloth. A knife is used to remove a small amount of clay all the way around the mouth below the edge to give the rim a thickened effect.

The day after shaping the upper section the base is completed. The hole is closed by beating the walls inwards with a piece of plank and smoothing the join neatly with a piece of calabash. It is necessary to add a little more clay at this stage when making very large pots.

Drying: Pots are dried indoors for two months. On the morning of the day of firing they are taken into the sun.

Decoration: Incised decoration is carried out after shaping. Colour is applied when the pot is dry but before firing. Graphite (pomo) is obtained from Tzaneen by the potters themselves who go there by
lorry. The colour is applied by rubbing the piece of graphite against the surface and then polishing the application with a wet finger. It is sometimes necessary to apply a little more graphite after firing. The ochre (*leseku*) comes from Vendaland. It is applied as a paste with a wet cloth.

**Firing:** Firing takes place on a large scale. Fuel is scarce and potters collect and store as much as possible during the wet season. The number of pots which are fired at a time depends upon the amount of available fuel. The pots are placed on their sides on the ground, on a layer of stones and covered with firewood. The fire is lit at the bottom of the pile. The pots become red hot after about an hour and the fire is then allowed to die down. The vessels are left in position overnight. Cracking is believed to be caused by the fire.

**Sealing/Testing:** No method of sealing is necessary as the pots are waterproof after firing.

**Rounding:** No information.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel types were seen or described by informants in the field.

3. **Pots**

a. No description. Small sizes.

  **Name and use:** *motjegana*/*tshulwana*  
  for beer or vegetables

b. No description. Large sizes.

  **Name and use:** *motjera*  
  for making beer and storing beer or water
C. BEAKERS

Beaker with projecting base. Decorated with graphic design and colour.

Name and use: no record for drinking (potter)

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Although only a Tlokwa earthenware drinking vessel was seen, it was learned from a family at Boulust, Bochum that the Tlokwa still use pottery and that there are a number of potters in that vicinity.

The technique described by the informants was that of starting a vessel by entirely hollowing a lump of clay and building it up to the required height with the addition of clay in rolls. The base was completed after the upper section had dried slightly by beating the walls inwards until they met. This method is very similar to that used by the neighbouring Hananwa, and by a Karanga potter in Serowe, Bechuanaland.

The two pottery terms given by informants are comparable with those used by the Koni.
A potter at Leipzig in the Blauwburg district, Northern Transvaal was visited in June 1962.

**SECTION I - Field Technology**

The following information was obtained from the potter interviewed.

**Potters:** A number of women in the district specialise in the manufacture of pottery.

**Materials:** Suitable clay for pottery is found locally. The potter had experimented with a number of types before she found a good one. She mixes water with the raw material and kneads it thoroughly; the clay is then ready for use.

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build**
   - a plate

2. **As smoothers**
   - (i) For the edge:
     - a piece of wet cloth
   - (ii) For burnishing:
     - a stone

3. **For decorating**
   - (i) For graphic designs:
     - a thorn
   - (ii) For burnishing:
     - a smooth stone
Technique: Small pots are moulded from the lump; when making large ones the potter hollows the lump of clay entirely and builds the walls to the required height with rolls of clay. The edge is smoothed, first with the fingers and then with a piece of wet cloth, the thumb-nail being used to smooth away excess clay below the rim to give it a thickened finish. Large pots are completed after a short period of drying by beating the lower sections of the wall inwards until they meet.

Drying: Pots are allowed to dry indoors for a period of about two weeks before firing.

Decorating: Incised decoration is carried out after shaping when the clay is damp. Colour is applied a few days later. Graphite, from Soshanaer, is crushed, ground fine and mixed with water. It is applied and burnished with a smooth stone. Umre (letsoku) is dug locally. It is prepared and applied in the same way as the graphite. Ash (melora) is rubbed into outlines of the designs before or after firing. It is sometimes necessary to apply more graphite after firing.

Firing: About ten pots are fired at a time in a hole specially dug for them. They are placed on, and covered with layers of wood. The fire is lit in the afternoon and allowed to burn itself out. The pottery is removed from the ashes the following day.

No further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

a. Wide-mouthed bowls with cut or rounded rims and flattened or rounded bases. Height 12-15 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure XXXIII No. 184, SAM 8698 Blauberg; No. 186 TVL 61.95 Blauwberg)

Name and use: lesaphelilelese (potter; museum records)
lesaphelile (van Wamelo 1964)
for washing (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed bowls with rounded rims and flattened bases. Height about 7 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure XXXIII No. 185 TVL 61.96 Blauwberg)

Name and use: thiswana (museum records)
for serving vegetables and meat (ditto)

c. No description.

Name and use: tsingitane (potter, Blauwberg)
for serving meat (ditto)

(ii) Incurved:

Small wide-mouthed spherical bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 13 cms. Decorated with single incised line. (Figure XXXIII No. 187 TVL 61.97 Blauwberg—
Name and use: *pitsana* (museum records)

for cooking meat and vegetables for

about six people (ditto)

2. **PUTS**

2. With necks

(i) **Upright:**

a. Large spherical pot with short upright neck formed

with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 31 cms. Decorated with

graphic design and colour. (Figure XXXII No. 183

SAM 8697 Blauwberg)

_Name and use:_ *motjea* (potter; Blauwberg)

for beer (ditto)

b. Very large wide-mouthed spherical pot with upright

neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection

and rounded base. Height about 45 cms. Decorated

with graphic design and colour. (Blauwberg)

_Name and use:_ *pitja* (potter; Blauwberg)

no record

(ii) **Inward-sloping:**

Large inverted bag-shaped vessels with inward-

sloping neck formed with poorly defined point of

inflection, rounded rim and rounded bases. Height

about 25 cms. Decorated with graphic design and

colour. (Figure XXXIV No. 189 TVL 61.98 Blauwberg)
Name and use: sekukwana (museum records)
for storing and serving beer (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Other pottery names given by the potter were:

tafelwana - a small pot
rotjegana - a middle-sized pot
nkho - the biggest pot

Decoration

Graphic decoration generally takes the form of designs outlined with incised or grooved lines. A band three to six centimetres wide is sometimes patterned with cross-hatching coloured with white ash. This type of decoration is commonly found around the mouths of bowls and the necks of pots. The pots are sometimes further decorated with a design of arcs patterned with hatching or stamped impressions. Graphite and ochre are used on vessels with graphic design.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Hananwa still make and use pottery today. The potters are women who specialise in its manufacture, moulding small vessels from the lump, and building large ones by hollowing a lump of clay entirely to start with and building the pot up with the addition of clay in rolls. The base is completed after this section has dried slightly by beating the lower part of the walls inwards until they meet. The latter technique is used by the
neighbouring Tlokwa, and moulding from the lump is used by
the Venda, and by some Shona tribes in the manufacture of
small vessels.

The range of pottery types seen consists of open-mouthed
bowls of various sizes used for washing and serving relishes,
incurved bowls for cooking, and large pots with slight necks
used in the brewing, storage and serving of beer. Vessels
of the first two types are analogous with those made by Koni,
Pedi, Venda and Lemba. Even in degree of decoration there is
a parallel, as the open-mouthed bowls are generally decorated
both inside and out, and the incurved bowls with a single
horizontal line.

Hananwa decoration is characterised by a cross-hatched
band below the rim of both pots and bowls, and an arcade design
coloured with graphite and ochre on large pots. The former
technique is also used by Venda, Lemba, Lobedu and the Swazi
potters of Sekhukhuneland, and an arcade design is used by the
Central Sotho, and also the Koni of Pietersburg.

The Hananwa terminology is very like that of the Koni,
and is thus related to that of the Central Sotho. There is,
however, also a relationship with Lobedu terms.

The making of open-mouthed bowls with flattened bases not
rounded, may be the result of European influence.
37. NORTHERN SOTHO

f. Kwena or Moletse

This group were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Spherical pot with very short, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 22 cms. Decorated with colour and stamped design. (Figure XXXIX No. 166, SAM 4993, Pietersburg)

Name and use: no record

b. Inverted bag-shaped pot with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 11 cms. Decorated with colour and stamped and graphic design. (Figure XXXVII No. 158, SAM 4993, Pietersburg)

Name and use: no record

for beer (museum records)
+ This vessel could be classified as a spherical pot with thickened rim.

Decoration

Both these vessels are decorated with well-burnished graphite and ochre, and one with a white material rubbed across the stamped band as well. The spherical pot has a single stamped arcade band coloured with graphite below a wide band patterned with stamped impressions. The other, also has a band of arcs, but in this instance they are not joined to form a continuous band, and are grooved not stamped. The band below the neck too is grooved, but is patterned with hatched lines of stamped impressions.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

It is not known whether the Kwena/Moletse people make pottery today but these two examples of their ware, particularly the spherical pot are decorated in the way described by Schofield as being typical of Pedi ware. This suggests a link with the Central Sotho.

No technological information is available.
37. NORTHERN SOTHO

g. Undifferentiated;

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections; they are all from the region inhabited by the Northern Sotho tribes. Some of them are modern ware, others were found in abandoned caves.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Deep wide-mouthed bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height 16 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XXXVI No. 193 SAM 8128 Koppie Cave, Holmleigh, Pietersburg)

   Name and use: no record

   b. Wide-mouthed bowls with rounded rim and rounded bases. Height 9-10 cms. Decorated with graphic designs and colour. (Figure XXXVI No. 199 SAM 8132 Location Cave, Potgietersrust; No. 200 SAM 8131 Slieders Farm, Potgietersrust) cf. Koni TVL 8145 and TVL 8209 Pietersburg.

   Name and use: no record
c. Very small deep, wide-mouthed bowl with rounded rim and rounded base. Height 5 cms. Decorated with graphic design. (Figure XXXVI No. 193 Location Cave, Potgietersrust) cf. Koni TVL 8146 TVL 8239 Pietersburg.

Name and use: no record

(ii) Incurved:


(Figure XXXVI No. 195 SAM 8132 Location Cave, Potgietersrust)

Name and use: no record

b. Spherical bowl with rounded rim on tapered wall and rounded base, height about 11 cms. Graphic decoration.

(Figure XXXVI No. 196 SAM 8135 Location Cave, Potgietersrust)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Wide-mouthed sub-curinated bowl with tall neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base, height about 15 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure XXXVI No. 150 SAM 4994 Pietersburg)

Name and use: no record
(ii) Everted:

Spherical bowl with curved, everted neck, formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 16 cms. Undecorated. (Figure XXXVI No. 192, SAM 8132, Location Cave, Potgietersrust)

Name and use: no record

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large spherical pot with rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 30 cms. Graphic decoration. (Figure XXXIV No. 188, SAM 8129, Koppie Cave, Holmsleigh, Potgietersrust)

Name and use: no record

b. Inverted bag-shaped pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Graphic decoration. (Figure XXXVI No. 194, SAM 8130, Waterfall Cave, Amatola, Potgietersrust)

Name and use: no record

C. BEAKERS

Tall bag-shaped beaker with thickened rim and short pedestal base. Height 18 cms. Decorated with graphic design (after firing) and colour. (Figure XXXV No. 149 SAM 4991, Pietersburg)

Name and use: no record

for drinking (museum records)
Decoration

The examples of ancient pottery of this region consist of both undecorated and decorated vessels, stamped decoration being characteristic of the latter. The same degree of decoration is found on these vessels as on the modern ware of this region, and that of the Lobedu and Venda. Open-mouthed bowls have a wide band of decoration on the outer surface below the rim, and are sometimes coloured with graphite both inside and out. Incurved bowls have a much simpler form of decoration consisting of a single horizontal line of stamped impressions or two lines, one stamped and one grooved. One incurved bowl has a stamped zig-zag design.

The two examples of modern ware have entirely different decorative styles and are unlike any other Sotho ware seen. The bowl is decorated almost all over the outer surface with zig-zag band and triangles coloured with graphite on an ochre background. There is also a narrow grooved band at the base of the neck patterned with stamped impressions. The design on the beaker was outlined after firing and consists of two deep zig-zag lines at the top and bottom of the vessel, the peaks of which reach opposite extremes when vertically opposed to each other. There is a narrow horizontal band halfway down the vessel. The areas above and below the upper and lower zig-zags respectively are coloured with ochre, and the mid-band with a brown material.
The Kxaxa and Birwa are excluded from this discussion.

Pottery is still made and used amongst the Hananwa and Tlokwa today and as recently as 1957 the industry was thriving amongst the Koni. Amongst all the tribes women specialists were responsible for the making of pottery which they sold or bartered. Amongst the Koni, the pottery techniques were said to be kept secret within certain families.

From descriptions it appears that the Hananwa, and Tlokwa use similar techniques, namely, the entire hollowing of a lump of clay to start with, the vessel being built up with additional clay in rolls, and the base being completed by beating the lower part of the wall inwards until the hole is closed. This technique is not known to be used by any other Sotho tribes but a variation of it was described by a Kalanga potter at Serowe.

No Tlokwa pottery was seen but Hananwa and Koni pottery showed affinity in range of types, the use of an arcade design, and in terminology. Further, these wares, particularly those of the Koni, share these characteristics with the Central Sotho and to a lesser extent there seems to be a relationship with Lobedu and Venda, although the decorative designs of the polychrome wares of the latter are of a different type.

Contact with the West does not appear to have influenced pottery shapes and decoration of these wares, with the exception of the open-mouthed bowls of the Hananwa, many of which have flattened bases.
Modern Sotho pottery falls into the same three groups as those into which van Warmelo (1937) sub-divides the Sotho people, namely Southern (Batsuto), Eastern (Central, Northern and North-Eastern Sotho) and Western (Eastern and Western Tswana). There are potters amongst all three groups today but not amongst all the tribal groups of each sub-division. As amongst the Nguni and Tsonga, pottery is made by women specialists, and although there is today no restriction on who may make pottery, there is information in the literature which suggests that in the past the techniques were kept secret within certain families and that the degree of specialisation was even greater.

The characteristics which form the basis of the subdivision of Sotho pottery into three groups are, method of manufacture, type of pottery and the decoration of fine wares. (The characteristics of the three groups are set out on page 398, in tabular form, for easy reference.)

While dealing with these differences in the modern pottery of the Sotho it must be remembered that some of them are more pronounced now than in the past. For instance, stamped decorative techniques were used by some Basuto and to a greater extent by the Central Sotho, and food bowls and cooking pots were most certainly part of the range of Basuto pottery, although they have now been replaced by trade utensils.

Western influence is seen to have been more pronounced on Sotho ware than on that of the Nguni and Tsonga. Particularly in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, where not only are synthetic decorative
materials used, but vessels in imitation of European glass-
and china-ware are popular. The diminishing range of pottery
types is also the result of contact with the West, and is more mark-
ed in regions close to densely populated European areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUTHERN SOTHO:</th>
<th>WESTERN SOTHO:</th>
<th>EASTERN SOTHO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Various methods of building with rings - either onto a base, or completing base last.</td>
<td>Building from the widest diameter and completing other section of vessel after a drying period.</td>
<td>Insufficient information</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **1.** Very large straight sided vessels for brewing.  
**2.** Inverted bag-shaped pots with necks comparatively taller than those of vessels of other groups; for storing beer or water and for serving beer.  
**3.** Pedestal-based beakers, for drinking.  
Bird-shaped vessels. | **1.** Spherical, near-spherical, sub-carinated and carinated pots of all sizes, with short, straight necks, for brewing and storing beer and storing water. | **1.** Open-mouthed bowls, for serving food and for washing.  
**2.** Incurved bowls for cooking.  
**3.** Large pots, usually with necks for brewing beer.  
**4.** Spherical pots for serving beer. |
| Fine ware generally the colour of the fired clay. Occasional use of ochre and graphite, not on same vessel. Occasional use of graphic, stamped and moulded decorative techniques. | Fine ware always coloured with burnished ochre. Occasional use of graphite or a black clay. Occasional use of graphic and stamped decorative techniques. | Fine polychrome ware with graphic designs, arcade motif appears frequently. Stamped impressions also used. |
4. **VENDA**

In June 1962 some Venda homesteads in the Sibasa and Louis Trichardt districts were visited.

41. **WESTERN VENDA**

At Sinthumule's Location a group of potters were interviewed.

**SECTION I - Field Technology**

The following information was obtained from the group of potters interviewed.

**Potters:** The potters were women who specialised in the manufacture of pottery, and many of whom sold their wares outside the location. Most of them had learnt the art from their mothers.

**Materials:** The potters collected clay in an almost dry state from a deposit near a river. No filler was used, the clay being mixed with water and kneaded until it was plastic. It was used immediately after preparation.

**Tools:**

1. As a support on which to build any hard flat object

2. For smoothing
   
   (i) For inner and outer surfaces:
   
   a piece of calabash

   (ii) For rim:
   
   a piece of very, soft leather

3. For decoration

   (i) For graphic designs:
   
   a piece of stick
(i) For graphic designs:

- a thorn

(ii) For burnishing:

- a smooth stone

**Technique:** A vessel was started by moulding the base from the lump and increased in size by the addition of rolls of clay in incomplete rings. The additional clay was smoothed into position and shaped as required. The shaped vessel was set aside until the following morning when it was turned over and the base smoothed and shaped.

**Drying:** The pots were left covered in the kitchen hut for about a month before firing. They were taken straight from the hut to the fire when they were dry.

**Decorating:** On the second day after shaping, the vessel was decorated, first with incised designs outlined in the wet clay, and then by the application of colour within these designs.

The following traditional materials were used:

1. *libundi*; a clay dug from a deposit on a nearby mountain and sold in the location. It gives a red colour. The raw material was dissolved in a little water and applied as a paint. The coloured area was then burnished.

2. *pheno*; graphite, from deposits in the Kudjadji Mountains, which was sold locally. Potters bartered a large pot for a fist-sized piece of graphite. A small piece of the material was ground to a powder and mixed with water to form a paint which was applied with a piece of rag or the finger, and then burnished.
Uncoloured areas were also burnished before firing.

A large number of potters used enamel paint, mostly red, green and white. Vessels decorated in this way sell well.

Firing: Up to ten pots were fired at a time. Large pots were placed the right way up in the middle of a shallow round hearth on three stones, with the smaller pots around them on their sides, mouth towards the centre. Natural pots of dry dung were packed around the pots and covered with grass. Firing takes about two hours; the potter was able to tell from the colour of a vessel when it was fired, and immediately removed it by means of a long stick, to prevent it from spoiling. Black patches on a fired pot were said to be caused by smoke. Cracking during firing was caused by too much wind, but seldom occurred.

Sealing/Testing: Pots were said to be waterproof after firing.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types attributed to the Western Venda were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Large wide-mouthed bowls with thickened or rounded rims and rounded bases. Height about 13 cm. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LI No. 217 UCl. 37.18 Mphaphu's, Louis Treichardt; No. 224 SAM 8693 Sinthumule's
Location, Louis Trichardt)

**Name and use:** *sumbelo* (Chief Mphethu, Nzhelele, Louis Trichardt, verbal information; potter, Sinthumule's Location, museum records)

for washing (ditto)

b. Medium-sized bowls with thickened or slightly thickened rims and flattened bases. Height about 10 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure LI No. 222 SAM 8696 Sinthumule's Location; TVL 61.171 Mphethu's Louis Trichardt, not illustrated)

**Name and use:** *tsbidongo* (potter Sinthumule's, museum records; TVL. museum records; Chief Mphethu, Nzhelele, verbal information.)

(i) for serving vegetables (potter Sinthumule's)

(ii) for eating meat; each man has one of his own (TVL. records)

(iii) for eating (Chief Mphethu, Nzhelele)

c. Very small bowls with rounded rims and rounded bases.

Height about 7 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure LI No. 225, TVL 61.46 Mphethu's, Louis Trichardt)

**Name and use:** *tsbidongo / seriswana* (Sotho)(Museum records)

for serving meat and vegetables or drinking marula beer (ditto)

d. Small bowls with rounded or projecting bases. Height about 8 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure LI
No. 223 UCT 37.35 Mphelu's Louis Trichardt

Name and use: ndongwana (museum records)

no record

(ii) Incurved:

Deep bowls with thickened rims and rounded bases. Height 13-20 cms. Simple graphic design. (Figure XXXVII No. 206 UCT 37.32 Mphelu, Louis Trichardt; No. 207 UCT 37.34) Mphelu's, Louis Trichardt

Name and use: Large size: khele (TVL records, 61.45) for beer or for cooking porridge (ditto)

Small size: tshindu (UCT records) for cooking meat, vegetables or small amounts of porridge (ditto)

tshingo (UCT records) for keeping milk to turn sour (ditto)

2. With necks:

(i) Upright:

Bowls with short, upright necks formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Heigt about 13 cms. Decorated with simple graphic design and colour. (Figure LI No. 219 UCT 39.33 Mphelu's, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: kududu (museum records)

no record.
Kududu is the diminutive of tshidudu (van Warmelo 1937)  
(cf. Incurved bowls p. 403)

B. I JOS

1. Without necks

a. Narrow-mouthed spherical pots with thickened rims and rounded bases. Height about 17 cm. Decorated with colour and design.  
(Figure XXXVII No. 202 UCT 57.51 Ngqenhlu's, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: mvuvhelo (museum records)  
for water (Chief Ngqenhlu, Khulelele, verbal information; van Warmelo 1937)

b. Small spherical pots with thickened rims and rounded bases.  
Height about 12 cm. Blackened by use. (Figure LI No. 220  
UCT 57.30 Ngqenhlu's, Louis Trichardt.)

Name and use: dzhomela (museum records)  
"drinking mug of long manufacture" (van  
Warmelo 1937)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Spherical pots with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Height about 25 cm. Decorated with colour and design. (Figure XXXIX No. 214 TVL 61.173  
Ngqenhlu's, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: mvuvhelo (museum records)  
for preparing sour porridge before cooking (ditto)
b. Spherical pots with short, upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Height about 17 cms. Decorated with colour and design. (Figure XXXVII No. 203, SAM 8694 Sinthumule, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: no record

(ii) Everted:

Bag-shaped, sub-carinated pot with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with colour and design. (Figure XXXVIII No. 212, TVL 61.172 Mphephu's, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: dzhomela (museum records)

for drinking beer (ditto)

These bowls and pots with necks are borderline cases, and could be classified as vessels with thickened rims.

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Double-bowled calabash-shaped vessel with thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure LII No. 218, Sinthumule Location, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: dzhomela (potter; museum records)

for drinking (ditto)

Decoration

The examples of Western Venda pottery studied showed that there is a relationship between type of vessel and decoration.
Pots of fine ware were decorated with graphite and ochre applied within graphic designs on the upper section of the vessel. The design generally consisted of two or three horizontal bands about half-way down the pot, and above these a pattern made up of arcs or triangles.

Incurved bowls had one or two horizontal grooved lines, or a band of stamped impressions about a third of the way down the pot, and the section above this was sometimes coloured with graphite.

Most open-mouthed bowls were decorated with colour and graphic design, generally inside and outside. The most common forms of decoration for the outer surface were a band of cross-hatching or two horizontal bands coloured alternately with graphite and ochre. The inner surface was usually coloured with burnished graphite, sometimes with patches of ochre as well.

System of Distribution

At Sinthumule there are women specialists who make pottery for sale to customers both in the same location and in other districts.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is made by women who specialise in its manufacture. According to informants in the field, the Lemba of Sinthumule Location, Louis Trichardt, no longer practise the art. The
Venda potters interviewed had acquired their knowledge from their mothers and some of them sold their wares as well as making them for their own use.

Pottery is moulded from the lump; large sizes being built up with rolls of clay added in incomplete rings. Firing takes place in a shallow hearth.

Pottery types most commonly made are open-mouthed bowls, incurved bowls and spherical pots, all of which are made in a variety of sizes. The finer ware is decorated with graphic designs, ochre and graphite, and the coarser ware is undecorated or patterned with a very simple graphic or stamped design. It seems that decoration is very closely linked with the vessel type and thus with its function.

Earthenware utensils appear to be named according to size, shape and use, although vessels of the same type and with the same name are put to a number of uses.

Contact with the West has resulted in the use of enamel paint as a decorative material, and in the manufacture of vessels with flat bases instead of the traditional rounded type. The Tsonga custom of drinking from clay vessels has been adopted by some Venda, and spherical and calabash-shaped drinking utensils are made.
4. EASTERN VENDA

No eastern Venda were visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in museum collections.

A. BOWL

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

Wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim, rounded base and four legs. Height 13 cms. Decorated with colour and
graphic design. (Figure XXXVIII No. 210, APRIK 60.1628,
MaPhidi Falls)

Name and use: no record

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Large spherical pot with two mouths, thickened rim and
rounded base. Height about 30 cms. Decorated with design
and colour. (Figure XXXVIII No. 209, TNL 35.658 Mphaphuli,
Sibasa, Transvaal)

Name and use: moupelo (museum records)

no record

b. Spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height
about 27 cms. Decorated with colour and design.
(AFRIK 60.1631, Phiphidi Falls)

**Name and use:** mvubelo (museum records)

for serving beer (ditto)

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**E. MISCELLANEOUS**

Calabash-shaped vessels; double-bowled with small bowls on large, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 29 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour.

(Figure L No. 216, AFRIK. 60.1629, Phiphidi Falls)

**Name and use:** no record

**Decoration**

The four examples of pottery from the Eastern Zoutpansberg were all decorated with graphite and ochre. The calabash shaped and multi-mouthed vessels had triangular motifs and wide horizontal bands coloured alternately with graphite and ochre. On the multi-mouthed pot each triangular motif consisted of three triangles of decreasing size, one inside the other, all with the same base.

The four-legged open-mouthed bowl and spherical pot from Phiphidi Falls were also coloured with ochre and graphite and graphic designs. The bowl was patterned both on the inner and outer surface, on the outside with narrow hatched bands, truncated triangles and inverted triangles and on the inner surface with four V-shapes, point inwards. Both these designs and the more typical band and triangle design on the pot were outlined with narrow hatched, incised bands.

No further information in this section.
SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Eastern Venda were not visited and although it is known that they use pottery, no field information concerning their techniques was obtained.

Very few examples of Eastern Venda pottery were seen. In addition to spherical pots like those of the Western Venda, calabash-shaped and multi-mouthed vessels were seen, and an open-mouthed bowl with four short legs.

Although the same decorative techniques and most of the designs were the same as those on Western Venda ware, some of them differed in that bands and triangles were bordered by narrow hatched bands.

Only one pottery term, moubelo, which is probably a dialectal form of mvuvhelo, was recorded in museum records.
A visit was made to Chief Davhume Nesengani's homestead, and his wife, who was a potter, interviewed.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained at an interview with Chief Nesengani and his wife,

Potters: The potters are women.

Materials: Clay from a large hole near the river is used. This source had been used for a long time and was the only one known in the neighbourhood. Good clays need no filler, but poor clay is mixed with antihill clay. The raw material is brought dry to the homestead where it is pounded fine and mixed with water. The clay is not used on the day of preparation but is set aside for twenty-four hours before use.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build
   a potsnرد

2. As smoothers
   (i) For smoothing outer surface:
       a bean pod, thena
   (ii) For smoothing the edge:
       a piece of soft skin

3. For decorating
   (i) For graphic designs:
       a pin
For burnishing:

a smooth stone

**Technique:** Pottery is moulded from the lump.

**Drying:** After the vessel is shaped it is set aside indoors and covered with blankets to protect it from draughts until it is dry enough to be fired.

**Decorating:** Incised decoration is done before the vessel is dry, colour is applied at a slightly later stage, before firing. The decorative materials are bought from hawkers who get the graphite (phomo) from Duivelskloof district and a red material from Lamamdo, near Siesua. Both these materials are prepared in the same way; a small amount is ground fine and mixed with water to form a paint, which is then applied, burnished and left to dry. Many potters decorate their wares with enamel paint which is applied after firing.

**Firing:** The pots to be fired are placed on their sides, base to base, on a layer of stones covered with wood and grass. The pottery is then covered with grass and wood and the fire is lit. After firing the pots are left in position until the following day when they are quite cool.

**Sealing/Testing:** Ground mealies are cooked in new pots to strengthen them.

No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel types were seen or described in the field and seen in museum collections.
A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:


      (Plate XXI No. 59 Chief Nesengani's)

      Name and use: no record

      for sealing mouth of storage pot (seen in use)

   b. Smaller, shallower bowls with rounded bases. Undecorated.

      (Plate XXI No. 59 Chief Nesengani's)

      Name and use: no record

      lid for spherical pots (seen in use)

   c. Small, shallow bowls with rounded bases. Decorated.

      (Chief Nesengani)

      Name and use: tshidongo (Chief Nesengani)

      for serving meat (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   Spherical pots with thickened rims and rounded bases. Made in a variety of sizes. Undecorated or decorated with simple graphic design. Colour applied to fine wares. (Plate XXI No. 59 Chief Nesengani's; Figure XXXXVII No. 205 SAM 8685 Chief Nesengani's, Sibasa)

   Name and use: Large size: nkho (Chief Nesengani)

   for storing beer, water or dry foodstuffs (ditto)
Medium size: mvuvhelo (ditto)
for carrying water (ditto)

Smaller size: khali ya amka (ditto)
for cooking (ditto)

Small size: tsibilvubelo (ditto)
for serving beer

Decoration

Large, rough wares were decorated with two parallel incised lines between the widest diameter and the rim, and were uncoloured. The fine ware, represented by a pot for serving beer (No. 205), was decorated over the entire outer surface with incised band and triangle designs, coloured with ochre and graphite and highly burnished.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is used amongst the Southern Venda today. The only potter interviewed, the wife of Chief Mseengani, moulded her pottery from the lump.

At the homestead visited a large quantity of pottery was seen; the range of types was small, but a wide variety of sizes of each type was made. Only the finer wares were decorated with all-over graphic design, graphite and ochre, the large vessels of course
ware having only a simple, horizontal incised or grooved band.

Size, shape, name and use of vessel are closely linked.
4. **Venda (undifferentiated)**

**SECTION I - Field**

**Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types attributed to the Venda were seen in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

1. Without necks

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   a. Large wide-mouthed bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 12 cm. Decorated with colour both inside and out, and with graphic design outside. (Figure XXXVIII No. 209, AFIK 59.2322A)

   **Name and use:** no record

   **for grinding millet (museum records)**

   b. Wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and slightly flattened base. Height 11 cm. Decorated colour and graphic designs.

   (Figure XXXVIII No. 211 AFIK 58.1650B)

   **Name and use:** no record

   c. Deep, wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and slightly flattened base. Height about 10 cm. Inner surface serrated. Decorated single grooved line. (Figure LI No. 231 UTC 29.59 Northern Transvaal)

   **Name and use:** no record

   **for grinding snuff (cf. Lobeke No. 173)**
(ii) Incurved:

a. Spherical bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 16 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure XXXVII No. 201, UCT. 29.60 Northern Transvaal)

Name and use: no record.

b. Sub-spherical bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 14 cms. Decorated with graphic design and enamel paint. (Figure XXXVII No. 204, SAM 8830, Louis Trichardt)

Name and use: lefiswana; Sotho (Velcich; museum records) no record.

Decoration

The open-mouthed bowls described above have designs nearer that on the bowl from Phiphidi Falls in Eastern Venda territory than those of the Western Venda. One incurved bowl is decorated with a single line of stamped impressions, the surface above it being coloured with graphite, like those attributed to the Western Venda. The design on the other is not Venda, nor does it resemble any other design seen on Bantu pottery.
SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Except where reference is made to other sources the information set out below is recorded by van der Lith (1960 unpublished manuscript). As he deals with Venda and Lemba an attempt has been made to separate the information here.

Potters: According to Stayt (1931) the manufacture of pottery used by the Venda used to be entirely in the hands of Lemba potters, but there were at the time of his writing a few Venda potters who had learnt the craft from them. Van der Lith states that 90% of Venda women have no knowledge of pottery at all. He says further, that he found that those who practised the art were regarded with disapproval and suspicion since it was against the tribal tradition for Venda to make pottery. He suggests that the missions were largely responsible for the fact that a number of Venda had broken away from their traditions.

Most Venda women who make pottery do so only for their own domestic use and there are only a few who sell their wares.

Materials: There are many types of clay suitable for pottery in Venda. Venda potters believed that pottery clays were the property of the Lemba and that they were protected by Lemba spirits, midzimu ya vumba. Pottery made by Venda potters was believed to be successful only if the potter obtained the permission of these spirits to use the clay. To do this, each time a potter wished to use the clay
from a new site, she took a bundle of dry sticks with her and petitioned the spirits. If the pottery was a failure in spite of the potter's prayers she tried other sources until her wares were successful. Van der Lith concluded that this practice was an adoption of the Lamba one in which the midwimuya mu vumbu were asked to provide a good clay (f).

The potter herself went to collect the clay with a pick to dig it and a sack in which to carry it. Since the sites were frequently distant from the homestead the potter collected a sufficient supply to last her for some time.

The clay was prepared by stamping it finely with a short wooden postle on a grinding stone, adding a filler if necessary, and mixing water with the fine material. The damp clay was then stored in an old pot and covered with a lid until it was required.

Van der Lith records the use of ground sandstone (iwaM) or potsherds as fillers. The potters who used them said that these materials prevented breakages during drying and firing. The use of asbestos as a filler is recorded by Lestrade (Duggan Cronin 1923)

When the clay was required is was moistened with water and again pounded until it was of the required plasticity.

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build**
   
   a potsherd, which was sometimes stood on a grass ring during decoration to prevent it from tilting.

2. **As smoothers:**
   
   (i) For smoothing inner and outer surfaces:

   a bean pod, thamu (*Dillenios lablab*, L.)
(ii) For shaping base:
   a flat stone, 4-5\" in diameter

(iii) For smoothing rim:
   a piece of very soft goatskin (*tshikovulo*)

3. For decorating:
   (i) For graphic designs:
      thorns (*mumpfu*)
   (ii) For stamped designs:
      stalks of thatching grass
   (iii) For burnishing:
      a smooth pebble (*kurungo*)

**Technique:** The Venda use the same technique as the Lemba but are not as skilled as the latter. Vessels are moulded from the lump, the clay being formed into a squat conical shape and the slightly pointed end placed on a sherd. The lump is hollowed out, smoothed upwards and shaped as desired. A thick roll of clay is then placed around the pot at the termination of the wall and smoothed inwards to increase the height and size of the vessel. The edge is evened by pinching off excess clay and then cutting it straight with the edge of a pod (*thama*). A narrow roll of clay is then attached to the upper edge of the wall termination; this is shaped with the aid of a soft, wet goatskin, which is folded over the rim and held in position while the pot is rotated. By exerting pressure from the inside the potter everts the rim slightly. A pod is then used to scrape away excess clay below the edge and the rim is once again smoothed with the soft leather.
The vessel is then placed indoors, with a small amount of damp clay inside it, until the following day, when the base is shaped and finished off. This is done by beating the base, which is still plastic, with a flat stone until it is neatly rounded, and smoothing it both inside and outside with a bumpod.

This technique is used in the manufacture of all vessels. Bowls are merely moulded from the lump without additional clay. Large vessels are allowed to dry indoors for about twenty-four hours when they have been built up to the widest diameter, before they are built to the required height with rolls of clay. Venda potters make only the simplest pottery forms.

Drying: After shaping is complete, the vessel is placed indoors to dry in a store or sleeping hut, covered with sacking. The Potter tests the condition of the vessel by tapping it with her knuckles and is able to tell by the sound whether it is sufficiently dry for firing. The drying period varies with the size of the vessel and the climatic conditions.

Decorating: Graphic decoration is carried out on the first day of making before the vessel is put indoors. Burnishing of the upper section is done the following day, before the vessel is removed from its support to have the base shaped and finished, and the base is burnished immediately after it has been shaped.

Colour is applied after burnishing. Both graphite (pmono) and ochre (lunhundi) are used. Graphite is either rubbed in the piece against the surface to be coloured, or mixed with water to form
a thick paste which is applied with the forefinger. Ochre is
applied as a paste. The colour is then burnished with a smooth
pebble.

Enamel paint is popular amongst the Venda and is applied after
firing.

Stayt (1931) records the use of charcoal to blacken pottery.
This was applied after firing.

Firing: Firing takes place in a shallow depression about five
feet in diameter. The hearth is lined with small stones covered
with dry twigs. The pots are placed on this lining, the large
vessels first, in such a way that the vessels support each other.
They are then covered with firewood, which is in turn covered with a
layer of grass, held in position by a couple of branches. A
temperature of about 700°C is attained. The fire is kept alight
with dry grass until the potter thinks that the vessels are done
(about forty minutes), when the fire is allowed to burn itself out.
The warm vessels are then removed from the ashes with a stick, and
when they have cooled they are carried to the homestead and washed.

According to Stayt (1931) the fire was kept burning slowly for
a day.

Sealing/Testing: Vessels used in the preparation and serving of
food and beer are treated by a process known as "hangula" before
they are put to use. Basically this involves heating each pot
after filling it with the food or liquid for which it will be used;
beer, porridge, water or meat as the case may be.
Mending: Two methods of mending broken vessels are:

1. By smearing tree-gum or wet cattle dung on minor cracks and allowing it to dry. Special mention is made of the white root sap of *mufanga* (unidentified) which dries hard and black.

2. By drilling small holes on either side of the break with an iron awl, threading wire through the holes and smearing the mend with gum or dung. Further, a band of wire may be bound around the vessel.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types are recorded in the literature as being used amongst the Venda. The descriptions are from van der Lith (1960).

A. **BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   a. Large, shallow, open-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 11 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour both inside and out. (van der Lith 1960)

   **Name and use:** *sambelo* (Steyt 1931; van Warmelo 1937; van der Lith 1960)

   for washing (ditto), according to van der Lith (1960) used by men only.

   b. Shallow, open-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 10 cms. Decorated on outer surface with graphic design and sometimes colour too. (van der Lith 1960)
Name and use: **sambelwana** (van Warmelo 1937, van der Lith 1960)

for washing (ditto). According to van der Lith (1960) used by women and children, and also sometimes as a baby's bath.

c. Shallow, open-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 8 cm. Not usually decorated. Sometimes has incised line below rim on outer surface. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: **ludongo** (van Warmelo 1937, van der Lith 1960)

(i) lid for cooking pot (ditto)

(ii) for vegetables, for woman (van der Lith 1960)

(iii) sometimes, for grinding stuff (van Warmelo 1937)

d. Shallow open-mouthed bowl with flattened rim and rounded or pedestal base. Decorated with graphic design and colour both inside and out. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: **l. tshidongo** (Stayt 1931, van Warmelo 1937, van der Lith 1960)

(i) for serving food (Stayt 1931, van Warmelo 1937)

(ii) for serving food to men only (van der Lith 1960)

2. **tsanitino** (van Warmelo 1937), name given to a *tshidongo*, when being used as a lid for a pot.

e. As d. above but smaller and not as well made. Undecorated
or decorated with graphic design on the outside.

**Home and use:** (i) *tshidongwana/ndongwana/tsevnelo*

(van Warmelo 1937; van der Lith 1960)

for serving meat and vegetables (ditto)

According to van der Lith used only by women and older children.

(ii) *mutimo / tshitimo* (ditto)

lid (ditto) According to van der Lith,

lid for cooking pot.

f. As e. above, but smaller. Undecorated or with simple incised band on outer surface. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** *tshidongwana tsha Muna* (van der Lith 1960)

for food for children between ages of two and five years old. (ditto)

g. Deep open-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded, slightly pointed base. Inner surface serrated to about 3 cms. below rim. Height about 11 cms. Undecorated usually, sometimes coloured with graphite on outer surface and just inside mouth. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** *luenda lwa folo / tshisilo tsha folo / tshisilo tsha u kuya folo / tshikuya* (van der Lith)

**luwiende vhe fholi** (Stauty 1931)

tshisilo (Stauty 1931, van Warmelo 1937; van der Lith 1960)

for grinding snuff (all sources)
(ii) Incurved:

a. Very large, spherical bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 30 cms. Decorated single incised line or incised line with row of stamped impressions below. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: sadaingo (van der Lith 1960)
for cooking beer porridge (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed spherical bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 25 cms. Generally decorated horizontal band around widest diameter and triangle design above. Covered with basketwork lid or cloth. Kept in store but and never moved. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: mukombe (van der Lith 1960)
for storing mealie meal (ditto)

c. Wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with a single line below rim, or two lines about 2.5 cms. apart. In Eastern areas band coloured with graphite. Sometimes has mate a kalali (see p. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: kalana (van Warmelo 1957, van der Lith 1960)
for cooking (van Warmelo 1957)
for cooking porridge for three to seven people (van der Lith 1960)

As c. above. Height about 15 cms. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: kukalana / kuku li tohitaka / kukalana
ya u bika vhswa (van der Lith)
for cooking porridge for three people (ditto)

e. Spherical bowl with thickened rim and rounded base.
Mouth comparatively smaller than e. above. Height about 16 cms. Decorated two parallel incised lines. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: ndudu / tshiudu tshu u vhi; muroho (van der Lith 1960)

Tshiudu (Stayt 1951, van der Merwe 1937, van der Lith 1960)

for cooking vegetables (ditto, all sources)

According to van der Lith, for about seven people.

f. Spherical bowl as e. above. Height about 12 cms.
Decorated with parallel incised lines or double row of stamped impressions. Nato a khuli sometimes used. (p. 434) (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: tshiudwana / ndudwana (van der Merwe 1937, van der Lith 1960)

for cooking vegetables for six people, frequently used for meat too. Used by doctors for preparation of medicines (van der Lith 1960)

g. Spherical bowl as f. above. Height about 10 cms. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: ndudwana ya nwana / tshiudu tshu nwana / tshiudwana tshu nwana (van der Lith 1960)

for cooking vegetables for children or two or three adults. Also for preparing medicines. (van der Lith 1960)
8. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large spherical pot with narrow mouth, thickened rim and rounded or slightly flattened base. Decorated single incised line or band, or undecorated. Height about 50 cm. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: nko (Stayt 1951)

nakhe (van Warmelo 1957, van der Lith 1960)

for storing beer (Stayt 1951)

for beer (van Warmelo 1957)

for fermenting beer (van der Lith 1960)

b. Large spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base.

Better finish than a. above. Height about 40 cm. Decorated with incised bands, sometimes coloured. (van der Lith)

Name and use: nkwa (van der Lith 1960)

for storing beer, generally kept in store hut covered with basketwork lid (van der Lith 1960)

c. Spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base, height about 36 cm. Decorated with three bands around the widest diameter and patterned with triangles above them. Fairly often coloured. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: tambu-kotsai (van der Lith 1960)

for carrying beer to work parties in the field, it may also be used for storing beer or carrying water used for cooking or washing. (van der Lith 1960)
d. Large, wide-mouthed spherical pot with thickened rim. Height about 30 cms. Simple graphic design, and occasional use of colour. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** *lukumba* (van Warmelo 1937, van der Lith 1960)

(i) for soaking mealies before stamping
(ii) for soaking grain for beer brewing
(iii) for prepared beer porridge (all van der Lith 1960)
(iv) name given to a broken earthenware vessel (van Warmelo 1937)

e. Narrow-mouthed, spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 30 cms. Decorated band and triangle design above widest diameter, coloured with ochre and graphite. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** *khali ya madi* (van der Lith 1960)

for storing drinking water, kept in a cool place. Also used for transporting water (ditto)

f. Spherical and sub-spherical pots with slightly flattened wall above the widest diameter, rounded rims and rounded bases. Height about 30 cms. Decorated with band, arc and triangle design on upper section, and colour. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** *nvuvhelo khulwana* (van der Lith 1960)

for serving beer at the homestead and on the lands; in the latter use it is replacing *tamba-khotsi*. Contains beer for eight or more people (ditto).
g. Spherical or sub-spherical pots as f. above.

Height about 20-24 cms. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: **mvuvhelwa** (Stuyt 1931, van Warmelo 1937, van der Lith 1960)

(i) for serving beer (Stuyt 1931)

(ii) for serving beer to five or eight people (van der Lith)

(iii) for storing water (van Warmelo 1937)

h. Spherical, bag-shaped and sub-carinated pots with wall above widest diameter slightly flattened, thickened rims and rounded, flat or dimple bases. Height 19-22 cms.

Decorated as f. above. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: **mvuvhelwa** (van Warmelo 1937, van der Lith 1960)

(i) for serving beer to two or four people (van der Lith 1960)

(ii) for water or sour porridge (van Warmelo 1937)

i. Spherical, sub-spherical and sub-carinated pots with wall above widest diameter slightly flattened, pots with thickened rims and rounded, flat or dimple bases. Height 12-17 cms. Decorated as f. above (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: **tshituku mvuvhelwa** (van der Lith 1960)

serving beer to from one to three people (ditto)

j. Wide-mouthed, spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded
base. Height about 25 cms. Decorated single incised line or band. (van der Lith 1960) (cf. c. and x. p. 426)

Name and use: khali ya u bike mufuri (van der Lith)
for cooking pumpkin; also replacing

sundo (x. i. 417) as cooking pot for beer.

k. Spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Mouth narrower than j. above. Height about 25 cms. Decorated with single incised line or band. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: khali / gali / khali ya bike vhuswa/
khali ya vhuswa (van der Lith 1960)

khali (Stayt 1931, van Warmelo 1937)

(i) for cooking porridge (Stayt 1931, van der Lith 1960) According to van der Lith for about seven people.

(ii) for cooking (van Warmelo 1937)

l. Spherical pots with thickened rims and rounded bases.

Height from 12-15 cms. Decorated with band, arc and triangle design over entire or upper surface. Coloured.

(van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: Large size: thutha (van der Lith 1960)
Small size: thuhtana (ditto)
for storing baby's porridge, after cooking (ditto)

m. Small spherical pot with flattened rim and rounded, pedestal or dimple base. Some examples with handles.
Height about 11 cms. Entire surface decorated with band, arc and triangle design. Coloured. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** 1. dzhomela (van der Lith 1960; van Warmelo 1937)

   (i) for drinking beer; found mostly in regions where Tsonga influence is strong (van der Lith 1960)
   (ii) drinking mug; of Tsonga manufacture (van Warmelo 1937)

2. mukcvelo (van der Lith 1960); examples with pedestal bases.
   for drinking beer (ditto)

n. Bag-shaped pot with flattened rim and handles. Height about 15 cms. Decorated graphic design and colour. (van der Lith 1960)

**Name and use:** acshomela (van der Lith 1960)
   for drinking beer (ditto)

2. **With necks**

   (i) Upright:

   Spherical pot with short, upright neck, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 19 cms. Decorated with band, arc and triangle design and colour. (van der Lith 1960)

   **Name and use:** mvuvnkelona (van der Lith 1960)
   for serving beer to from two to four people (ditto).
E. MISCELLANEOUS

a. Doubled-vessel, calabash-shaped vessels with thickened rims and rounded or simple bases. Height 17-29 cms. Decorated with band, arc and triangle design and colour. (van der Lith 1960)

Name and use: Large size: ngota / mvuvelo (van der Lith 1960)

for serving beer to from five to eight people (ditto)

Medium size: ngotama / tshibuku mvuvelwana (ditto)

for serving beer to from one to three people (ditto)

Small size: dzhomela (ditto)

for drinking beer (ditto)

b. Spherical pots with more than one mouth. Van der Lith saw three examples, one with two mouths, and the others with four mouths, all with rounded bases. Height below spouts about 23 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour.

Name and use: mvuvelo (van der Lith 1960)

for serving beer, the extra mouths said by Venda informants to show hospitality. This type of vessel is made only by Lomba potters, but is used by the Venda too. (see also p.

Decoration

Having done systematic research into the decorative designs used on Venda pottery, van der Lith drew the following conclusions:

1. There is no link between the decorative designs and the totem
group of the potter or the user.

2. There is no evidence that the decorative motifs have any symbolic significance.

3. There is no evidence that the type of decoration is related in any way to the traditional religion.

4. There is a definite relationship between decoration and the use of pottery vessels. Those used by men, and in company are the most highly decorated.

5. Lemba potters prefer to repeat a decorative motif four times on each vessel. The Venda do not show the same tendency.

6. Before she has finished making a vessel, the potter knows what design she will use to decorate it, and she goes about the process systematically and carries it out as symmetrically as possible.

7. Traditional designs are used and there is very little attempt to introduce new designs. It is not known whether these designs are Venda or Lemba in origin.

The mato a khali are shallow depressions made with thumb and forefinger on certain vessels only. After questioning a number of women van der Lith learnt that these were a type of trademark by means of which potters recognised their wares.

The types of decoration described by van der Lith are the same as those described and illustrated from museum specimens and pottery seen in the field, particularly that of the Southern and Western Venda and Northern Transvaal Lemba.
System of Distribution

Pottery is now paid for in cash. In the past it was bartered for grain. The vessel was exchanged for the amount of grain which it could contain. Venda potters make domestic ware for their own use, few of them sell their wares. (van der Lith 1960)

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

Van der Lith records the following taboo:

Members of the Venda tribes have to hangula (p. 422) a vessel bought from the Lamba before putting it to use. This is done for two reasons:— firstly for fear that they may be cheated by the Lamba and sold poor quality pottery; secondly for fear of being poisoned by the Lamba. It is taboo for a Venda to bring a newly purchased Lamba pot into the chief's village without having treated the vessel herself. This taboo is based on the fact that if a chief should fall ill as a result of poisoning, his forefather spirits, to whom he intercedes for rain, will punish the people by sending a drought.

Van der Lith devotes a large part of his thesis to the part played by pottery in the life of the Venda and Lamba. This information is not recorded here.

The following information is obtained from other literary sources.

Weeckman (1909) states that numerous twins were killed annually and their bodies packed into pots which were buried on the swampl river banks.
Hughes (1957) describes the practice of putting the bones of a deceased chief in a pot which is then placed in a shallow hole three feet deep; this hole must be in the same kraal as the bones of the ox in whose skin the body of the chief was previously wrapped. The pot is surrounded by stones built up to its height, and is covered with a flat stone. The new chief and the daughter of the dead chief pray at this site and sprinkle water over the bones and the surrounding stones to keep the spirit of the dead chief cool.

van Warmelo (1944) states that the multi-mouthed mvuvhelo were sacred objects connected with ancestor worship by the Lomba, and that they were also to be found in the secret quarters of most Venda Chiefs. He states that it was the prerogative of the Chief to possess them, and it was an offence for a commoner to do so.

These pots were kept indoors in a basket with a lid, and it was taboo for them to be uncovered except for use. They could only be seen by certain people. After a public beer drink, when the Chief retired to his private quarters with a small chosen and trusted company, the mvuvhelo was said to be used as a drinking vessel. As it was not allowed to be put on the ground the junior wife had to be present to hold it, and two other wives to keep it filled from the storage pot. These three women always had to be present, they tasted the beer and presented it to each of the company in the order directed by the Chief. Great care was taken to keep one of the mouths for the Chief only, the other guests using the other openings.
VENDA - DISCUSSION

It is very difficult to separate the Venda and Lemba pottery industries, and the discussions of both sections should be taken into account.

The pottery used by the Venda today is made by both Venda and Lemba potters, there being a higher percentage of Lemba women who are able to make pottery than Venda. In general it is accepted that the Lemba, who have lived amongst the Venda at least since they migrated to the Transvaal between two and three hundred years ago, used to keep the Venda supplied with pottery utensils, and that those Venda who made pottery had learnt from them. This theory is supported by the fact that Venda and Lemba potters use the same technique, and make the same type of pottery.

Pottery is moulded from the lump with the addition of clay in one or more thick rings formed by joining a number of sausage-shaped pieces together, and placed around the wall termination.

The most common pottery types used today are open-mouthed bowls for washing or eating from, incurved bowls for cooking, and spherical pots of various sizes, some decorated and some with a rough finish used for brewing beer, storing beer or water, and serving and drinking beer. Van der Lith describes a wider range of these types and a greater variety in degree of decoration than were seen in the field or museum collections. Many of the variations described by him are seldom made today. The tendency now seems to be to use a smaller range of pottery so that the uses to which each vessel is put are wider than in the past. Multi-mouthed and calabash-shaped pots are used by the Venda, but are
made only by Lemba potters. Drinking vessels are made in many shapes and are believed to be the result of Tsonga influence.

Both polychrome, graphically decorated and only graphically decorated wares are used, and the type and degree of decoration is closely linked with the use of a vessel. According to van der Lith (1961) food and washing bowls used by men are highly decorated and those for women only slightly. The same distinction in decoration is made on pots used in company for serving and drinking beer and those used only by the women for domestic purposes. Incised and grooved decorative techniques are most common, and stamping with the end of a grass stem is also used. Designs on beer vessels are made up of horizontal bands and triangles and/or arcs. The bands are sometimes hatched and the motifs are coloured with well burnished graphite and ochre. Cooking and storage vessels generally have one or two horizontal lines three to six centimetres below the mouth, either grooved or stamped and small sizes are sometimes coloured with graphite above this. Open-mouthed bowls for men are coloured both inside and out. Graphite and ochre are applied within grooved horizontal bands on the outside, and roughly-shaped motifs inside. The inner surface is sometimes merely coloured with well burnished graphite. Women's food and washing bowls sometimes have the graphic designs but are generally uncoloured. The type of decoration described above is also found on Lemba ware. Some of the decoration on pottery attributed to Venda potters is not of the same style although the same techniques and basic designs are used.

Many pottery terms are recorded by van der Lith, who includes
dialectal forms. In his classification it can be seen that the name of a vessel is closely related to its use, shape and size. From information from other literary sources and that obtained in the field it appears that this relationship is, in fact, fairly flexible especially in regard to size, and in some instances, use.

In conclusion it can be said that it seems likely that for a long time the Venda used Lemba pottery but that they are now making their own to a certain extent and that particularly in Western Vendaland, they even make for sale. The pottery the Venda make is mostly the same as that of the Lemba of the Transvaal but sometimes differs in decoration. Modern influence can be seen in the making of flat bases, the addition of legs to some bowls and the use of enamel paint as a decorative material. The use of earthenware drinking mugs instead of calabashes is due to contact with the Tsonga.

It seems most unlikely that the Venda should never have had a pottery tradition of their own. All other Bantu people of South Africa have made pottery at some time even if they no longer do so. It is possible that the Venda made their own pottery before the Lemba came to live amongst them, probably before they reached the Transvaal, and that they lost their knowledge of it so completely that when they began to make it again they adopted the Lemba techniques and copied their ware. It is not clear why the Venda should suddenly start to make pottery again after being satisfied with Lemba ware for so long, but it may be that contact with the European upset the Venda-Lemba symbiotic relationship.
With the introduction of money the Lemba no longer received agricultural produce for their pottery, and the amount they earned would not buy sufficient food. They therefore, had to turn to agriculture themselves and their pottery production dropped. The Venda were able to buy trade articles to replace some pottery, but still preferred earthenware for some purposes and therefore started to make their own.
5. LEMBA

There are Lemba living amongst both the Venda in the Northern Transvaal, and the Shona in Rhodesia. The former were visited in June 1962, and the latter in June 1963. They are dealt with in two sections.

A. LEMBA in the northern Transvaal

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained at a demonstration and interview given by a Lemba potter at Chief Menege's Location, Sibasa.

Potters: The potters were women.

Materials: Clay was collected from the nearby Luvubu River.

No filler was needed; the clay was stamped with a short wooden pestle on a flat stone, and mixed with water until it was the required consistency. (Plate XXI No. 60)

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

a potsherd

2. As smoothers

(i) For inner and outer surfaces:

a bean pot, thuma (Suxhina Kirkii Oliv.)

(ii) For the rim:

the bean pod

a very wet cloth

3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:

a small stick
(ii) For stamped designs:

the ends of two stalks of thatching grass

Technique: The vessel was moulded from the lump (Plate XXII No. 61) which was hollowed out and smoothed upwards and inwards to give the required shape. The rim was formed by adding a roll of clay to the termination of the wall after it had been evened. The roll was smoothed with the thwasa pod and the very wet cloth and the pod was used to scrape excess clay away below the rim. (Plate XXII No. 62) After the vessel had been smoothed it was put aside to dry until the following day, when the base was to be shaped.

Drying: After shaping, the base the potter puts the pot indoors for about five days, covered with sacking to allow it to dry completely. On the day of firing the pot is placed in the sun.

Decorating: Graphic and stamped designs are done after adding the upper section of the vessel (Plate XXII Nos. 63 and 64).

Colour is applied after the base has been completed. Graphite (phono) is either rubbed on from the piece, or ground to a fine powder, mixed with water and applied as a paint. Ochre (inumal) which is found locally is also applied as a paint; both materials are burnished after application.

Firing: The pots are placed on their sides in a shallow hole, supported by stones and with their mouths facing each other. They are covered with layers of grass, firewood and kindling. Brisk is sometimes used as a fuel. Firing takes about an hour and the pots are left in position overnight to cool before they are removed from the ashes.
No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types attributed to Lemba potters have been seen in museum collections.

A. **Jouls**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   a. Large, deep, wide-mouthed bowl with serrated inner surface, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 21 cms. Undecorated. (Figure LIII No. 232 SAM 8690 Nphero's Location, Sibasa)

   Name and use: **mugurudu** (potter; museum records)

      (i) for grinding monkey nuts (ditto)

      (ii) for stirring or rubbing soaked maize to pieces in; done by Tsonga before they learnt the art of making good flour by pounding in a mortar (van Warmelo 1937)

   b. Small, shallow wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height 8 cms. Decorated graphic design and colour on the outer surface and colour inside. (Figure LIII No. 233 SAM 8305 Sibasa)

   Name and use: **ndongwana** (potter; museum records)

      for serving food (ditto)

3. **Avis**

1. **Without necks**

   a. Large, spherical pot with narrow mouth, thick ned rim and rounded base. Height 37 cms. Decorated graphic design.
To be coloured with enamel paint. (Plate XXI No. 57)

**Name and use:** umvubelo (potter; Mphago's Location)
for beer or water (ditto)

b. Spherical pot with thickened rim and flattened base.

Height 19 cms. Decorated graphic design and colour.
(Figure LIII No. 237 SAM 8801 Tshimoupfe, Sibasa)

**Name and use:** mvuvhelwana (museum records)
no record

c. Small, spherical pot with rounded rim and slightly flattened base. Height 14 cms. Decorated graphic design and colour.
(Figure LIII No. 235 SAM 8805 Tshimoupfe, Sibasa)

**Name and use:** dzhomela (museum records)
for drinking beer (ditto)

d. Inverted bag-shaped pot with thickened rim and rounded base.

Height about 20 cms. Decorated graphic design and colour.
(Figure LIII No. 234 UCT 39.1)

**Name and use:** no record

e. Inverted bag-shaped, sub-carinated pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height 14 cms. Decorated graphic and stamped design. (Figure LII No. 227 UCT 37.29 Lemana Mission, Transvaal)

**Name and use:** no record

2. **With necks**

(i) **Upright**:

a. Sub-spherical pot with tall, curved, upright neck formed
with well-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 22 cms. Decorated graphic and stamped design and coloured. (Figure LII No. 228 BWYO 2047 Mphethu)

Name and use: no record

b. Small, wide-mouthed spherical pot with very slight, short, upright neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height 15 cms. Decorated stamped design and colour. (Figure LIII No. 236 SAM 8691 Mphego's Location, Sibasa)

Name and use: tshidudu (seller; museum records)

no record

+ This pot is a borderline case. It could be classified as one with a thickened rim, without neck.

Decoration

The decoration on most of the Lombe ware studied was the same as that seen on the pottery attributed to the Venda and used by them; that is a band, arc and triangle type of design coloured with ochre and graphite, well burnished. A few specimens showed greater attention to detail; the use of stamped impressions to outline a triangular design and more frequent use of hatching on vessels with the band and triangle design. (No. 228)

Two of the examples studied were decorated with designs which did not appear to be typical of this pottery. One of the design consisted of grooved hatching and cross-hatching combined with
lines of stamped impressions. No colour was applied (No. 227). This vessel was made at a mission, which probably account for its atypical shape and design. The second example was coloured with graphite and ochre and had a band and triangle design, but this was further patterned with grooved parallel lines and stamped impressions (No. 234). It is not known where this pot was collected, but Lestrade who acquired it worked mainly in Mpephu's district.

System of Distribution

The potter interviewed made large quantities of pottery for sale. Informants at the Sinthumule location, Louis Trichardt said that Lemba women in that area no longer made pottery.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

The only information on Lemba pottery methods in the literature is recorded by van der Lijth, and according to him Venda and Lemba techniques are identical (p.418). The following information applies only to the Lemba.

Potters: The majority of Lemba women are able to make pottery.

Materials: When a Lemba potter goes to collect clay at a new site she places a bundle of twigs at the pit and prays to the spirits of the clay that the material will make good, strong vessels.

Tools: (see p.419)
Technique: The Lemba potters are more skilled than the Venda and make more complicated shapes which are not made by the Venda, such as calabash-shaped and multi-mouthed vessels. (see p. 420)

Drying: (see p. 421)

Decorating: Few Lemba potters use enamel paint to decorate their wares, preferring the traditional materials. (p. 421)

Firing: (see p. 422)

Testing/Sealing: To the Lemba the amulula process (p. 422) is a part of the process of manufacture and is a test of the strength and quality of the wares.

Mending: (see p. 423)

Pottery forms, names and uses

The classification of pottery types from van der Likh (1950) set out under Venda (p. 423ff.) applies also to the Lemba. There are no other reference to Lemba pottery types in the literature.

Decoration

The designs used by the Venda and Lemba potters are identical, those executed by Lemba potters are, however, more symmetrical and show better workmanship. (van der Likh 1950)

System of Distribution

In the past Lemba potters bartered their wares for grain and it was not necessary for them to cultivate their own. Today, the demand for their wares has dropped because of the greater use of European wares and because some Venda make pottery. Further,
payment is made in cash, and as the price of grain is high many
Lomba are finding it necessary to abandon their pottery industry
or to relegate it to second place, and cultivate their own crops.

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery
manufacture and use

1. Stuyt (1931) records the following "New Moon Rite" (cf. Basuto
p. 244). "At about the time that it (the new moon) was expected,
a large black bowl was filled with water and put on the ground
outside the hut of each headman, where the midday sun would
shine directly on it. Just before noon on the day before
the new moon became visible to the naked eye in the sky, it
could be seen reflected in this bowl of water, following close
behind the sun's reflection. The man who first saw this
reflection told all his neighbours, and all shaved their
heads and spent the rest of the day in fasting. The following
day was a day of rest, all work of every kind being strictly
taboo."

2. Jacobs (1931) records that it was a Lemba custom never to
speak to strangers until they had been offered a dish of water
for washing purposes.

3. It was a marriage custom of the Lemba that the bride had to
remain in the village of her parents-in-law for a year before
the consummation of marriage. If they accepted her and she was led
to her husband at the end of this period. A doctor was called
in to mix the couple's blood and the bride was then given an
earthenware dish in which she was to bring water to her husband every morning without his ever having to ask for it (Jacques 1931).

4. The multi-mouthed mvyuvelo were sacred objects connected with ancestor worship amongst the Lemba (van Warmelo 1944).

CONCLUSION

According to literary sources the majority of Lemba women are able to make pottery, and in the past they made a living by bartering their wares for grain, with the Venda. Today the demand for earthenware has decreased and not all the Lemba practise pottery as a trade.

Lemba potters mould their wares from the lump, with the addition of rolls of clay in rings one on top of the other to increase the size of the vessel, for large sizes.

The Lemba make open-mouthed and incurved bowls and spherical and near spherical pots. Pots with necks are also occasionally made, and calabash-shaped and multi-mouthed pots used by the Venda are said to be of Lemba manufacture.

Decoration generally takes the form of graphic and stamped designs coloured with graphite and ochre. Enamel paint is frequently used today instead of the traditional materials. The Venda and Lemba use the same pottery terminology although according to van Warmelo (1937) the Lemba speak a type of Karanga, which suggests that the pottery terms are Venda.
B. *LENBA* in the Belingwe District, Rhodesia (Rhemba)

**SECTION I - Field Technology**

The following information was obtained at an interview and partial demonstration by a Rhemba potter at Chief Mposi's kraal, Belingwe.

**Potters:** The potter was a woman who had learnt the art from her mother. She made pottery for sale.

**Materials:** Suitable clay was obtained from near an anthropol. The potter went to collect it herself as it had to be particularly chosen. The raw material was brought back to the homestead and was stumped between stones and mixed with water. No filler was needed.

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build** a potsherd

2. **As smoothers**
   
   (i) For outer surface:
   
   a mealie cob
   a flat stick
   a pod (*namura*)

   (ii) For inner surface:
   
   a pod (*namuru*)

   (iii) For rim:
   
   a flat stick
3. **For decorating**

(i) **For graphic designs:**
   a grass stalk

(ii) **For stamped designs:**
   a grass stalk

(iii) **For applying colour:**
   a piece of rag

(iv) **For burnishing:**
   a smooth stone

**Technique:** The pots are moulded from the lump. When the upper section has been shaped the vessel is set aside to dry for a short while before it is turned upside down and the base shaped.

**Drying:** The pots are kept indoors for two days to dry. They are not covered. On the third day they are put into the sun and that evening they are fired.

**Decorating:** Graphic designs are done after shaping, while the pot is still wet. Colour is applied when the pots are dry, before firing. Graphite (*onidziro*) and ochre (*chibundi*) are used. The ochre is bought from pedlars. To apply the graphite the potter first wets the design to be coloured and then rubs the graphite lump over the surface. This area is then burnished. The ochre is ground to a fine powder, and the potter dips either her forefingers or a piece of cloth first into water and then into the powder and rubs the colour onto the surface. This too is burnished.

**Firing:** The pots are fired either in the morning or the evening.
after they have been in the sun for a while. The vessels are placed slightly off-vertical, leaning against each other, in a dung fire. Wood was said to be too heavy for the pots. The potter is able to tell by looking at them when they are fired. They are left in position in the ashes until they are completely cold. Breakages were said to be caused by poor clay; if they occurred the potter used another clay for the next batch.

Sealing/testing: New pots are filled with water, which is brought to the boil over a fire. This is a test for leaks.

Mending: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections and at the potter’s place.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base.

   Height about 10 cms. Decorated graphic design and colour. (Figure LII No. 250 BWY 2031 Selingswe)

   Name and use: no record

   (ii) Incurved:

   Shallow, incurved bowl with rounded rim and rounded base.

   Height 9 cms. Inside of bowl divided into two sections by a low clay ridge. Decorated graphic design and colour.

   (Figure LII No. 231 BWY 5079 Selingswe; Mission School)
Name and use: no record
for serving relish; made in traditional style (museum records)

3. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Bag-shaped pot with thickened rim and rounded base.
   Height about 19 cm. Decorated graphic and stamped design. (Figure LII No. 229 BWYU 2025, Bellingwe)
   Name and use: no record

   Name and use: Large size: gate (potter; Aposi's kraal) for brewing beer (ditto)
   Medium size: shambakudzi (ditto) for cooking porridge (ditto)
   Small size: xalene (ditto) for cooking meat and vegetables (ditto)

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:
   Pot with tall, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and dimpled base.
   Height about 30 cm. Decorated graphic design. (Figure LII No. 226 BWYU 2029 Bellingwe)
   Name and use: no record
b. Spherical pot with tall, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded base.

Decorated with graphic design. (Chief Mposi's kraal, Belingwe)

**Name and use:** chipfuko (potter; Chief Mposi's) for beer or water (ditto)

c. Spherical pot with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and rounded base.

Single line around base of neck. (Chief Mposi's kraal, Belingwe)

**Name and use:** njengiero (potter; Chief Mposi's) for beer (ditto)

**Decoration**

Leamba pottery from Belingwe falls into the following three classes.

(i) Undecorated ware.

(ii) Polychrome ware: coloured with graphite and ochre and patterned with rectilinear designs, which are either incised, grooved or stamped.

(iii) Uncoloured ware: patterned with designs of straight and curved grooved lines.

Most of the pottery seen in the field was undecorated, the few exceptions belonging to the second group. One example (No. 230) has a design very similar to a Lobeau specimen (No. 152). Only one example of the third type of ware was seen (No. 226).
The polychrome wares of the Lemba of Belingwe and the Northern Transvaal are not of the same type, nor does that of the Belingwe Lemba resemble polychrome Shona ware.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Amongst the Lemba of the Belingwe district there are a number of women who know how to make pottery. The potter interviewed had learnt from her mother how to mould her vessels from the lump. She made pottery for sale as well as for her own domestic use.

The few examples of Rhemba pottery seen at the potter's place were more reminiscent of Shona pottery than that made and used by the Venda and Lemba of the Northern Transvaal. Shona pottery terminology was used.

Some examples of pottery from mission schools in museum collections show European influence in shape and decoration.
The Lemba of Rhodesia and of the Transvaal both make pottery today, and potters of both groups use the same technique. The modern pottery made by the Lemba of Rhodesia is more like that of the Shona, than that of the Lemba of the Transvaal. However, the fact that pottery from archaeological sites in Vendaland, Transvaal and in southern Rhodesia is of the same Class (Schofield Class R₃) suggests that ancestors of these two groups of Lemba made the same type of ware and that in the isolation of Vendaland the style of the pottery became more distinctive, whereas in Rhodesia Lemba pottery evolved along the same lines as that of the Shona. There is known to have been an association between the Lemba of the Transvaal and the Shona by the fact that they speak a type of Karanga.
6. CHOPF

61. CHOPF

a. Lenge

The Lenge were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in museum collections.

A. BUNDIS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

       Open-mouthed bowl with cut rim and rounded base.

       Height 9 cms.  (Figure LIV No. 240 TVL 6893

       Maseyenzi)

       Name and use: no record

       for food (museum records)

B. BUNDIS

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:

       Pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined

       point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base.

       Height about 15 cms. Undecorated.  (Figure LIV No.

       239 TVL 6835 Maseyenzi)
Name and use:  djomeia (museum records)
for drinking (from name)

Decoration
Neither of the examples of Lenge pottery were decorated.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

The following information is recorded by Earthy (1933).

Potters: Potters were women, and all women in districts where there was suitable clay made pottery both for their own use and for sale to women in districts where no clay was available. The main pottery districts were Ngwensi, Bungana, Ncengu, Malanisi, Mpalaneni (near Myalwani) and the Barra District, at the mouth of the Limpopo. Most potters were found to be of Nama or Tsonga origin, at Malanisi.

Materials: The types of clay used in the districts given above varied in colour and quality. At Malanisi the clay from the swampy part of the lake was used.

After collecting the clay the potter put it in the shade covered with Ricinus leaves to keep it moist until she was ready to prepare it. This was done by stamping it in a mortar, first with water to make it plastic, and then mixed with coarsely ground fragments of sherds to strengthen it. The mixture was then kneaded in a large wooden bowl, more
water and sand were added if required. The mass of clay was then placed on a sherd covered with Ricinus leaves and patted into the shape of a jampot with the hands or a small flat piece of wood.

**Tools:**

1. As a support on which to build
   a potsherd

2. As smoothers
   (i) For shaping:
   a small triangular piece of wood
   a wooden slat
   (ii) For smoothing:
   a wooden slat

3. For decorating:
   (i) For burnishing:
   a large flat bean picked up on the sea-shore.

**Technique:** The basic technique was to mould the vessel from the prepared lump of clay, which was hollowed out, the walls so formed being drawn very gently upwards while the clay was kept very damp. Small pots were formed entirely in this way, but in the making of large pots this process was followed by the building up of the walls and neck with rings of clay placed one on top of each other. The narrow necks of goblet-shaped pots ( zincuto) were smoothed and shaped by twisting a stick inside the neck once it was too narrow for the hand.

**Drying:** After shaping the vessel it was covered with a
large inverted pot so that it would dry as slowly as possible, for five days or so.

*Decorating:* The vessel was polished a number of times during the drying period. Pottery was sometimes coloured red with ochre (*tsuwa*) found on the roots of rotting grass in marshy ground. The ochre was stumped together with a reddish clay in a mortar, and then putted into little cakes which after drying in the sun for about a month were roasted in a hot fire until they were an intense red.

*Firing:* Wood was used as a fuel and the pots were either placed in between layers of it on the level ground, or laid in a shallow pit in the sand and covered with firewood.

*Testing/sealing:*

1. New cooking pots were not considered to be fit to cook water until they had been sealed by cooking a little thick maize porridge (*vuswa*) in them.

2. Waterpots were not used for storing water until they had been treated to render them less porous. The treatment consisted of filling them first with boiling water, then with two changes of cold water from the lake.

3. Washbowls were strengthened by roasting maize husks (*mahungu*) in them.

*Reading:* No information.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types are recorded by Earthy (1933)

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Large bowls. No further description.

      Name and use: (i) Sihiiso
                      for mashing; used with a wooden
                      pestle by women who sit on the ground and manipulate
                      the pestle with a rotary motion.

   (ii) Maseke

          for supporting a pot over the
          fire; three bowls which have been used until there
          are holes in their bases form the support.

   b. Medium-sized bowls. No further description.

      Name and use: khamba
                      for washing

   c. Small, shallow bowls. (cf. Figure LIV No. 240)

      Name and use: Nhambamba
                      for food.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

   No description.

   Name and use: 1. Mbitu/ngadi (Lenge) / Khudi (Chopi)

      Large size: for cooking

      Small size: for medicines
sometimes used for supporting pot on the fire.

2. *Sitolelo*

for storing oil and red ochre.

2. With necks

a. Large narrow-mouthed pots with pronounced neck.

Name and use: *liduwa*

for storing water or beer

b. As for a. above, with less neck.

Name and use: *pfuko*

for beer or water

b. MISCELLANEOUS

a. Gourd-shaped pot. Said to be of Nama origin.

Name and use: *Nkutse*

for water

b. Pot; said to "follow" the design of a woman's hand-basket.

Name and use: *ndomova*

for drinking beer

c. Pot, with larger mouth than b. above.

Name and use: *Nkalaviso*

for drinking

d. Pot. No description. Said to be of Tsonga origin.

Name and use: Large size: *galungu*

for distilling gin

Small size: *Sinlangwana*
Decoration:

The favourite design of potters at Kalamini was a band of incised triangles, each pair being placed apex to apex around the neck of the vessel. The use of a red colour is also described. (Earty 1933)

System of Distribution

Potters in districts where there was suitable pottery clay had large markets for their wares amongst housewives in other districts. The buyers came to fetch their pots which were mainly bartered for pieces of material (tungwe), mealies, and sorghum, although cash transactions did take place.

Yields and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

1. The headdress on which a potter carried her baskets of clay could not be made with the leaves of komorwe, clematiace or harrania aquastifolias, or pots made of that clay would crack. (Earty 1933)

2. The maize porridge cooked in a new cooking pot to seal it was given to those who were no longer able to have children. (Earty 1933)

3. Potholders were used in medicines; the clay itself was believed to have remedial properties.

4. Pots placed on the apex of the hut roof were said to serve as protection from the rain and have no further significance.
5. A woman's medicine and cooking pots were sometimes placed on her grave or buried with her when she died, but they were more usually thrown away so that they did not remind her daughters of their mother.

**Conclusion**

The Lenge were not visited from Bary we know that in 1939 pottery was made by women who specialised in its manufacture both for their own domestic use and for sale in districts where no pottery clay was available.

The basic technique was moulding from the lump, large vessels being formed by the addition of rings of clay placed one on top of the other.

Bartly describes a fairly wide range of pottery types consisting of open-mouthed bowls and pots with and without necks. Decoration took the form of a band of incised triangles placed apex to apex around the neck and the application of a red colour.

No mention is made in the literature of changes in shape and decoration of pottery as a result of contact with European peoples. Bartly found that most potters were of Nama origin. They do not, however, use the same techniques as the Nama potters of Rhodesia, although the term **pukho** suggests a link with the Shona. Tsonga influence is shown in the use of the terms *ndzomoya* and *cal manu* (also used by Tswana).
Chopi

Visits were paid to Chopi in the vicinity of quissico, Zavala, and the area known as makaplulane between Chiaenguele and Manja-
uzo, Muchopes. A great deal of pottery was seen in the latter
region and a partial demonstration watched. No pottery was
seen near quissico. Chopi of Innamane concelho were also visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained at the demonstration
and from informants in the Makupilane district.

Potter's: Potters are women who specialise in the manufacture
of pottery for sale.

Materials: The clay, collected by potters from lowland areas,
is strengthened by the addition of ground potsherds. The
potter pounds this mixture with water in a deep wide-mouthed
clay mortar with a wooden pestle. Preparation is completed by
kneading. When prepared, the clay is very stiff and hard.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

a potsherd

2. As smoothers

(i) for surfaces;

a specially prepared piece of calabash
the head of a spoon

(ii) For the rim;

stiff leaves
3. For decorating:

(i) For applying colour:

a piece of cloth

(ii) For varnishing:

a large pip (imbogota)

Technique: The potter worked out of doors. The pot was started with a ball of clay which was hollowed out with the fingers. Although the ball was placed on a potsherd the potter turned the pot itself as she worked. The vessel was shaped by applying pressure from inside with the spoonhead. The rim was flattened and smoothed with the fingers and then the edge of a stiff leaf was used to scrape away excess clay and so straighten the edge.

Drying: After shaping, the pot was placed on a sprinkling of sand in the shard and left to dry in the sun for four days.

Decorating: Pots are coloured red after a short period of drying. A cloth is dipped in red tinted liquid and gently drawn over the surface, which is then smoothed and varnished with a large, smooth, brown pip.

Firing: Firing takes about one and a half to two hours. The pots are placed between layers of firewood and covered with grass.

Sealing/Testing: The pots were said to be ready for use after firing.

No further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without neck

(i) Open-mouthed bowls:

a. Large, deep, wide-mouthed bowl with cut rim and rounded base. (Chief's place, hakupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: tshikuru (informants; Chief's place, hakupulane)

mortar; for grinding clay (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed bowl with rounded base. (Nhancaja, near Alta Malaiissa, Inhambane)

Name and use: lipani (informants at Nhancaja)

for porridge (ditto)

c. Small, open-mouthed bowls with rounded bases.

(Shikolweni, hakupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: lehiso (informants at Shikolweni)

for food or as mortars (ditto)

(ii) Incurved bowls

a. Small bowl with rounded base. (Nhancaja, near Alta Malaiissa, Inhambane)

Name and use: kadi (informants at Nhancaja)

for cooking (ditto)
5. Small bowl with rounded base and serrated inner surface. (Nhancaja, near Alta Malaisia, Inhambane)

Name and use: likhelo /lichelo (SiTonga)
(informants Nhancaja)

for grinding meal (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Small wide-mouthed spherical bowls with short upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, and rounded bases. (Shikolweni, Makupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: shimbitana (informants Shikolweni)

for sealing cooking pot when distilling (seen in use)

(ii) Everted:

a. Open-mouthed bowls with everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded bases. (Shikolweni, Makupulane, Muchopes) Coloured.

Name and use: nkhumba (informants Shikolweni)

for food (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed spherical bowls with everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded base. (Chief's place, Makupulane; Muchopes; Shikolweni, Makupulane, Muchopes.)
Name and use: *nkhamo* (informants at Chief's place, makupulane)

*ikadi* (informants at Shikolweni,)

no record

c. Small, wide-mouthed spherical bowls with everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Undecorated. (Shikolweni, Makupulane, Mchopes)

Name and use: *shimbitane* (informants at Shikolweni)

for cooking (ditto)

3. Pots

1. Without necks

a. Spherical pots with rounded base. Large. Undecorated. (Nhancuja, near Alta malaisa, Inhambane)

Name and use: *pfuko / ngulo* (*Zitonga*) (informants at Nhancuja)

for storing water (ditto)

b. Large spherical pots sometimes with carination nearer mouth than base, and flattened wall from carination, and rounded base. Graphite design. (Nhancuja, near Alta malaisa, Inhambane)

Name and use: *muita* (informants at Nhancuja)

for cooking; used in distilling (ditto)
c. Very large, elongated bag-shaped pots with rounded bases. Undecorated, or coloured red. (Nhanceja, near Alto Malaissa, Inhambane; Hakupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: kadi / nghulo (bitonga) (informants at Nhanceja)

for fermenting beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

i. Very large, elongated spherical/oval pots with wide, upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and rounded base. Undecorated. (Chief's place, Hakupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: kadi (informants, Chief's place, Hakupulane)

for cooking on feast days or storing water (ditto)

ii. Large oval pots with narrow upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and rounded base. Coloured. (Shicolwini, Hakupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: lidwa (Chief's place, Hakupulane)

muva (Shicolwini, Hakupulane)

for fetching water and fermenting beer (both sources)

iii. Small spherical pots with upright necks formed with poorly defined point of inflection, and rounded bases.
Makupulane, Muchopes

(ii) Everted:

a. Large, oval pot with tall, curved everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection. Decorated graphic design and/or colour. (Shikolweni, Makupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: shikadjane (informants at Makupulane)

no record

b. Large, spherical pot with curved, everted neck short, formed with poorly defined point of inflection, and rounded base. (Shikolweni, Makupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: lidowa (informants at Shikolweni)

for storing beer or water (ditto)

c. Spherical pot with short, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cm. Decorated graphic design. (Figure LiV No. 230 Sa. 5942. Makupulane, Muchopes)

Name and use: mofita (informants at Shikolweni)

for cooking (ditto)

d. Small spherical pot with narrow, curved, everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, undecorated. (Chief's place, Makupulane, Muchopes)
Name and use: tshiduwane (informant at Chief's place, Makupulane)

for fermenting drinks or as a container for drinking water (ditto)

Decoration

Most Chopi pottery is undecorated. A few examples were coloured red and a few had rough incised or grooved linear patterns: sometimes only a collection of short, grooved strokes and sometimes a band of pendant triangles patterned with cross-hatching, at the base of the neck.

System of Distribution

Potters make pottery not only for their own domestic use, but also for sale to neighbours. Pottery is used in most homesteads in the Makupulane and Alto Malalisa districts of Muchopepe and Inhambane respectively.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Chopi of Makupulane still make and use pottery, but none was seen at a Chopi homestead in Quissico. The potters are women specialists who sell their wares as well as making them for their own use. They mould pottery from the lump.
A wide range of pottery types was seen in the field, but there were so many slight variations in shape that they did not seem to form a homogeneous tradition. Decoration was rare, consisting of the use of ochre or, less frequently, triangular incised designs.

The terminology did not have much in common with that recorded by Earthy amongst the Lengo, although vessels were used for the same purposes. The terms pfuko and shikhadjana used at Makupulane suggest some relationship with the Shona, and a number of Tsonga terms are also used.
It was found during field trips that the Khoka are better known locally as the sitonga, and this is confirmed by Ruta-Ferreira (1959). Sitonga in the Conselho of Inhambane were visited in 1962 and 1963.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from potters at Jangano and Inhambane, the first of whom gave a partial demonstration.

Potters: The potters are women, who make large quantities of pottery for sale.

Materials: The potter at Jangano used clay collected from a nearby riverside which she brought home on her head in a pot. The potter interviewed at the market collected her clay from Xutomba. Finally stamped potsherds are used as a filler by both potters. The raw materials are mixed with water and kneaded. Wet clay which is not required immediately is wrapped in the leaves of the castor oil plant, <em>fatuera</em> (<em>Kicinia</em>), to keep it easy.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a potsherd

2. As smoothers

shells of bi-valve molluscs
3. For decorating:

(i) For graphic design:

a strip of tin (Jangano)

(ii) For furnishing:

shells (Jangano)

Technique: The potter at Jangano worked out of doors; when she was first observed the pot had been shaped and she was smoothing it with a shell. The vessel had been built up from the base, which was complete. The potter at Inhambane moulded vessels from the lump, with the addition of clay if necessary.

Drying: Pots are allowed to dry indoors for a period of from one to two weeks, before they are fired.

Decorating: Colour is applied to vessels when they are dry, before firing. A natural red material, obtainable at Katomba, is applied as a paint with the flat of the hand and burnished with a clam shell. Egg-shaped balls of roasted, red, decorative material were seen on sale at the market at Inhambane.

Firing: A number of vessels are fired at a time; they are placed on their sides (Jangano) or the right way up (Inhambane) in a wood fire, and take about an hour to fire.

Sealing: The potter at Inhambane said that pottery was ready for use after firing.

no further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Large, wide-mouthed bowls with cut rims and rounded bases. Height about 18 cms. Undecorated
      (Figure LVI No. 244 SAB 6766 Inhambane market)

      **Name and use:** tinzal: (seller; Inhambane) for cooking (ditto)

   b. Medium-sized bowl with rounded base. Undecorated or decorated with colour. (Jangamo, Inhambane)

      **Name and use:** tuwana (informant at Jangamo) for washing (ditto)

   c. Small straight-sided bowls with rounded bases.
      Undecorated. (Maxixe market, Inhambane)

      **Name and use:** no record

      for covering small cooking pot

      (informants Maxixe market)

   d. Saucer-shaped bowls. Undecorated. (Inhambane market, Inhambane)

      **Name and use:** no record

      for covering a small cooking pot

      (informant; Inhambane market)
2. With necks

a. Shallow, sub-carinated bowls with short, straight, everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Made in a range of sizes 11–20 cm in height, decorated with colour. (Figure LV No. 243 SAM 8767 Inhambane; Plate XLI No. 66 Jangamo, Inhambane)

Name and use: **gikalango** (potter; Inhambane) for cooking (potter; Jangamo)

b. Small carinated bowls with everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection cut rims and rounded bases. Height about 12 cm. Decorated with colour. (Figure LV No. 242 SAM 3775 Maxixe, Inhambane)

Name and use: **gikalango** (informant; Maxixe) for cooking (potter; Jangamo)

b. **RIVS**

1. Without necks

a. Large, narrow-mouthed, elongated bay-shaped pot.

Undecorated. (Cape Mayene’s, near Alto Malailisa, Inhambane)

Name and use: **rinda** (informant; Cape Mayene’s) for storing water (uitto)
b. Large spherical pots with carination nearer mouth than base, and flat wall above carination, rounded base. Undecorated. (Cabo Muyene's, near Alto Mabissa, Inhambane; Inhambane market, Inhambane)

Name and use: khali (informant; Inhambane market) for cooking (ditto)

for fermenting cashew nuts (informant; Cabo Muyene's)

c. Small spherical pots with rounded bases. Undecorated. (Inhambane and Maxixe markets, Inhambane)

Name and use: gilumo (informants at markets)

for cooking rice (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Large spherical or oval pots with narrow, upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and rounded base. Undecorated or with colour. (Inhambane market, Inhambane)

Name and use: tsungwa (informant; Inhambane)

no record

(ii) Everted:

Large spherical pots, with short everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Height about 35 cms. Some with wide-mouths and some narrow. Decorated with colour. (Plate XXIII
No. 65, Jangamo, Inhambane)

Name and use: nkanlu (potter at Jangamo)
for water (ditto)

b. Large carinated pots with short, straight,
everted necks formed with well-defined point of
inflection. Decorated with graphite design and/
or colour. (Commissioner's office, Maxixe;
Tswa territory, near

Name and use: khali (informant at Commissioner's
office)
no record

Decoration

Applied lumps were seen on large cooking pots at Inhambane
market, and this type of decoration was mentioned by the
potter at Jangamo.

A carinated pot seen at the Maxixe Commissioner's Office
was decorated with a band of triangles patterned with stamped
impressions spiked up with a sharp tool. The same type of
design was seen on a pot from Matemba in use amongst the Tswa;
this was was decorated with triangular impressions. (Plate
XIV No. 53) A number of pots with notched rims were seen
at Maxixe market.

The most common form of decoration was the colourin, with
ochre on inside and/or outside surfaces.
System of Distribution

There are many potters amongst the BiTongas; who in addition to making pottery for their own use and for sale at local markets make large quantities of pottery for sale to stores in the Northern districts around Funchaluro, Sítile and Rio das Pedras. In these regions there is no clay suitable for pottery. (See also ).

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

A spherical cooking pot, often painted white, was frequently seen crowning the apex of the huts. According to informants this was to keep the rain out.

Pots were used as plinths to clean the feet.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The BiTonga pottery industry is thriving today. There are many women who make more pottery than they need for their own domestic use; they sell the surplus either at local markets or to trading stores in newa territory where pottery clay is scarce.

Pottery is moulded from the lump, with the addition of clay in rings for large sizes. A wide range of pottery types is
carination and sub-carination are common features and in this respect the pottery resembles that of the Tswa of Panda and the Ronga.

Decorative designs are not frequently used but examples of applique, stamped and graphic techniques have been seen. More common is the colouring of vessels with a specially prepared red ocre.

The Khokha terminology differs from those used by the Lenge and Chopi tribes, although some of the pottery types are the same.

62. **TSHONGONONO**

There is no information concerning these tribes.
6. **CHOPI - DISCUSSION**

The Tshongonono tribes of this division are excluded from this discussion.

Amongst Chopi and BiTonga (Khokha) there are still women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery today, and the Lenge made and used pottery in 1933. The potters make not only for their own domestic use but for sale to neighbours and at markets. Amongst the BiTonga, there is an important pottery trade with northern districts where very little pottery is made as there is not much suitable clay.

The potters of these groups all mould their pottery from the lump, large vessels being built up with the addition of rolls of clay to form rings placed one on top of the other. The Ronga and Tswa potters use the same basic technique, as do the Venda and Lemba and some Shona tribes in the manufacture of small vessels.

Only two examples of Lenge pottery have been seen, and Earthy's descriptions of the various types are not full enough for classification according to the scheme used in this survey. It is known, however, that open-mouthed bowls were made and that some pot types were said by the Lenge themselves to be of Ndau and Tsonga origin. Amongst the other two groups a wide range of heterogeneous types are made, particularly in the Muchopes and the inland region of Inhambane. In the Inhambane, Maxixe, Jangamo vicinity the pottery is more distinctive; spherical, carinated and sub-carinated vessels, of various sizes, most of which are coloured red and burnished, are characteristic. These wares resemble the pottery
made by the Tswa of Morrumbene and of Panda, and are comparable with Ronga carinated and sub-carinated bowls.

Schofield (1948:174) pointed out a resemblance between one of the wares of the Tonga of north-eastern Rhodesia and that of the Ronga, and the BiTonga share the characteristics on which he drew the comparison, namely, the use of a carinated profile and of a red decoction for treating vessels before use.

Lenge, Chopi and BiTonga terminology reflects the confusion of influences amongst the groups. Although Lenge and Chopi use some of the same terms, the BiTonga appear to use a different basic terminology and share only terms suggesting Shona and Tsonga influence.
7. SHONA

Some of the Shona tribes were visited on a field trip to Rhodesia in June, 1963 and examples of their pottery were seen in museum collections.

71. KARANGA/TONGA

a. Zezuru

A Zezuru potter and other informants at Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa were interviewed.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter and from a film taken in Masembura Reserve Bindura (Hayes 1939).

Potters: The potters are women who make pottery both for their own use and for sale to neighbouring housewives who are unable or unwilling to make their own domestic ware.

Materials: Clay from anthills is used without a filler. After digging the raw material with a hoe the potter brings it home in a basket. It is then ground on a grinding stone to a fine powder, which is mixed with water and stamped with a wooden pestle on the flat stone until it is the required consistency.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build an enamel or tin plate

2. As smoothers

   (i) For inner and outer surfaces:
a smooth piece of wood or metal

a piece of calabash

a mealie cob

3. For decorating

(i) For graphic designs:

a metal blade

a piece of stick

(ii) For burnishing:

a smooth stone

Technique: The ring technique is used. The vessel is started with two large, roughly formed rolls of clay which are placed on a plate to form a ring. The walls are built up with further rings of clay, similarly formed from more than one roll, and decreasing in size and thickness as the height of the vessel increases.

The pot is smoothed inside and out during building, and at the same time gently formed into the required shape. The rim is smoothed with a piece of very wet cloth as a finishing touch. After sprinkling the pot with water and smoothing it all over once again, the potter stands it in the shade of the eaves of a hut until the following day to allow it to dry sufficiently to stand it upside down without it collapsing.

The vessel is completed without the addition of any further clay. It is turned over on a mat or blanket, the enamel plate is removed and the excess clay around the base is smoothed and shaped upwards until it closes
Drying: The vessel is dried for three days indoors, on the fourth day it is put outside and on the fifth it is fired.

Decorating: The decoration of a vessel is done at two different stages. Graphic decoration is done on the second day of making before the vessel is turned upside down. The application of traditional materials to colour these designs is done on the second or third day of drying. Both graphite and ochre are mixed with water, applied with the forefinger and burnished with a smooth stone. The potter at Mrewa who decorated her wares with enamel paint after firing, burnished them when they were nearly dry before firing.

Firing: Firing takes place in a sheltered spot near the homestead, in a shallow hearth which is used again and again. The Bindura potter started a small twig fire in the ash-filled hearth, into which she put the pot on its side. The fire was then built up with large pieces of firewood and allowed to burn itself out. The vessel is removed from the ashes with a stick. The potter at Mrewa described a similar method of firing for up to ten pots, which were placed the right way up. She too used wood as fuel, if sufficient makwati bark, which she preferred, was not available. This potter generally started firing at six o'clock in the evening and the pottery was removed from the ashes the following morning.
Breakages are said to be the result of using poor clay, of firing insufficiently dry vessels, or of a cold wind during firing.

Sealing/Testing: No method of sealing was shown in the film or mentioned by the potter at Mrewa.

Mending: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

Small, shallow, open-mouthed bowls with rounded bases. Undecorated. (Matongarere, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: mbel (informant, Matongarere) for serving vegetable relish (ditto)

(ii) Incurved:


Height about 20 cms. Undecorated. (Plate XXIV No. 70 Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: tsva (informant; Chiweshe) for cooking (ditto)

b. Narrow-mouthed, incurved bowls with rounded rims and rounded bases. Height about 15 cms. (Figure LXIV No. 287 SAM 8976 Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve,
Mrewa; Plate XXIV No. 70 Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: chikari (informant; Chiweshe) for cooking vegetables (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Everted:

Sub-carinated bowl with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Nazolo Jam, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: gati (informant; Nazolo Jam) no record

B. POTS

1. Without necks

Large, straight-sided pot with rounded base. Height about 25 cm. Undecorated. (Nazolo Jam, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: biso (informant; Nazolo Jam) for brewing beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Narrow-mouthed spherical pots with tall, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height 24-35 cm. Decorated incised design and colour. (Bindura, film; Figure LVII No. 249 Chindemora Reserve)

Name and use: hari, generic term (film) for carrying water (ditto)
b. Wide-mouthed spherical pots with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with stamped and incised design and colour. (Figure LX No. 265 SAL. 6114.1 Lake Moolwaine)

Name and use: no record

c. Spherical pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. (Figure LXIV No. 266 SAM 8975 Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa; Plate XXIV No. 70, Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: kapfuko (informant; Chiweshe) for drinking beer (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Vessels of the type described under a. and c. above are also made with everted necks.

Name and use: The same names and uses are given.

b. Very large, spherical pots with wide-mouthed everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Plate XXIV No. 70, Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: (ti)gati (informant; Chiweshe) for beer or water (ditto)
D. ZOO MORPHIC POTS

"Tortoise" pots; roughly shaped headless creature with squarish bodies and four legs, the mouth of the pot being the neck of the tortoise. ([BWYO 2009, 2010 Marandellas, Rhodesia])

Name and use: lambe (museum records)
no record.

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Small, spherical pots with three narrow spouts and pedestal base. (Plate XXIV No. 70 Chiweshe, Mangwende Reserve, Mrewa)

Name and use: no record
a vase (informants; Chiweshe)

Decoration

Water and beer pots are decorated with graphite and sometimes with ochre as well. The colour is frequently applied within a triangular design outlined with incised or grooved lines around the body of the vessel and in vertical bands down the neck. Some pots had the graphic design but were uncoloured.

The sub-carinated bowl seen at Nazolo Jam was decorated in an entirely different way with a complicated triangular design patterned with hatching in a variety of directions.

Most of the pots with necks have a groove around the base of the neck.
System of Distribution
Pottery is made by women specialists for their own use and for sale.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: Pottery is made by women (Posselt 1935)

Decorating: Some pottery is decorated with designs coloured by means of graphite and iron oxide (Posselt 1935)

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses
The following vessel types are described and illustrated by Stead (1947) and Schofield (1948).

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   a. Wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and pedestal base. Height about 12 cms. Notched decoration. (Schofield 1948 Plate IX No. 6 Q,V,M,M.)

   Name and use: no record


   Name and use: chimbiya/mbiya (Stead 1947)
for serving relish (ditto)

(ii) Incurved:


*Name and use:* tsaya (Stead 1947)

for cooking, usually

porridge (ditto)

b. Inverted bag-shaped bowls. Height about 12 cms. Undecorated. (Stead 1947)

*Name and use:* Large size: *chigapu* (Stead)

Small size: *kabadjgana* (ditto)

for cooking

meat and vegetables (ditto)

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large pots with tall, narrow necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.

Height about 30 cms. Often decorated.

(Stead 1947)

*Name and use:* chirongo (Stead)

for carrying water (ditto)

b. Spherical pot with tall, narrow neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 25 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Schofield 1948, Q.V.M.M. Plate IX No.3
Echo Farm, Salisbury

Name and use: no record

c. Spherical pots with narrow neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height 15–22 cms. Sometimes decorated. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: kapfuko (Stead)

for drinking

d. Spherical pot with short, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with black burnish. (Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 4, Q.V.M.M. Echo Farm, Salisbury)

Name and use: no record

e. Wide-mouthed spherical pot with neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 17 cms. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: chikari (Stead)

for cooking meat and vegetables (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Large spherical pot with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 30 cms. Decorated with colour and conical bosses. (Schofield 1948 Plate IX No. 1 Q.V.M.M. Sinoia West, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

for making and serving beer (Schofield)
b. Spherical pot with everted neck divided into two with clay partition. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Bent 1892, from Masoe Valley)

Name and use: no record for making and serving beer (Schofield)

(iii) Inward-sloping:

a. Very large, narrow-mouthed spherical pots with inward-sloping neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Height about 50 cms. Undecorated. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: miviringo (Stead) for storing cold kaffir beer (ditto)

b. Large, inverted-bag-shaped pots with short, inward-sloping necks formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 40 cms. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: gate (Stead) for cooking beer (ditto)

D. ZOOMORPHIC POTS

a. Vessel in form of goat. Length 30 cms.

Decorated with colour and graphic design.

(Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 11 Q.V.M.M. Chikwakwa Reserve)

Name and use: mbanematemai - goat(Schofield) for beer or water (ditto)
b. Vessel in form of headless lion. Decorated with colour and graphic designs. (Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 12, Q.V.M.M.)

Name and use: no record for containing viscera of deceased chiefs from which the maggots (that later develop into lions) are said to arise (Schofield 1948).

Decoration

Mrs. Goodall (1946) found that the moulded conical bosses (mazamu) and circular indentations (maziso) were being used for purely decorative purposes and were losing any other significance.

The use of graphite and ochre as decorative materials is recorded on most of the vessels described by Schofield (1948), the colour being applied on the neck and upper section of the body either in designs outlined with grooved lines or over the area as a whole.

Zoomorphic vessels are commonly decorated with both these materials which are generally applied in stripes or in triangular designs outlined with grooved lines.

System of Distribution

An important industrial centre for the manufacture of zoomorphic pots representing the lion, zebra, tortoise, birds etc. still exists in the Wedza Hills, south of
Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

1. Goodall (1946) states that zoomorphic pots were used as funerary urns; the native tradition concerning a pot of this type from a grave was that it became animated at night by the soul of the deceased, so that it walked and danced and that was why such pots were always made with legs.

2. Bent (1892) describes the use of pots as beehives in Mangwende's country. The pots were placed in high positions on boulders and supported with stones.

3. Edwards (1929) describes the following customs practised by the tribes of the Mrewa district:

(i) Twins were disposed of by filling their mouths with ashes and putting them alive into a large pot which was buried in a wet vlei...

(ii) A girl was examined before she was handed over to her husband by a female relative or other old woman. The party retired to a nearby stream taking a honza (small pot used for ablution) with them. If the examination was satisfactory the honza was full when the girl returned, if half full the girl was handed over to her father for questioning.

(iii) A wall is built around a grave and the clay pot
used for washing the corpse is placed on top of the grave.

CONCLUSION

The Zezuru make and use pottery today. A number of women specialise in its manufacture and sell what they do not need for themselves. They use the ring technique, building with very thick rolls of clay, and complete the base last by shaping and smoothing the lower part of the wall inwards until it meets.

The number of pottery types made is small, although there is a range of sizes in each type. There are minor variations in shape, but the main types are open-mouthed bowls, incurved bowls and spherical pots with necks. Zoomorphic pots, with a specialised use are also attributed to the Zezuru.

Decoration is found mostly on the pots, where it takes the form of incised, grooved and stamped horizontal or zig-zag lines, and the application of graphite and ochre.

More pottery terms are recorded by Stead (1947) than were given in the field, although the terms tsaya, mbiya, ohikari, kapfuko and gati were used in the field too. The shape, name and use of a vessel are closely interrelated.

The pottery appeared to be traditional in form and decoration without changes resulting from contact with the European. Zoomorphic vessels were not seen in the
field. Small vessels with a number of spouts give the impressions of being traditional although they are now used as vases.
Although the Shawasha are not mentioned in Posselt's (1927) ethnic classification they are discussed here both because they inhabit Zezuru territory and because they speak a dialect of the Zezuru language.

The Shawasha were not visited.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following description of pottery types seen in museum collections, includes the terms and uses of Shawasha pottery given in the records of the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

No descriptions.

Name and use: (i) katsaiya

for making monkey-nut sauce

(ii) mbiya

for serving meat and sauce

(iii) zenga

for lid of storage pot, chikati, or for roasting

(iv) chigate/gate

for thick milk or storing meal
2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Carinated bowl with tall, curved, everted neck. Height about 11 cms. Decorated with graphite. (SAL. 49.38)

Name and use: no record

(iv) Undifferentiated:

No description.

Name and use: chikati

for washing body; used by married couple.

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Narrow-mouthed barrel-shaped pot with dimple base. Height about 20 cms. Undecorated. (Figure LXXI No. 268, SAL.49.39 Chishawasha, Rhodesia)

b. No description.

Name and use: biso

for brewing beer or boiling vegetables

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Narrow-mouthed spherical pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Height about 21 cms. Decorated stamped impressions and colour. (SAL. 49.37
(iv) **Undifferentiated:**


**Name and use:** *makati*  
for storing beer or storing seeds.


**Name and use:** *hadjikana*  
for cooking meat

c. No description:

**Name and use:** *tipfuko*  
for serving beer to field-workers.

d. Spherical pot with tall neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

**Name and use:** *kapfuko*  
for carrying water to hut

e. No description.

**Name and use:** *qhirongo*  
for storing water to keep it cool

**Decoration**

Little can be said about the decorative designs and techniques of the Shawaeha from the specimens seen, except that both polychrome and black ware are made. The
former is coloured with burnished graphite and ochre and the latter sometimes partly with graphite. The only other form of decoration seen was the use of stamped impressions in horizontal lines to separate bands of red and black. (SAL. 49.37)

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are described by Mrs. Goodall (1946).

A. BOWLS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Large, wide-mouthed carinated pot with curved everted neck formed with point of carination, cut rim and rounded base. Height about 28 cms. Decorated with moulded and stamped features. Coloured with graphite and a whitish pigment. (Goodall 1946, Figure V.1.)

Name and use: chigate (Goodall 1946)

for storing food; given by wife to husband on wedding day (ditto)
b. Wide-mouthed bowl with curved everted neck formed at point of carination, cut rim and rounded base. Height about 14 cms. Decorated with stamped impressions and moulded lumps. Black burnish over part. (Good 1946, Figure V ii.)

Name and use: chikati (Goodall 1946)

(i) for washing; used by woman to wash her husband, or less frequently, herself. (ditto). (ii) for storing dry foods (ditto).

Mrs. Goodall (1946) points out that chikati means a large pot, and the uses to which vessels with this name are put are many.

c. Vessels similar to the above but smaller, also decorated with mazamu and maziso (Goodall 1946)

Name and use: (i) gate (meaning pot)

(ii) kakati (meaning small pot)

(i) for thick milk

(ii) for washing hands and face

D. ZOOMORPHIC FORMS

Bird-shaped pottery vessels. Decorated with graphite and ochre and incised design. (Goodall 1946; Schofield 1948 Plate XX No. 13, Q.V.M.M.)

Name and use: hari ye dongwe (pot of honour) (Goodall 1946)

ritual vessel used originally at the celebrations attending the rule of a new chief (ditto)
Decoration

Goodall (1946) discusses the *masamu* and *maziso* features of Shona pottery. She points out that the *masamu* represented the female breasts and symbolised the woman's giving of herself to her husband. The *maziso* represented eyes, the equivalent of a warning to others to observe this agreement. The features were found on vessels belonging to, and for the exclusive use of, a married couple. Goodall states further, that although pottery is still decorated with *masamu* and *maziso* the significance of these features is no longer recognised and anyone uses the vessels.

Other forms of decoration on the vessels described by Goodall are colouring with graphite and a whitish pigment and simple incised designs.

No further information in this section.

DISCUSSION

Pottery is still made and used by the Shawasha today, although a number of vessel types are no longer made and the significance and ritual use of others have to a great extent been lost.

The potters are women, who make pottery for others as well as for their own use. Pottery is put to a wide variety of uses.
To some extent the name of a vessel describes its shape, size and use, but Goodall (1946) points out that the name of a pot, for example chikati, is sometimes used to describe only its size, and that the term may include pots of a variety of shapes, which are put to different uses.
71. **KARANGA**

   **a.2 Maromo**

   A number of pots collected by Mr. W.H. Stead, now in the National Museum, Bulawayo, are attributed by him to the Dzete tribe. Today these people are known in the Charter District, where they live in Maronda Mashanu under the Hera chief, Metekedza, and in Narira Reserve under the Roswi chief Musarurgwa, as the Maromo (District Commissioner, Charter District. in lit. 31/4/1964)

   Although they are not mentioned in Posselt's (1927) ethnic classification they are discussed here because they live in Zezuru territory.

   The Maromo were not visited.

   **SECTION I — Field**

   **Technology**

   No information in this section.

   **Pottery forms, names and uses**

   The following vessel types were seen in the museum at Bulawayo and the additional information was obtained from letters and memoranda, also in possession of the museum, from Mr. W.H. Stead.

   **A. BOWLS**

   1. **Without necks**

      (ii) **Incurved:**

      a. Deep, wide-mouthed incurved bowl with cut
rim and flattened base. Height about 19 cms.
Undecorated. (Figure LIII No. 283 BWYO 2053, Charter District, Rhodesia)

Name and use: munzira (Stead, museum records)
no record

b. Small, incurved bowl with wide mouth, cut rim and flattened base. Height about 11 cms. Decorated with graphite. (Figure LVII No. 248 BWYO 2054, Charter District, Rhodesia)

Name and use: chikadigana one munzira (Stead)
for cooking; the smallest size.

2. With necks

(iv) Undifferentiated;
As b. above with neck. Height about 11 cms.
(Stead)

Name and use: chimbiya (Stead)
no record

B. POTS

2. With necks

(1) Upright:
Spherical pot with straight, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 32 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXVI No. 295 BWYO 2057 Charter
District, Rhodesia)

Name and use: **chikati** (Stead)

for cooking meat or porridge,

in large quantities only (ditto)

(ii) **Everted**:

a. Large, inverted bag-shaped pot with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, and flattened base. Height about 33 cm. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure LXXI No. 296 BWYO 2056 Charter District, Rhodesia)

Name and use: **chirongo** (Stead)

for carrying beer or water (ditto)

b. Spherical pot with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, thickened flattened rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cm. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure LXIII No. 278 BWYO 2052 Charter District, Rhodesia)

Name and use: **hadjigana** (Stead)

for cooking (ditto)

(Cooking pots are used for cooking meat and vegetables when they are new, they can then be used for cooking other foods and the name changes accordingly; for example **tsambakonzi** is used exclusively for porridge, whatever the type. Stead)
Decoration

The pots collected by Stead were decorated by the application of ochre and graphite, either in vertical stripes on the neck and in triangular designs on the body below the neck, or in alternate horizontal bands of colour. The former design is the same as that found on a pot from Chimaramora design in Zezuru territory. The designs were outlined with grooved or incised lines and a deeply grooved line was commonly found at the base of the neck. The bowls were either plain or decorated by the application of graphite on the outer surface below the rim.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Maromo were not visited and nothing is known of their pottery techniques, nor in fact, whether they make or use pottery today.

Examples of their pottery in museum collections consist of bowls and large, necked pots which are named, sometimes according to use and sometimes according to shape. Pots are decorated with ochre and graphite in simple graphic designs and bowls are generally undecorated.

There is no obvious European influence on the type and decoration of this ware.
b. Manyika

The Manyika of Inyanga Reserve, who had been transferred there from Umtasa Reserve, and of Maranke and Zimunye Reserves, Umtali were visited during June 1963.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained from potters and other informants who were interviewed.

Potters: Potters were women specialists who made pottery for their own use and to fulfil orders placed by neighbours. They had learnt the art either from their mothers or other women who knew the techniques.

Materials: The potters dug their clay themselves with a hoe, from deposits near rivers, and carried it home in a basket. It was either pounded wet (Inyanga) or stamped when dry (Maranke); in either case water was then added and the mixture was kneaded until it was the required consistency.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build

- a wooden plate (Maranke)
- a piece of zinc (Inyanga)
- an enamel plate (Inyanga)

2. As smoothers

- a piece of calabash (Maranke) Znyanga)
- a smooth piece of wood (ditto)
3. For decorating

For graphic designs:

a grass stalk (Mareneke)

Technique: The method described by both the potters interviewed was the same ring technique as that used by the Zezuru (p. 485) with the variation that the potter at Inyanga added lumps or rolls of clay to complete the base.

Drying: Once a vessel was formed it was allowed to dry before firing. The potter at Inyanga left her pots to dry for about a week outside in a warm place, sheltered from the direct rays of the sun. According to her the wind had no detrimental effect on the vessels during the drying period.

The potter at Umtali dried her wares in the sun for four days, but took them indoors during the night.

Decorating: The decoration of pottery was done in two stages; graphic decoration while the clay was still wet, just after the base was completed, and the application of colour a day or two later. At Umtali, the potter prepared graphite by grinding a small amount and mixing it with water. Graphite was bought, and came from Penhalonga. Red colouring material was said to be scarce in that district.

Firing: The number of pots fired at a time depended on how many of them were ready when a firing took place.
Both potters fired from three to twenty vessels at a time. The firing took place either in a hollow (Maranke) or on the level ground (Inyanga); the pots were placed on their sides on a layer of firewood, the rest of the fuel being carefully arranged over them, and covered with grass.

A firing time of from one and a half to two hours was usual at both Inyanga and Maranke. The potter at Inyanga allowed the vessels to cool in the ashes before removing them.

Sealing/Testing: At Inyanga pots were used after firing without any further treatment. At Maranke, when the fire had died down the pots were turned the right way up and filled with water into which some bark of the mukarreti (Burkea afrikana Hook) was placed. The vessel was washed before being sold or put to use.

Mending: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOOWLS

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:

   a. Bowls with upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection. Made in range of sizes. Undecorated, with black finish.

   (Zimunya and Maranke Reserves, Umtali)
Name and uses:

Large size: inhamba/inkhama (informants; Zimunye Reserve, Umtali)

for cooking (ditto)

Small size: chikari (ditto)

for cooking (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed bowls with short, upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Made in range of sizes. Undecorated, with black finish. (Inyanga Reserve, Inyanga)

Name and use: ohigapu (informants; Inyanga)

for cooking vegetables (ditto)

mbia  (ditto)

for monkey-nut sauce (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

Open-mouthed bowl with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 7 cms. Decorated with colour. (Figure LXIV No. 284 SAM 7125 Holdenby, Rhodesia)

Name and use: mbiya  (museum records)

for serving food (ditto)

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Wide-mouthed spherical pots with upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection.
Height about 35 cms. Undecorated. (Maranke Reserve, Umtali)

Name and use:  

\textit{mabideiro} (informant; Maranke)  

for brewing beer (ditto)

b. Narrow-mouthed spherical pots with curved, upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 30 cms. Undecorated. (Maranke Reserve, Umtali)

Name and use:  

\textit{msudze} (informant; Maranke)  
\textit{gate} (informant; Inyanga)  

for storing beer or water (informant; Inyanga)

c. Spherical pots with narrow necks formed with well-defined point of inflection. Smaller than b. above. Sometimes decorated with graphic designs and colour. (Maranke and Zimunye Reserve, Umtali; Inyanga Reserve, Inyanga)

Name and use:  

\textit{chipfuko} (informants; Maranke and Zimunye)  
\textit{kakaha} (informants, Inyanga)  

for sweet beer or water (ditto)  

for serving beer to two or three visitors (ditto)

d. Spherical, wide-mouthed pots with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Made in two sizes. Undecorated,
with black finish, or with band of graphic design. (Zimunye and Maranke Reserves, Umtali)

Name and use: chigapu (informants; Zimunye and Maranke Reserves)

for cooking (ditto)

(a) Small, spherical pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 10 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Zimunye Reserve, Umtali)

Name and use: ohimbiya (informants; Zimunye)

for serving vegetables (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Spherical pots with narrow, curved, everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection; sometimes has handle. In range of sizes. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXI No. 266, SAM 8970 Inyanga)

Name and use: kakaha (informants, Inyanga)

for storing and serving beer (ditto)

b. Inverted bag-shaped pot with curved, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 17 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXIV No. 285, SAM 7126
Holdenby, Rhodesia.

Name and use: pfuko (museum records)
for water (ditto)

Decoration:
Most of the Manyika pottery seen was undecorated black ware, and some examples had a raised band of cross-hatching at the base of the neck.

Exceptions to this were pots used for storing beer or for serving beer or relish. On these vessels decoration took the form of the application of colour, (graphite, ochre, red and black enamel paint) in vertical bands on the neck and triangular designs below it.

Pottery from Holdenby was decorated with a very light orange ochre, graphite and red paint and was entirely different in style from other Manyika ware.

A characteristic feature of this pottery was a marked grooved line at the base of the neck, particularly in the Umtali districts.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Martin (1941) gives a full description of Manyika techniques as demonstrated by the wife of a chief at Penhalonga, who came from Macequece, Mozambique, and her daughter.
Potters: The manufacture was a hereditary craft passed from mother to daughter within certain families who sold their wares to the rest of the clan. Martin says that although potters were then still handing their craft on to their daughters they doubted whether it would be practised by them as the demand for pottery was decreasing.

Materials: At Penhalonga pottery was made of a local greyish yellow clay which turned red on firing. The potter herself dug the clay with a hoe from about three and a half feet below the surface and carried it in a basket. Each lump of clay was examined and stray grass, roots and extra coarse, hard, white granules were removed before it was placed in the basket. The site was re-covered with the surface soil when sufficient clay had been dug.

Wooden pestles (motu) six feet long and three inches in diameter were used to pound the clay which was placed on a flat slab of granite (guvo) and sprinkled with water. The pole was jabbed into the clay, twisted away and drawn up again until it did not come away readily, at which stage the material was sufficiently prepared.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build an enamel dish
        a basket
2. **Smoothing**

   (i) For smoothing inner surface:
   
   a piece of calabash (nhemba)

   (ii) For smoothing outer surface:
   
   a flat strip of bamboo (aluiperiro che hari)

   (iii) For smoothing rim:
   
   a piece of wet skin

3. **For decorating**

   (i) For graphic designs:
   
   a fine, pointed stick

   (ii) For applying colour:
   
   a dry twig

   (iii) For burnishing:
   
   a quartz pebble

**Technique:** Large vessels were built by the ring technique; the base being completed with the addition of lumps or rolls of clay after the rest of the vessel had dried slightly.

Potters actually formed a more elongated vessel than appeared as the final product. The reason for this was that while the clay was wet its weight caused the pot to subside to a shorter, rounder form.

Small vessels were started from a lump of clay which was hollowed out to form the base and the lower section of the walls onto which rolls of clay were added in the usual way.
Drying: Three days were allowed for the drying of large pots.

Decorating: Incised designs were carried out while the clay was still wet before the base of the pot was completed, and the application of colour a day or two later. Martin (1941) said that Manyika pottery was generally undecorated but that the potter demonstrated methods of decorating which she had been taught by her grandmother at Macequece.

Graphite and ochre were applied in designs. The graphite was rubbed directly onto the surface of the vessel after the lump of raw material had been moistened. The blackened areas were then rubbed with first the fingers and then a small quartzite pebble. The potter had bought her graphite from peddlars who obtained it from Inyanga or Muteve. She also used a red earthy material, not an ochre, from Macequece, which she applied with a dry twig "brush" after moistening it with a little water. This too was burnished after application. Both coloured and plain surface was burnished.

Firing: Firing took place in a level clearing, the pots were placed the right way up, with the large ones in the centre and the smaller ones near the edges, on a layer of firewood, and carefully covered with fuel and a layer of grass. Firing was very quick; it took
roughly fifteen minutes for the small pots to become a dull red, after which they were gently edged out of the heap with a stick and left to cool. Large vessels were fired for an hour and allowed to cool off for another hour.

Sealing/Testings: No information.

Mending: No information.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are recorded in the literature.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

a. Small wide-mouthed bowls with almost pointed bases. Height about 7 cms. Mouth diameter about 17 cms. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: mbiya (Stead 1947) for serving relish (ditto)

b. Flattish, wide-mouthed bowls. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: rwenga (Stead) for roasting maize or other food (ditto)

(ii) Incurved bowls


Name and use: mukate (Stead) for cooking, usually porridge (ditto)

Name and use: Large size: chigapu (Stead)
Small size: kedodo (ditto)

for cooking meat and vegetables (ditto)

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large pots with narrow-mouthed neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Sometimes decorated. Height about 30 cms. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: musudze (Stead)

for carrying water (Stead)

for storing beer (Martin 1941)

b. Spherical pot with narrow neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Height about 15-22 cms. Sometimes decorated. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: kapfuko (Stead)

for drinking

c. Wide-mouthed spherical pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 17 cms. (Stead 1947)

Name and use: chikari (Stead)

for cooking meat and vegetables (ditto)
d. Spherical pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Height about 11 cms. Decorated with round indentations. (Schofield 1948, Plate X No. 17, Q.V.M.K. Penhalonga, Rhodesia)

Name and use: chipfuko (Schofield 1948)
for cooking vegetables (ditto)

(iii) Inward-sloping:

a. Very large, spherical pots with narrow mouths and inward-sloping necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Undecorated.
   Height about 50 cms. (Stead 1947)
Name and use: mbidziro (Stead)
for storing kaffir beer, after cooking it (ditto)

b. Large, inverted bag-shaped pots with short, inward-sloping neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Sometimes decorated. Height about 40 cms. (Stead 1947)
Name and use: gate (Stead)
for cooking beer (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Large beerpot with two mouths. (Schofield 1948, Plate X No. 18)

Name and use: mbidziro (Martin 1941)
for serving beer at important occasions; used only by chiefs and headmen, the two
mouts show the hospitality of the host, for two people can help themselves from it at the same time using a gourd ladle (Martin 1941)

Decoration

According to Martin (1941) and Schofield (1948), Manyika pottery is generally simple and seldom decorated. Graphite or red earth may be used as colouring agents and dimpled depressions, maziso (p. 504) are also used.

System of Distribution

Martin (1941) states that the pottery trade was at a low ebb at the time of writing and that demands for pottery were few. Pottery was made by specialists who retained the secrets of their craft within their families. (Martin 1941)

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

Girls over the age of puberty were examined regularly by an old woman of the village to ascertain that they were still virgins. The girls each took a kapfuko to the stream where the examination took place. When they returned they took the kapfuko to their fathers; if it was full of water they were still virgins, if only half full, they had been seduced and their fathers set about making enquiries. (Stead 1947) cf. Zezuru p. 496
CONCLUSION

The Manyika tribes make and use pottery today. Martin (1941) found that the techniques were kept secret within certain families, but today potters learn either from their mothers or by watching neighbours at work.

The Manyika use the ring technique for large pots, and close the base, after completing the rest of the vessel, with additional clay. Small pots are started from a hollowed lump of clay onto which rings of clay are smoothed, one on top of the other.

The pottery of the Manyika living in the Umtali district consists of necked bowls and pots in a range of sizes, the neck being formed with a well-defined point of inflection. The pottery of the group living at Inyanga differs in that the necks are formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection.

Manyika pottery is generally black and only a few examples of their ware were decorated with colour.

Pottery vessels are used for cooking and as containers for liquids. The size and shape of a vessel determines its range of uses, and each vessel is named accordingly.

The shapes of the necked pots and bowls are very similar to those of the Zezuru, further, in both wares there is a grooved line at the base of the neck of a vessel, and both are black, or coloured, with the same type of designs.

In some districts enamel paint has replaced graphite and ochre.
The Budjga of Mtoko were visited in 1963. One potter was watched at work and another interviewed.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from two potters.

Potters: The potters were women who had learnt their craft from their mothers. Both of them made pottery for sale as well as for their own domestic use.

Materials: Clay was collected near a river, and was chosen by the potters themselves. It was dug with a hoe and carried home in a basket. The dry clay was ground on a grinding stone, foreign matter was removed and water was added to the fine material. The mixture was then kneaded.

Tools:

1. As a support on which to build a plate, for small vessels

2. As smoothers
   (i) For the outer surface:
       a mealie cob
       a piece of calabash
   (ii) For the rim:
       a piece of soft skin

3. For decorating
   (i) For graphic design:
       a grass stem
   (ii) For burnishing:
a quartzite pebble.

**Technique:** One of the potters was seen making a very large beer pot inside her hut; she said that she always worked indoors to keep out of the wind and had never had a vessel break. The potter who was only interviewed, sometimes worked out of doors but she explained the importance of keeping damp pottery out of the wind, which would cause it to crack.

The technique used in the manufacture of a large water pot with upright neck, and narrow mouth was as follows:

Three extremely large, fat rolls of clay were placed so as to form a ring in a depression in the hut floor, which had been especially prepared for the purpose. Three similar rough, thick, clay rings were placed one on top of the other, before the potter, moving around the pot, smoothed them together, using only her hands, and starting from the inside. The potter then allowed this section to settle into shape before adding another three rings of clay which were likewise smoothed and shaped with the hands only. A piece of soaking was then tied around the base of the vessel to keep it damp and the pot was left until the following day when it would usually be dry enough to turn over onto the neck so that the base might be completed.

**Drying:** Pots are left indoors for from four days to a week before they are fired; they may be covered with a piece of soaking while they are still damp. On the day of firing the vessel is placed outside in the sun until about six
o'clock when it is put into the fire.

Decorating: At the demonstration the potter showed how with the fingers inside the vessel and the thumb exerting slight pressure around the base of the outside of the neck she obtained the depressed single line which is so characteristic of vessels of this type.

The other potter sometimes decorated her wares with graphite, which was bought in the form of a "ball of black powder" and was to be found near Mtoko, and ochre, which was obtained from a river site about twenty miles away. Examples of pottery seen at her homestead were coloured with enamel paint.

Firing: The methods of firing described by these two potters varied only in slight details. In both cases the firing took place on level ground, the vessels being placed mouth upwards between layers of fuel. One potter used dried bobbejaan atert, fundi as a fuel, and placed small quantities thereof inside the vessels as well as around them. The fuel used by the other potter was the bark of the makwati tree, none of which was especially placed inside the pots. The pottery was removed from the ashes the morning after firing.

Sealing/Testing: Both potters filled pots with hot beer before they used them or sold them.

Mending: No information.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

**A. BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**
   
   (i) **Open-mouthed:**
   
   Deep, almost straight-sided bowl with rounded base. Undecorated. (Near Musungwa Mountain, Mtoko)

   **Name and use:** tsya (interpreter; Mtoko) for cooking (ditto)

   (ii) **Incurved:**
   
   Wide-mouthed, incurved bowls with rounded base.

   (near Musungwa Mountain, Mtoko)

   **Name and use:** chikari (interpreter; Mtoko) for cooking (ditto)

**B. POTS**

2. **With necks**

   (i) **Upright:**
   
   a. Spherical, narrow-mouthed pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and dimple base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with paint. (Figure LXI No. 267 SAM 8978 Mtoko)

   **Name and use:** kapfuko (informants; Mtoko) for drinking (ditto)
b. Medium-sized spherical, wide-mouthed pot with upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened thickened rim and rounded base. Undecorated, except for grooved line around base of neck. (Kaunya, Mtoko)

Name and use: *gaha/kaha* (informants, Mtoko)

for washing (Goodall 1946)

c. Inverted bag-shaped pots with narrow mouths and upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection. Undecorated, except for grooved line around base of neck. (Kaunya, Mtoko)

Name and use: *hari* (potter, Kaunya)

for storing beer or drinking water (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

Spherical pot with narrow mouth and everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection.

Decorated with enamel paint. (Mtoko)

Name and use: no record

E. MISCELLANEOUS

"Sugar bowl" with lid and two handles, and pedestal base.

Coloured with enamel paint. (Kaunya, Mtoko)

Name and use: no record

for sugar.

Decoration

The few vessels which were seen were either undecorated except for a grooved line at the base of the neck or coloured
with enamel paint applied in triangles below the neck.

System of Distribution

Pottery is made by women specialists who fulfil orders placed by neighbours.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(ii) Incurved:

Wide-mouthed incurved bowl. Height about 10 cms. Decorated with four elongated projections, mazamu. (Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 8, Q.V.M.M.; Goodall 1946, Figure VII No. 2)

Name and use: chirongo (Goodall 1946) for use by women as container for cooked food (ditto)

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Large bowl with carination at base of everted neck. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with graphite and four pairs of projections below carination. (Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 2,
Q.V.M.M.; Mtoko Reserve, Goodall 1946,

Figure V No. 4)

**Name and use:** *gaha* (Goodall 1946)

for washing body (Schofield 1948; Goodall 1946)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Schofield (1948) found that the Budjga made a number of different types of pots and bowls similar to Zezuru ware.

**Decoration**

Moulded (or applied) decoration was used on the two special vessels described above, but although this form of decoration is believed to have had some significance in the past, this is no longer found to be the case. (Goodall 1946).

No further information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

Pottery is made and used by the Budjga today. The potters are women who learn the art from their mothers and make domestic utensils both for their neighbours and for themselves. They use the ring technique used by the Manyika and Zezuru potters.

Very little Budjga pottery was examined, but the few pieces seen resembled Manyika and Zezuru ware in that they were undecorated, black pots and bowls with a grooved line at the base of the neck. Apart from these traditional forms, a few examples in imitation of European
ceramics, coloured with enamel paint were seen.

The moulded decoration described in the literature was not seen in the field.
The Mari of Victoria and Chibi were visited in June 1963.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from two potters, one of whom lived at Chimbeba, Chibi and the other at Charumbira, Victoria.

Potteries: Both potters had learnt the art from members of their family; the potter at Victoria from her grandmother and the potter at Chibi from her mother. They both made pottery for sale, the potter at Victoria made goods in imitation of wares discovered at Zimbabwe, as requested for sale at the store at the Zimbabwe Ruins. It was learned from informants in the Chibi district that a local potter made large quantities of pottery, which she transported by bus, for sale to the sugar estates at Triangle.

Materials: The potter at Chimbeba chose the type of clay she used according to the type and size of the vessel she was going to make. A sandy clay, located fairly near the homestead was suitable for small pots, but clay for large pots had to be fetched from a deposit further away. The preparation of the raw material was the same in each case; it was stamped with a pestle on a flat stone and then mixed with water.
The potter at Charumbira collected a great deal of clay at a time because it was found far away. She went to fetch the clay herself and brought it back by donkey. The clay, which was fairly damp when collected, was dried, ground and stored in a sheltered spot out of doors in an old pot or tin until it was needed. To prepare it for use the potter sieved it through a fine wire mesh and mixed the fine material with water. The mixture was then kneaded. The idea of sieving had been the potter's.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build an enamel plate (Chibi, Victoria)

2. As smoothers:
   a flat, smooth piece of wood (Chibi, Victoria)

3. For decorating:
   (i) For applying colour:
       a tuft of feathers tied to a stick (Victoria)

   (ii) For burnishing:
       a smooth stone, urungudo (Victoria)

Technique: Two different methods of manufacture were used. The potter at Chibi made pottery throughout the year and always worked indoors so as to be out of the wind. This potter worked with very wet clay which she formed into a conical lump and then hollowed out entirely, leaving an open base. After shaping the
vessel to the rim the potter tied a cloth around the base of the walls to keep them damp and easy to work when she filled in the base about two days later.

The other potter worked only during the dry season, she made her pottery out-of-door in a place sheltered by very large boulders. The vessels were built up with fat rolls of clay, placed one on top of the other in rings, each successive one being flattened on to the one below on the inside, and then smoothed on the outside. The potter worked standing up, bent over the vessel, holding the support with her feet. (Plate XXIV No. 72). The base was completed with the addition of more rolls of clay the following day after the vessel had been allowed to dry slightly indoors.

**Drying:** Both the potters said that they dried their pottery for four days before it was fired. The day of firing the vessels were put into the sun.

**Decorating:** Graphic decoration is done after the pot is shaped, and colour is applied when it has dried, before firing. The potter at Victoria obtained a red clay for decorating from near Zimbabwe. This she applied with her fingers and burnished with a smooth river pebble. A black colour was obtained from a micaceous schist bought from pedlars who obtained it from Kakahar. The material was powdered, mixed with water and applied with a paint brush of feathers.
The potter at Chibi described two shades of red obtained from clay which she used for decorating, and a black colour (chidziro) which could be got from Fort Victoria.

Firing: The potter at Chibi dug a hole deep enough to contain about six pots. She placed the vessels on their sides, with their mouths facing away from the wind. The bark of the mubfura and mutando was used as a fuel, and grass as a kindling. No fuel was placed inside the pots. Firing was started in the early afternoon and when the fire died down the pots were ready but they were left in the ashes until they were cool.

The potter at Victoria fired her pots on a level stretch of ground. Firing took about two hours and she was able to tell by looking at them whether they were done. She was not able to explain breakages during firing.

Sealing/Testing: The potter at Chibi treated beer pots by filling them with beer while they were heating over a fire. The potter at Victoria practised no sealing or testing methods.

Mending: Neither of the potters mended vessels which cracked during firing.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field in Chibi and Victoria Reserves in 1963.
A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(ii) Incurved:

Small, incurved spherical bowls. Undecorated.

(Chimbeba, Chibi) Black finish.

Name and use: mbya (informant, Chimbeba) for serving meat or vegetables (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Large, inverted bag-shaped pot with rounded or flattened rim and rounded base. Undecorated.

(Chimbeba, Chibi)

Name and use: rukambi (informant, Chimbeba) for cooking beer (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed, inverted bag-shaped pot. Slightly smaller than a. above. Undecorated. (Chimbeba, Chibi)

Name and use: gati (informant, Chimbeba) for brewing beer (ditto)

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Small, wide-mouthed pots with upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection. Blackened by use. (Chimbeba, Chibi) Sometimes decorated.

Name and use: shambakodzi (informant, Chimbeba)
for cooking (ditto)

b. Small pots as a. above with slightly narrower mouth. Decorated with graphic design and paint. (Chimbéba, Chibi)

**Name and use:** chikadlana/hadlana (informant, Chimbéba)

for serving meat and gravy

c. Large, spherical pots with short, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Decorated with double incised band at base of neck. (Chimbéba, Chibi)

**Name and use:** gati (informant, Chimbéba)

for making beer (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Spherical pot with narrow-mouth and slightly everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, cut rim and flattened base. Height about 40 cms. Decorated with two grooved lines at base of neck. (Figure LVIII No. 250, SAM 8956 Charumbira, Victoria)

**Name and use:** nyenjero (informant, Charumbira)

for beer (ditto)

**chipfuko** (informant, Mafidi's Chibi)

for carrying water (ditto)

b. Spherical pot with tall, narrow-mouthed neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.
Sometimes has handle. Decorated with enamel paint. (Chimbeba, Chibi)

**Name and use:** chipufo (informant; Chimbeba)

for drinking water or beer (ditto)

**Decoration**

Most Mari pottery was undecorated but the following decorative techniques were observed and/or described by potters.

Graphic techniques were confined to the use of grooved or incised lines, the former generally in horizontal bands at the base of the neck and the latter outlining triangles, chevron patterns and vertical bands, on the necks and above the widest diameters of vessels. The potter at Victoria described the use of incised triangles patterned with stamped impressions made with a grass stem as being Karanga in origin.

Although both potters described the use of natural decorative materials only red enamel paint was seen on their wares.

**System of Distribution**

Pottery is made by women who specialise in its manufacture for sale to neighbours and for their own use.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

No information in this section.
CONCLUSION

Pottery used by the Mari tribes of Chibi and Victoria Reserves is made by women potters who learnt the art from their mothers. Two techniques were seen; one, building with fat rings of clay and the other, moulding from the lump which was hollowed entirely. In both cases the base of the vessel was completed last.

Not a great deal of Mari pottery was seen; the basic types being the same as those seen amongst and described in the literature as being used by the Manyika. Decoration was simple, mainly graphic designs and the application of colour, Synthetic materials had replaced the traditional ones for decoration, to a large extent.

The pottery terms included a number not used by Manyika, Zezuru or Budjga, although a number of them were common to all tribes in Mashonaland.
KARANGA

d. Korekore

The Korekore were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (ii) Incurved:

   Incurved bowl with wide mouth. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with raised and graphic designs. Black finish. (Figure LX No. 259, SAL. no number, Lomagundi, Darwin)

   Name and use: no record

2. With necks

   (i) Everted:

   Small bowl with everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and pedestal base. Height about 10 cms. Decorated with moulded or applied lumps. (Figure LX No. 261, SAL. 45.7.1. Sinoia, Rhodesia; Figure LXII No. 276, CAM. 54.37 Salisbury, pre-occupation)

   Name and use: no record
Decoration

Both examples were decorated with bosses, makamu. On the incurved bowl three pairs of them were spaced on a raised cross-hatched band below the mouth of the vessel. On the other example five pairs of twin lugs were placed equidistant from each other on the outer surface and there were four pairs of "pimples", also spaced, on the inner surface of the neck.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types from near Sinoia, Lomagundi are believed to be Korekore (Schofield 1948).

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Pottery cups:

(i) In the shape of a small sub-carinated bowl with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and short pedestal base. Decorated with colour and stamped impressions (compound). (Schofield 1948, Plate X No. 14)

(ii) In the shape of an inverted bag-shaped pot with tall, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, and pedestal base. Decorated with graphic design. Black finish (Schofield 1948,
Plate X No. 15)

Name and use: no record

for drinking (from shape)

Decoration

Schofield (1948) suggests that the comb impressions used by the Korekore either show Senga influence or are a legacy from Class R1G wares which were used in Lomagundi district until the early part of the last century.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

No Korekore tribes were visited and there is very little information on their pottery. It is in fact, not known whether they make and use it today.

Two examples of Korekore pottery in museum collections are decorated with raised bosses of the type described by Mrs. Goodall (1946) and found on Tonga pottery from Mkota Reserve, Budjga pottery from Mtoko and some Zezuru examples.

The two examples illustrated by Schofield are according to him reminiscent of pottery from the north.
71. KARANGA

e. Tonga

According to Posselt (1927), the term Tonga is both a tribal name and a designation for tributary peoples and foreigners, and it is not yet known whether they should be regarded as Shona.

The Tonga were not visited.

SECTION I - Field
Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types attributed to the Tonga were seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Shallow, open-mouthed bowl with flattened thickened rim and flattened base. Height about 7 cms. Decorated with seven sets of three bosses around rim and graphic design inside bowl.
   (SAL. 45.33.10, Mkota, North-east Rhodesia)

   Name and use: no record

   (ii) Incurved:

   a. Incurved bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 16 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXIII No. 281 BWYO 5455, Wankie, South-east Rhodesia)
b. Incurved bowl with rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 11 cm. Decorated with raised decoration and graphic design.
Black finish. (SAL. 49.45 Mkota, North-east Rhodesia; Goodall 1946 Figure VII No. 1)

Name and use: ohikare (Goodall 1946) for vegetables and gravy (ditto)

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Spherical bowl with curved, everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 16 cm. Decorated raised bands, bosses, graphic design and graphite. (SAL. 47.28.1 Mkota, North-east Rhodesia.)
**Name and use:** no record

b. Small, spherical bowl with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and slightly flattened base. Height about 9 cms. Decorated black burnish. (SAL. 45.33.4 Mkota, North-east Rhodesia)

**Name and use:** no record

**B. POTS**

1. **Without necks**

   Narrow-mouthed spherical pot with rounded base.

   Height about 16 cms. Decorated with bosses and graphic design. Black finish. (SAL. 46.33.2. Mkota, North-east Rhodesia)

   **Name and use:** no record

2. **With necks**

   (i) **Upright:**

   a. Inverted bag-shaped pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 35 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure LXXI No. 297, Sebungwe, North-west Rhodesia)

   **Name and use:** no record

   b. Pot with carination at widest diameter, with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 24 cms. Decorated with colour and graphic design. (Figure LIX No. 254 EWY0. 5456 Wankie,
North-west Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

(ii) Everted:

a. Large pot with tall, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 27 cms. Decorated with graphic design. Black finish. (SAL. 47.28.2 Mkota, North-east Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

b. Large, inverted bag-shaped pot with tall, curved everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened flattened rim and rounded base. Height about 21 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXII No. 275 SAM 6070, Sebungwe, North-west Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

for beer (museum records)

c. Spherical pot with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 18 cms. Decorated with stamped depressions. Black finish. (SAL.49.44 Mkota, North-east Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

(iii) Inward-sloping:

Large pot with inward-sloping neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, thickened flattened rim and rounded base. Height about 30 cms.
Decorated with graphic design and colour.
(Figure LVII No. 245, SAM 6070, Sebungwe, North-west Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

Tonga pots from Wankie Reserve were decorated with incised or grooved chevron bands or triangular designs coloured with graphite and ochre. Often there is a narrow band of stamped comb impressions or a stamped outline to the design. Both beer vessels and a bowl were decorated in this way.

Tonga pottery from Mkota was differently decorated. Most of the vessels had a black finish and decoration took the form of bosses or lugs on the rim or round the body of the vessel, raised bands either cross-hatched or patterned with stamped comb impressions, shallow single oval impressions, and occasionally, incised designs. The use of graphite was seen on only one vessel and ochre was not used at all.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

The following information applies only to the Tonga of the North East corner of Rhodesia. (Schofield 1948)

Potters: Pottery is made by women.
Decorating: Graphic designs are carried out when the clay is fairly dry.
Firing: Pots to be burnt are placed on the open ground and completely covered with a particular type of bark. Firing takes place only on still evenings as a slow, even fire is essential. The fire is started at the apex with grass as kindling.

Sealing/Testing: After firing pots are washed inside and out with a red decoction of the bark of the maototo tree which prevents them from cracking when they are first used.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following Tonga pottery types are described in the literature.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks
   (i) Open-mouthed:
   U-shaped bowls. Particularly well-made. (Schofield 1948)

   Name and use: no record
   for serving porridge (Schofield)

   (ii) Incurved:
   a. Deep, wide-mouthed, incurved bowls with rounded bases. Height about 17 cm. Black or brown ware with raised bands and bosses and graphic decoration. (Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 9 Niekerk Ruins, Inyanga)

   Name and use: 7 chirongo (Schofield 1948)
   for cooked food, used by
women only (ditto)

b. Narrow-mouthed, shallow incurved bowl with flattened base. Height about 11 cms. Black or brown ware, decorated with graphic design.
(Schofield 1948, Plate IX No. 7 Q.V.M.M. Mokota Reserve, North-west Rhodesia)

Name and use: chikare (Schofield 1948) for vegetables and gravy; used by women only (ditto)

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Inverted, bag-shaped pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 30 cms. Decorated with graphic design.
(Schofield 1948, Plate X No. 16, Mkota Reserve, North-east Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record for brewing and serving beer, and storing water (Schofield 1948)

Decoration

Mrs. Goodall (Schofield 1948) describes two types of pottery made by the Tonga of the Mtoka district; the first is black or brown ware decorated with "slightly raised bands with herring bone or cross-hatched incisions, discs,
representing tribal facial cicatrisation, breast-like projections, and simple geometrical motifs, all placed a little below the rim." The second type is decorated with three contiguous bands of cross-hatched triangles covering the whole surface of the neck to a little below the rim. The decoration has a very clean-cut appearance.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

None of the Tonga tribes were visited and it is not known whether they make and use pottery today. There is no record of their building and shaping methods.

A great deal of pottery made by the Tonga, particularly of the North-east districts has been collected for museums. Two wares are found in Mkota reserve, one of which resembles the pottery from Sebungwe in shape; the decoration of the other being similar to that of the black ware with moulded and graphic decoration of the Zezuru, Manyika and Budjga tribes. Schofield (1948) points out that a carinated profile and the treatment of fired vessels with a red decoction before use are also features of the Ronga pottery tradition.
f. Karanga

Posselt (1927) does not distinguish the Karanga from the Kalanga, as Doke (1931) does on linguistic grounds. Since the ethnic grouping is being followed here no distinction has been made.

The Karanga of Belingwe were visited and a potter interviewed.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter at Belingwe.

Potters: The potter was a woman who made pottery both for her own domestic use and to supply neighbours who came to her with orders. She did not sell her wares for money but bartered them for the amount of grain that a vessel could contain.

Materials: Dry clay is stamped finely, then mixed with water and stamped again.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a plate

3. For decorating

For incised designs:

a piece of stick

Technique: Small vessels were raised from the lump, whereas large ones were built from rolls of clay formed into rings, the number of rings depending upon the size
of the vessel to be made. The lumps of clay from which the small vessels are made are hollowed out entirely during the shaping of the upper half, and the base is completed last.

**Drying:** No information.

**Decorating:** Pottery is occasionally coloured with red and black materials. The potter found the red material locally but had to buy the black from hawkers.

**Firing:** Firing takes place in a hole about three feet deep which the potter digs. The day before the writer’s visit, four large beerpots had been fired, two of which had cracked. The pots are left in position overnight and removed from the ashes the following morning with a long stick.

**Sealing/Testing:** Pots are tested on beer-brewing days by pouring hot beer into them. The potter was most reluctant to sell any vessels before treating them. A small hut-like shelter filled with fired vessels for testing was seen at the homestead.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following vessel types were seen at the potter’s homestead and in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   Small open-mouthed bowls with cut rims and pedestal bases. Height about 11 cms. Decorated with
graphic design and graphite. (Figure LX No. 258 BWYO 5815, Fort Victoria)

**Name and use:** oimbia (museum records)
for drinking beer or serving relish (ditto)

(ii) **Incurved:**

Deep, incurved bowl with cut rim and flat base. Height 19 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LX No. 257, BWYO 5814 Fort Victoria)

**Name and use:** ahjane (museum records)
for cooking vegetables (ditto)

2. **With necks**

(ii) **Everted:**

a. Deep, wide-mouthed bowl with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Height about 16 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LX No. 263 BWYO 2050 Matopo Hills)

**Name and use:** no record

b. Sub-spherical bowl with everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 13 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LX No. 264, BWYO 2027, Gwai Reserve, Rhodesia)

**Name and use:** no record
B. POTS

1. Without necks

a. Very large, incurved pots. Height about 55 cms.

Two grooved lines below rim. (Potter's place, Belingwe)

Name and use: gate (potter, Belingwe)

for beer (ditto)

b. Spherical pot with rounded rim and rounded base.

Height about 15 cms. Decorated with colour.

(Figure LX No. 260 BWYO. 2049 Gwai Reserve, Rhodesia.)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Large, oval pot with narrow, upright neck formed

with poorly-defined point of inflection and slightly flattened base. Height about 45 cms.

Undecorated. (Plate XXV No. 73, Belingwe)

Name and use: chirongo (potter, Belingwe)

for beer storage

b. Spherical pot with tall, upright neck formed

with poorly-defined point of inflection, cut rim and dimple base, with handle. Height about 29 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXVI No. 294, BWYO 5813, Victoria, Rhodesia)

Name and use: pfuko (museum records)

for carrying water (ditto)
c. Oval pot with wide, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Graphic decoration. (Figure LXIII No. 279, BWYO 5158, Mtilikwe Reserve, Victoria, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

Karanga pottery seen at the potter's place was, mostly undecorated. The only decoration seen took the form of two grooved lines or two bands of grooved triangles below the rim of a vessel, and the potter also mentioned the occasional use of graphite and ochre.

The characteristic feature of the decoration on pottery from the Victoria district now in museum collections was an horizontal grooved band patterned with incised cross-hatching below the rim or at the base of the neck of a vessel. Graphite was used and very occasionally, ochre. One pot had a design of triangles on a background of stamped impressions, in addition to the cross-hatched band.

The pottery from the Gwai Reserve and Matopo Hills was a polychrome ware, being coloured with either graphite and ochre, or red and black enamel paint. Graphic designs consisted of vertical and horizontal bands, triangles, and chevron patterns.

System of Distribution
The potter at Belingwe made pottery for sale as well as for her own domestic use.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are illustrated by Robinson (1961) (from the Karanga of Chibi) and Schofield (1948).

B. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pot with rounded base. Decorated with painted red designs. Height about 21 cms. (Schofield 1948; Plate X No. 9, Bulwayo district)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Large spherical pot with narrow-mouthed upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, and dimple base. Decorated with graphic design. (Robinson 1961)

Name and use: chiwana (Robinson 1961) for holding beer at a party (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Small spherical pot with curved, everted neck formed with a poorly-defined point of inflection and rounded

**Name and use:** **hadyane** (Robinson 1961)

for cooking relish (ditto)

b. Larger spherical pot with curved, everted neck

formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Grooved decoration. (Robinson 1961)

**Name and use:** **shamba kodzi** (Robinson 1961)

for eating from (ditto)

(iii) **Inward-sloping:**

a. Spherical pot with inward-sloping neck formed with

well-defined point of inflection and rounded base.

Decorated with raised band and graphic design.

(Schofield 1948, Plate X No. 10, Morganster, Zimbabwe)

**Name and use:** no record

b. Large spherical pot with inward-sloping neck and dimple base. Grooved decoration. (Robinson 1961)

**Name and use:** **nyengero** (Robinson 1961)

for beer for workers in the lands (ditto)

E. **MISCELLANEOUS**

Calabash-shaped pot with dimple base. Decorated with graphic design. (Robinson 1961)

**Name and use:** **chipfuko** (Robinson 1961)

for taste of new brew of beer for husband (ditto)
Decoration.

Schofield points out that the Karanga of Bulawayo and of Fort Victoria decorate their wares differently. He illustrates one vessel from each type of ware, the Bulwayo example has geometrical shapes painted in red within a band around the rim and that from Fort Victoria has a raised cross-hatched, horizontal band, with pendant triangles around the base of the neck.

The sketches of Chibi pottery show decoration as taking the form of one or two grooved lines, or bands of stippled triangles, apex to apex at the base of the neck.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made and used by the Karanga of the Belingwe, Chibi, Victoria and Bulawayo districts. The only potter visited was one who lived in Belingwe and made pottery not only for her own use but for neighbours who placed orders with her. She preferred to barter her wares for grain than to sell them.

The potter used the ring technique for large vessels and built small ones by entirely hollowing a lump of clay to form the walls, the base she completed later with additional clay.

Very little Karanga pottery was seen; only a few examples from Bulawayo and Fort Victoria in museum collections, some from Belingwe at the potter's place, and examples of ware from Chibi are illustrated in the literature.
Although there is not a representative selection of the pottery from these district available for study the examples seen do not suggest that the same shapes are made, and the fact that decoration is different confirms that the modern pottery of these groups of the Karanga is not of the same type.
The Teve are included in this section although they live in Mozambique because they speak a dialect of the Manyika language (Doke 1931).

They were visited in July 1963.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field.

A. **BOWLS**

2. **Everted**:

a. Deep, spherical, wide-mouthed bowl with very short, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection. Undecorated. Matt black finish. (Plate XXIV No. 71, Marera Mission, Vila Pery, and at Chief Marera's, Vila Pery)

   **Name and use**: chikari (informant, Chief Marera's)

   for cooking (ditto)

b. Deep, wide-mouthed spherical bowls with curved, everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Made in range of sizes. Black finish, decorated with graphic design. (Plate XXIX No. 71, Marera Mission, Vila Pery)

   **Name and use**: chikari (informant, Marera Mission)
for cooking (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

Deep, spherical pot with rounded base. Undecorated.

(Chief Marera's, Vila Pery.)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Large, wide-mouthed, inverted bag-shaped pot with curved, everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection. Height 25-30 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour.

(Chief Marera's, Vila Pery)

Name and use: druwe (informant, Chief Marera's)
for brewing beer (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

Large, inverted bag-shaped pot with tall, narrow, curved, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded base. Grooved line at base of neck.

(Chief Marera's, Vila Pery)

Name and use: mutuwe (informant, Chief Marera's)
no record

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Carafe-shaped vessels, probably made in imitation of Portuguese ware. Decorated with paint. (Chief Marera's, Vila Pery)
Name and use: maringo (informant, Chief Marera's) for beer or water (ditto)

Decoration

All the examples of chikari were blackened by use, but they were nearly all decorated with incised designs; cross-hatched bands and triangles, and single or double zig-zag lines (Plate XXIX No. 71). Large pots with necks were also decorated with a band and triangle pattern just below the base of the neck.

The carafes were decorated with enamel paint applied in triangular designs.

The incised triangular, cross-hatched motifs were not unlike those of the Hlengwe ware. (see Figure XIII)

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

The following information was recorded by the Reverend D. Shropshire (1936)

Potters: The potters were women.

Materials: The clay was collected from antheaps and mixed with water.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a wooden plate

2. As smoothers

   (1) For outer surface:

      a mealie cob
(ii) For inner surface:
   a piece of bamboo
   a piece of calabash

(iii) For rim:
   a piece of cloth
   a leaf

**Technique:** The spiral technique was used, the clay being formed into rolls between the palms of the hands and built up on a wooden dish. A mealie cob, dipped in water was used for smoothing the outer surface and as an aid in shaping the vessel. The inside of the pot was smoothed with a piece of calabash, and the rim was shaped by smoothing with a piece of rag or a leaf after breaking off any irregularities to given an even height. The base was completed after a short drying period in the sun.

**Drying:** Drying took place in the sun.

**Decorating:** Vessels were decorated with different coloured clays in geometrical designs and polished with a smooth pebble.

**Sealing/Testing:** Potters tested the vessels with food and water which they themselves ate. This was done either before selling or using a pot themselves.

No further information in this section.
CONCLUSION

The Teve of Mozambique still make and use pottery. According to information in the literature they use the spiral technique, a method which was not used by any Shona or Tsonga peoples visited during the survey.

Most of their pottery consists of deep wide-mouthed bowls, some with everted necks and some without, decorated with incised cross-hatched bands and triangles. Large pots are also made and decorated in this way but are the natural colour of the fired clay whereas the small ones are blackened by use. Carafes, made in imitation of Portuguese earthenware, are decorated with enamel paint.

The pottery terminology includes the term chikari used by many tribes in Rhodesia and dzuwe which is possibly related to the Ndau term dubi/inthube.

In shape the small vessels are very similar to those made by the Manyika of Inyanga, the necks not being the "collar-type," which is frequently found amongst the Shona tribes.
The Ungwe of Makoni Farm in the Rusape District were visited in 1963. A potter was interviewed, but none of her pottery was seen.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter at the interview, and from other informants.

**Potters:** The potters were women who made pottery both for their own use and for sale to others in the district. The potter interviewed had learnt the craft from her mother.

**Materials:** Clay from anthills was used, as after experiment it was found to be the most suitable. No filler was needed and the raw material was stamped and then "winnowed" in a flat basket so as to remove coarse material. The fine clay was then mixed with water and pounded with a pestle, mootswi; when the pestle did not come away from the clay cleanly and easily, the clay was mixed. (cf. Manyika p.

**Tools:**

1. **As a support on which to build** a plate (ndiero)

2. **As smoothers**

   (i) For surfaces:

   a strip of iron

   a piece of cloth
(ii) For the rim:
   a piece of cloth

3. For decorating
   (i) For graphic design:
      a strip of iron
   (ii) For burnishing:
      a stone (hurunguda)

Technique: The method of manufacture described by the potter was the same as that demonstrated by the Mari potter at Chibi, namely, the entire hollowing out of a lump of clay to build the walls of a vessel, the base of which was completed, after a period of drying, by the addition of more clay. Pottery was always made indoors.

Drying: The pots were set aside to dry indoors before they were fired. On the day of firing, they were placed in the sun for a short while.

Decorating: The potter used a red clay obtainable in the Rusape district for colouring. It was applied with the fingers and burnished with a very smooth stone. Graphite, dug in the Mrewa district was brought for sale in Rusape. This was applied in the same way. All pots were burnished whether they were coloured or not.

Firing: Firing took place on a calm day, as a cold wind caused the pots to crack. Dried dung and bobbejaan stert, feyo, was packed around the pots which were placed on their sides, base to base, in a hollow which served to
protect them from any wind. No fuel was placed inside the pots. Black patches occurred where the pot touched the ground, and if they were seen developing the vessel was moved with a stick.

Firing took about an hour and a half, after which time the pots were usually an even colour and were removed from the ashes with a stick.

**Sealing/Testing:** Containers for liquids were said to be strengthened by pouring hot beer into them when they had cooled down after firing.

**Mending:** No information

*Pottery forms, names and uses*

The following information was obtained concerning the pottery of the Hungwe, no examples of which were available for study.

- **chikari:** for cooking meat or vegetables
- **pfuko:** for drinking beer or water. This vessel is put aside for the husband with a taste of a new brew of beer.
- **chirongo:** for fetching water or as a container for beer.
- **mukate:** for cooking food
- **mbiya:** for serving vegetables

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

**Technology**

No information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

Schofield (1948) states that the domestic ware of the Ungwe was very similar to the Manyika in surface finish, which was smooth, black or burnished graphite, any kind of graphic decoration being unusual. He says further that in some of the large vessels the junction of neck and body was marked by a slight but well-defined ridge and that necks were generally of the concave everted type. Bowls with pedestal bases and everted necks were also made.

Pottery rings, about twelve centimetres in diameter were made for supporting pots on the head.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Ungwe of Rusape still make and use pottery today. The potters are women who specialise in its manufacture, both for their own use and for sale to neighbours.

Although no examples of Ungwe pottery were seen Schofield (1948) states that their wares are similar in shape and lack of decoration to those of the Manyika. Some of the pottery terms used by the Ungwe are the same as those used by the Manyika and Zezuru.

The potters mould their pottery from the lump which they hollow out entirely, completing the base last. This method is the same as that used by some Mari potters, and by a Karanga potter of Belingwe for small pots.
The Chikunda and Tawara are excluded from this discussion as no information of any sort has been obtained concerning their pottery. The Tonga, Korekore, Maromo and Shawasha were not visited, but examples of their pottery were seen in museum collections and descriptions obtained from the literature and they are therefore included.

Pottery is made by women specialists amongst all these tribes and most of them use the same basic technique, that of building up vessels with rings of clay. A Mari potter of Chibi and an Ungwe potter of Rusape moulded their pottery from the lump which they entirely hollowed out, and a Karanga potter of Belingwe described the same method for the making of small vessels.

From this survey it appears that the range of modern pottery made and used by tribes of Posselt's Karanga Division, with the exception of the North-west and South-east Tonga, and the Korekore and Karanga groups, is basically the same. Open-mouthed and incurved bowls and bowls and pots with necks form the basis of the domestic ware. Naturally within each group of vessel types there are differences in shape of body, rim and neck, particularly of the latter which in some cases is of the "collar-type" and in others merely an extension of the body. However, some vessels with both types of neck appear to be made by all the above groups.

The North-east Tonga make two pottery wares, one of which is similar to the ware made by the North-west Tonga. The other
ware might be an uninfluenced continuation of a pottery tradition which was at one time also made by Manyika, Budjga and some Zezuru tribes, including the Shawasha. One of the characteristic forms of decoration of this ware is the use of raised lumps (*mazamu*) and single depressions (*maziso*) which had some anthropomorphic significance in the past. The fact that raised lumps are used to decorate pottery of some Tsonga tribes of Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal, and that carinated vessels are also made by them suggests that the Tonga of Rhodesia have some relationship to the Tsonga, but more evidence is necessary to prove this.

The pottery made by the Karanga, who are today widely scattered shows certain similarities to the general Shona ware described on page 570, but that of each region appears to be distinct from those of the others. The Fort Victoria Karanga ware is most unlike that of other present-day Shona pottery and that of the Bulawayo group although polychrome is not in the style of the coloured wares of the Zezuru.

Zoomorphic pottery was probably more important in the past than it is now. It is not known how widespread its use was, but today its manufacture appears to be confined to Zezuru tribes, although examples have been found south-east of Fort Victoria, outside the present Zezuru region.

Schofield illustrates a double-mouthed pot attributed to the Manyika and von Sicard mentions their use in his paper on the origin of some of the tribes of Belingwe (1950). The small multi-mouthed vessels made by Roswi of Rusape and the Zezuru of
Mrewa, which are said to be made as vases, are probably the modern adaption of these forms.

In regard to decoration Karanga ware falls into four groups:

1. Undecorated pottery, generally the colour of the fired clay or blackened by use. Most pots and bowls used for cooking purposes are of this type.

2. Pottery with graphic or raised designs, usually black, sometimes coloured with graphite only. This type is found amongst the North-east Tonga, Budjga, Manyika, Shawasha, Karanga of Fort Victoria and Korekore.

3. Polychrome pottery, decorated with graphite and ochre, or red and black enamel paint, applied in designs outlined with grooved, incised or stamped lines. This type of pottery is generally used for drinking or storing beer or water.

There are two distinct types of design:

(i) A pattern of triangles or horizontal bands below the neck of a vessel with vertical bands on the neck itself. This type is typical of the Zezuru tribes. (The identical design was used by Roswi of Rusape)

(ii) Designs over a greater surface of the vessel, generally consisting of zig-zag or wavey bands and triangles. This type is typical of some Karanga, particularly of Bulawayo, and of the North-west Tonga.
Doke found that linguistic and ethnic grouping did not always coincide and this is reflected in the Karanga pottery terminology. A large number of pottery terms are used. Although a few of them are common to most groups it can be seen from the tribal information that there is no pattern to their distribution, nor do all tribes give the same names to the same type of pots, or to vessels used for the same purpose.
a. Ndau /Danda

A Ndau potter at Tanganda Halt, Mutema Reserve Chipinga was visited in June 1963, and a Ndau homestead in the Ngorima Reserve, Melsetter, where some pottery was seen.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from the potter and the demonstration and interview.

Potters: There were a number of women in the Chipinga district who made pottery. The craft was usually passed down from mother to daughter. The potter interviewed sold some of her pottery.

Materials: Clay was collected near the potter's homestead. The potter went to fetch the clay herself. No filler was needed as the clay was sandy enough to use as it was. It was prepared by pounding it and if it was not required immediately it was wrapped in a sheet of plastic material and stored in a metal drum in the shade so that it would remain damp.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a plate

2. As smoothers

   (i) For outer surface:

   a variety of pieces of calabash

   a stick
(ii) For inner surface:

a variety of pieces of calabash

3. For decorating

(i) For graphic design:

a pin

a sharply pointed stick

(ii) For burnishing:

a smooth stone

Technique: The potter made her pots out-of-doors in the shade. Pots were built up with fat rolls of clay formed into rings and placed one on top of the other (Plate XXV No. 74). More than one roll was used to form a complete ring. The potter smoothed the first two rings together both inside and outside and added lumps of clay wherever necessary to obtain a symmetrical shape and a wall of even thickness, before adding the next ring. The third ring, the last one, was slightly thinner than the others. After smoothing this into position the rim was shaped with the thumb and forefinger of the right hand. A piece of sacking was wrapped around the lower half of the vessel which was then covered with a piece of plastic material and put in the shade for a day. The base was then formed by smoothing the wall inwards to close the hole.

Drying: The pot was then placed indoors and covered with plastic sheeting for about a week before firing.
Decorating: Before the vessel was dry, a sharp stick or a pin was sometimes used to incise designs. These were coloured when the pot was dry, before firing. A red colour was obtained from ochre (mukura) which was collected near Chipinga. It was powdered, mixed with water and applied as a paint. A black colour was obtained from chinēlo which was bought from pedlars who fetched it from Espungabera, Mozambique. This material was prepared and applied in the same way as the ochre, and both were burnished with a smooth stone.

Firing: Firing took place in the morning of a clear, still day. Three or four pots were fired at a time. During firing they became red-hot, but they were allowed to cool completely before they were moved from the ashes.

Sealing/Testing: New pots were strengthened by filling them with water while they heated over a fire.

Mending: Pots were not mended as their breaking was a sign that they were faulty.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in the field and in museum collections. An informant at Melsetter supplied some terminology.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (1) Open-mouthed:

       A small dish. No further description.
(informant, Melsetter)

Name and use: chikari (informant, Melsetter)
for vegetables (informant, Ngorima Reserve)

2. With necks:

(i) Upright:

Wide-mouthed, spherical bowl with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, and rounded base.

Undecorated. (Hlabiso's kraal, Ngorima Reserve, Melsetter)

Name and use: nhamba (informant; Hlabiso's, informant; Tanganda Halt)
for cooking porridge (ditto)

(ii) Everted:

a. Deep, wide-mouthed spherical bowl with short, curved, everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 19 cms.

Decorated with band of cross-hatching.

(Figure LXV No. 292 SAM 7218 Sabi-Lundi, Rhodesia)

Name and use: chikari (museum records)
for vegetables (informant at Ngorima Reserve)
b. Shallower, wide-mouthed bowl with everted neck formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 13 cms. Decorated with triangular cross-hatched design. (Figure LXIII No. 282, BWYO 2064 Chikore, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

B. POTS

(1) Upright:

a. Large, oval pots with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and narrow mouth. Undecorated. (Hlabiso's kraal, Ngorima Reserve, Melsetter)

Name and use: bia (informant, Hlabiso's) for cooking beer (ditto)

b. Sub-spherical pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 16 cms. With handle. Decorated with cross-hatching and colour.

(Figure LXIII No. 280, BWYO 2061, Chikore, Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

c. Spherical pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Undecorated.

(Hlabiso's kraal, Ngorima Reserve, Melsetter)

Name and use: gapu (informant, Hlabiso's) for cooking vegetables (ditto)
d. **Spherical pot with upright neck** formed with poorly defined point of inflection, thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 17 cms. Decorated with graphic design. (Figure LXIV No. 288, SAM 2314, Maringua's kraal, Sabi-Lundi, Rhodesia)

**Name and use:**  
**duwi/dubi** (museum records)  
**inhube/inthuvi** (informant Ngorima)  
for fetching water from the river (ditto)

(ii) **Everted:**  
Spherical pot with everted neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 18 cms. Decorated with graphic design. (Figure LXIV No. 289, SAM 2313, Maringua's kraal, Sabi-Lundi, Rhodesia)

**Name and use:**  
**dubi/duwi** (museum records)  
**inhube/inthuvi** (informant, Ngorima)  
for fetching water (ditto)

(iv) **Undifferentiated:**  
Pot with neck. No further description. (Ngorima Reserve, Melsetter) Very small (informant, Melsetter)

**Name and use:**  
**chipfuko** (informant, Ngorima)  
for water (informant, Ngorima)  
for carrying water, used by children (informant, Melsetter)
Decoration

The Ndau pottery was decorated with cross-hatched designs, either in unbordered bands around the base of the neck of a vessel, or in triangles, outlined with incised lines on the upper section of the body. Sometimes graphite and a white material were used to colour the designs.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

No information in this section.

Decoration

In connection with the decoration of Ndau pottery, Schofield (1948) quotes from Neville Jones' report on Mapungubwe, as follows:

"It is of fine texture and is ornamented with inverted triangles depending from a circumferential line, and hatched diagonally. In some instances, the triangles are filled in with stipling. Both are characteristically M1 patterns, and are so strikingly similar that the tribal connection is unmistakable. They might, but for their obvious modernity, have come from Mapungubwe itself."

No further information in this section.
The Ndau still make and use pottery today. A potter at Tanganda Halt, Chipinga used the same technique as that used by most Shona potters of the Karanga division, namely building with rings of clay, and completing the base of the vessel last.

Most of the Ndau pottery seen consisted of necked pots and bowls of various sizes. The neck was the curved and everted type, no examples of a "collar" neck were seen. Pottery seen in the field was undecorated, except for one pot with two rows of stamped oval impressions around the rim. Examples in museum collections were patterned with bands or triangles of cross-hatching, sometimes coloured with graphite and a white material.

The terminology includes terms used by the Karanga division, (chikari, gapu, bia) but others, nhamba and dubi are not used by tribes of the Karanga division in Rhodesia.
b. Duma

No information concerning the pottery of the Duma.

c. Roswi

The Roswi of Chiduku Reserve, Rusape were visited in 1963 and a potter at Mafuta's kraal interviewed.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained from the Roswi potter at Mafuta's.

**Potters:** Potters were women who learnt the art from their mothers. They made pottery for sale as well as their own domestic use.

**Materials:** Clay was obtained from the land and not from anthills. (cf. Ungwe of Rusape) No filler was used and the clay was ground fine, mixed with water and stamped until the mixture stuck to the pestle.

**Tools:**
1. **As a support on which to build** a plate
2. **As smoothers**
   (i) For outer surface:
   a piece of wood
   (ii) For inner surface:
   a piece of calabash
   (iii) For rim:
   a piece of cloth
**Technique:** Pottery was made indoors so that it was out of both wind and sun. Vessels were built up from rolls of clay formed into rings which were placed one on top of the other. The number of rings depended upon the size of vessel to be built. The base was completed the following day with additional clay, when the vessel was dry enough to be turned upside down.

**Drying:** The shaped vessels were dried indoors for two days and on the third put outside into the sun until three or four o'clock, when firing was started.

**Decorating:** Pottery was decorated with incised designs when slightly dry; a flat piece of iron was used for outlining them; zig-zag lines were done with the point of the tool and straight lines with a side edge.

Colour was also used. Red was obtained from a local loam soil, and black from graphite (*chidziro*) which was bought from pedlars. Red and black enamel paint seemed to be more frequently used than the traditional materials.

**Firing:** Firing was usually started at three or four o’clock in the afternoon. The pots were placed base to base on their sides on a layer of *makwati* bark, which was also packed over and around them, but not inside. Grass was used for kindling. The pots were removed from the ashes when the fire went out. Breakages were caused by the use of too sandy a clay.

**Sealing/Testing:** Hot beer was poured into new pots before they were used.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in the field and in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

   Small, deep, wide-mouthed bowl with rounded base. Undecorated, black finish. (Plate XXIV No. 69, Mafuta's, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape)

   Name and use: no record

   for keeping food hot for husband (potter, Mafuta's)

   (ii) Incurved:

   Wide-mouthed, spherical bowls with rounded bases. Made in range of sizes. Undecorated. (Plate XXIV No. 69, Mafuta's, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape; Figure LXV No. 291 SAM 8978 near Mafuta, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape)

   Name and use: Large size: mukati/sawia (informant, near Mafuta's) for cooking (ditto)

   Small size: nbia (informant, Mafuta's) for serving meat (ditto)
B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical pots with upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, and rounded base. Grooved line at base of neck. Undecorated otherwise. (near Mafuta's, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape)

**Name and use:** rongo (informant, near Mafuta) for cooking bones.

(ii) Everted:

a. Very large, spherical pot with narrow-mouthed everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection and rounded base. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Mafuta's Chiduku Reserve, Rusape, Plate XXIV No. 69)

**Name and use:** mbidziro (potter, Mafuta's) for brewing beer

b. Large, spherical pots with narrow-mouthed everted neck, formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened thickened rims and rounded bases. Height about 30 cms. Decorated with graphic design and colour. (Figure LXV No. 290, SAM 8977 Chiduku Reserve, Rusape; Plate XXIV No. 59 Mafuta's, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape)

**Name and use:** chirongo (informant, Mafuta's)
for fetching water, or for storing beer or water (ditto)

c. Spherical pots with wide-mouthed everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded bases. Grooved line at base of neck. (Plate XXIV No. 69, Mafuta's, Chidukua Reserve, Rusape)

Name and use: chikari/hadlana (informant, Mafuta's)

for cooking vegetables (ditto)

d. Spherical pots with narrow-mouthed everted necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded bases. Made in large and small size. Decorated. (near Mafuta's, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape)

Name and use: Large size: pfuko (informant near Mafuta's)

Small size: kabhuko (ditto)

for drinking beer (ditto)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Small spherical vessel with four spouts and pedestal base. Undecorated. (Plate XXIV No. 69 Mafuta's place, Chiduku Reserve, Rusape)

Name and use: no record

for flowers (informant, Mafuta's)
Decoration

Certain types of Roswi pottery were decorated. Large necked pots were coloured with an incised design on the neck and below it. The design, consisted of vertical bands down the neck and a chevron pattern within an horizontal band below the neck, and was similar to that found on some Zezuru ware. Red and black enamel paints were used for colouring, although traditional materials were described by potters.

All necked vessels had a marked grooved line at the base of the neck, so that the neck appeared to have been made separately and then fitted.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Schofield (1948) gives a little information concerning the Roswi pottery from near Plumtree, Matabeleland, which he says was representative of the pottery of the greater part of Matabeleland at the time of writing. According to him bowls, both "shouldered" and simple, were made, as well as the usual variety of pots. He saw no ceremonial pottery.

Decoration

Roswi pottery of the Plumtree district was a
polychrome ware; graphite and various natural red clays were used to colour bold chevron and other simple designs. The coloured areas were generally separated by incised designs, but this was not always the case. Incised bands of cross-hatching were also used. (Schofield 1948)

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

There are still women who specialise in the manufacture of pottery amongst the Roswi. They use the ring technique which is used by most Karanga potters and by the Ndau.

The range of pottery made by the Roswi of Rusape is very similar to that of the Zezuru of Mrewa (cf. Plate XXIV Nos. 69 and 70), except that the collar type of neck is found both on large and small Roswi pots, and only on large Zezuru ones.

Roswi pottery is mainly undecorated, with the exception of large pots for storing and carrying liquids, which have exactly the same design as those of the Zezuru.

The Roswi use a number of pottery terms common to the Shona, but vessels as the same type as those of the Zezuru are not necessarily given the same names or put to the same use.

The Roswi of Plumtree were not visited but according to Schofield (1948) their pottery was directly derived from the Class R tradition and was to be found throughout Matabeleland.
ROSWI - CONCLUSION

Only the Roswi of Rusape and the Ndau of Melsetter-Chipinga districts were visited. Potters of both groups used the same methods of manufacture as that used by most Karanga tribes, namely the building of vessels with rings.

The pottery of the Roswi of Rusape resembles that of the Zezuru and Manyika more closely than that of the Ndau, although it seems from a comparison of Ndau pottery seen in the field and in museum collections that their ware is becoming less characteristic. The decoration of pottery with hatched bands and triangles was typical of Ndau pottery seen in museum collections, but that seen in the field was undecorated.

The terminology used by the Roswi group of Rusape has more terms in common with the Karanga division than with the Ndau, although the Ndau also use a number of the same terms.

In spite of the fact that tribal tradition links Ndau and Roswi this is not reflected in their pottery.
7. **SHONA**

**Undifferentiated:**

**SECTION I - Field Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types attributed to the Shona (undifferentiated) were seen in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

1. **Without necks**

   (i) **Open-mouthed:**

   a. Wide-mouthed hemi-spherical bowl with rounded rim and rounded base. Height 10 cms. Decorated with graphite. (Figure LXII No. 277, SAM 1823 Salisbury, Rhodesia)

   **Name and use:** no record

   b. Wide-mouthed bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height 9 cms. Decorated with band of stamped oval impressions, inside mouth. (Figure LXII No. 272, Ayrshire Hills, Rhodesia)

   **Name and use:** no record

(ii) **Incurved:**

   Bag-shaped bowl with rounded rim and rounded base. Height 17 cms. Decorated with raised band and cross-hatching. Black finish. (Figure LXII No. 273, SAM 2076 Rhodesia)
Name and use: no record. cf. Tonga P.546 B.l.

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Small, wide-mouthed bowl with everted neck (compound) formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 10 cms.

Decorated with graphite and grooved line.

(Figure LVIII No. 251, SAM 1824, found on grave, Rhodesia)

Name and use: mbia (museum records) for serving relish (ditto)

b. Small, wide-mouthed bowl with everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened rim and rounded base.

Height about 10 cms. Decorated with graphite. (Figure LVIII No. 252, SAM 1824, Found on grave, Rhodesia)

Name and use: mbia (museum records) for serving relish (ditto)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

Bag-shaped pot with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 20 cms. Decorated with graphic design. Black finish. (Figure LVII No. 246, SAM. Salisbury, Rhodesia) cf. Tonga, Mkota p. 546
Name and use: tsaviva (museum records)
for cooking small quantities; for
serving left-overs; for carrying food to the fields
for the day; sometimes for eating from (ditto)

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Pot with everted neck formed with well-defined
point of inflection, slightly thickened rim and
rounded base. Height about 16 cms. Decorated
with graphite and grooved line. (Figure LXII
No. 274 SAM 1824 Rhodesia)

Name and use: hadjgana (museum records)
for serving relish (ditto)

b. Wide-mouthed, spherical pot with tall, slightly
everted neck formed with well-defined point of
inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Height
about 19 cms. Decorated with graphic design
and ochre. (Figure LIX No. 255 CAM, 1905?
Rhodesia)

Name and use: no record

c. Small pot with everted neck formed with poorly
defined point of inflection, rounded rim and
rounded base. Height about 13 cms. Decorated
graphite and stamped impressions. (Figure LVIII
No. 253, SAM 7948 Tunnel grave, Marandellas)

Name and use: no record
Decoration

Most of the pottery described above was collected in the Salisbury-Marandellas area and is decorated with burnished graphite, applied over half the outer surface and for about three centimetres inside the rim. Decoration is completed with a simple graphic design; a band of stamped impressions, or hatching; a raised band patterned with grooved cross-hatching; bosses, either singly or in groups on the body of the vessel, generally at the base of the neck.

A bowl from the Ayreshire Hills is decorated with two rows of oval stamped impressions inside the neck, and a specimen from Mrewa with a type of chevron design, coloured red.

No further information in this section, or any in section II.
SHONA — DISCUSSION

From the discussions on the Karanga and Roswi sub-divisions it can be seen that more time will have to be spent studying the Shona to get a clear picture of the present day pottery situation and the relationships of the various tribes in the past. What does emerge from the information obtained in this survey is that the pottery is becoming more homogeneous in type.

Schofield subdivided Shona pottery traditions into the Northern (Sebungwe ware, Korekore, Budjga and Tonga) and Central divisions, with the Manyika and Karanga forming miscellaneous industries. The grouping which is suggested by the information collected in this survey is the same in regard to the Northern division, but the Central division would consist of Zazuru, Urgwe, Manyika, Mari and Roswi of Rusape. The Ndau, Karanga and the Roswi of Matabeleland would fall into separate groups until further investigations could be carried out.
b. HERERO

No field work was done amongst the Herero.

dl. KAOKOVELD HERERO (undifferentiated)

SECTION I - Field

Dr. Gibson of the Smithsonian Institute visited the Kaokoveld during the 1950's and found very little pottery in use, all of which was said to come from other areas. He states that as far as he is aware no pottery is manufactured by the Nama today.

(Gibson in lit 3/6/64) This is supported by the Commissioner at Onopohe, Kaokoveld, who reports that pottery used in the district is bought from Ovamboland, and that it is often traded in exchange for sheep. (Administrative Officer, Onopohe, in lit 5/6/64).

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types attributed to the Nama have been seen in museum collections.

A. Bowls

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

a. Deep, wide-mouthed, spherical bowl with short, straight everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Height about 1/2 cm.
Decorated with stamped design. (Figure LXXV No. 331
Spec. 6639 Ehombo Mountains, South West Africa)

**Name and use:** no record

b. Deep, wide-mouthed bowl with curved, everted neck
   formed with poorly-defined point of inflection.
   Height about 12 cm. Undecorated. Blackened by use.
   (WNB. Urot, Itembo, Koevoeld)

**Name and use:** kavindo (museum records)
   no record.

**Decoration**

Decoration on the Ehombo Mountain specimen consists
only of clearly defined, round, stamped impressions arranged
in a neat design; the other example is undecorated.

**System of Distribution**

It is almost certain that no pottery is made by the
Koevoeld Herero today, and that earthenware utensils are
bought or bartered from potters in Ovamboland.

No further information in this section.

**Section II - Literature**

No information in this section.

**Conclusion**

The Herero were not visited and it was learned from
informants that no pottery is made by them today. They do,
however, occasionally buy pottery from the Uvambo.

It is not known whether the Herero used to make their own pottery, and if they did so, how long ago they abandoned this practice. Earthenware bowls from the Kaokoveld attributed to the Himba, are not in the Uvambo tradition and suggest that the former had a tradition of their own.
82. DAMARALAND HERERO

SECTION I - Field

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types attributed to the Herero are to be found in museum collections.

A. Jugs

1. Without necks

(ii) Incurved:

Deep, spherical, wide-mouthed bowl with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 15 cm. Undecorated.

(SAM R. 2417)

Name and use: no record.

B. Pots

1. Without necks

a. Wide-mouthed spherical pot with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 25 cm. With lugs. (Figure LAM No. 329 Pl. 124,76,11)

Name and use: no record

b. Barrel-shaped pot with thickened rim and rounded base.

Height about 20 cm. Decorated with carbon. (Figure LAM No. 330 Col. A 1321)

Name and use: no record


2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Sub-spherical pot with narrow, upright neck
formed with well-defined point of inflection.
Height about 20 cms. Undecorated. (STUTT. 28116)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

Decoration was seen on only two of the above specimens.
One pot without a neck had four pierced lugs at equal intervals
around the mouth, the rim of the other was coloured red with a
natural material, probably ocher.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: The potters were women (Irle 1906)

Materials: Fine clay from termite mounds was used. (Irle 1906)

Tools: Smooth bones were used for smoothing the vessels (Irle
1906)

Technique: No information.

Drying: No information.

Decorating: No information.

Firing: This took place in a deep hole in the ground. The
pots were surrounded by dry dung, a small amount of which was put
inside each vessel (Irle 1906). Wood is recorded by Vedder (1934)
as being used for fuel.

Pottery forms, names and uses

Vedder (1934) describes Herero pottery as being vessels with narrow necks, wide bodies and pointed bases. Schofield (1948) supports the fact that the vessels had pointed bases.

Decoration

According to Schofield (1948) decoration took the form of finely scratched lines, similar to those used by some of the Ovambo tribes, and of bosses.

System of Distribution

No information in this section.

DISCUSSION

The Demaraland Herero were not visited and there is no information concerning the use and manufacture of pottery amongst them today.

It is learnt from literary sources that the women used to make pottery, and that the vessels had pointed bases and were decorated with designs similar to those of some of the Ambo tribes.

Four examples of pottery have been collected for museums from this group of Herero, two of which are typically Ambo in style; none of them have pointed bases.
85. BECHUANALAND HERERO

SECTION I - Field

Gibson (in lit 3/6/64) neither saw or heard of pottery made by this group.

No further information concerning the BechuanaLand Herero.
To. iHERERO (Undifferentiated)

SECTION I - Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

E. MISCELLANEOUS

A pipe, described as follows by Shaw (1935):

"Dark grey earthenware pipe bowl, all in one with pedestal and short stem. The mouth of the bowl has a flanging lip. The pedestal and stem are strengthened with hide; a jointed piece drawn over the stem while wet, and another piece sewn and bound round the pedestal and base of stem. The bowl is decorated with rows of punched dots in vertical bands. A wooden or reed stem should be inserted in the mouth of the earthenware stem." (SAX 3532)

Decoration

From the description it sounds as if the decoration of the pipe was the same as that on the Himba pot from the Ehombo Mountains. (Figure LXXV No. 331)

No further information in this section.
The Herero, it seems, do not make pottery today, although a few of them use earthenware utensils bought from the Ausbo.

The fact that there are a few vessels attributed to the Herero which are not Ausbo in shape and finish, together with information in the literature, suggest that the Herero may have made pottery of their own in the past. Clay pipes are also attributed to them.

The non-Ausbo examples from the Herero show entirely different shapes and none of them has the pointed base described by Vedder.
9. A M B O

Some of the Ambo tribes were visited by Miss E.M. Shaw, Ethnologist at the South Africa Museum, Cape Town in July 1961. According to Hahn (1928) not all the Ambo tribes make pottery, those who make none of their own barter from their neighbours.

91. NORTHERN AMBO

a. Kwanyama

Miss Shaw visited the Kwanyama in the vicinity of Odibo.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained by Miss Shaw from an informant at St. Mary's Mission, Odibo.

Potters: The potters were women, and a large number of them made pottery.

Materials: Particular types of clay were used for pottery; not all types were suitable.

Tools: 2. As smoothers:

the hoof of an ox or an horse

Technique: The vessel was moulded into shape from the lump, with the addition of pieces of clay where necessary to produce a symmetrical form. Pottery was made in an underground room. (Plate XXV No. 75 Odibo)

Drying: The pots were left in the work-shop until they were dry.

Decoration: No information.
Firing: Pottery was fired at night as the potters believed that fires burnt better then.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were observed in the field by Miss Shaw and in museum collections by the writer.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

Hemi-spherical bowl with rounded base.

Undecorated. (Chief Andreas's place, Odibo)

Name and use: oshitoo (informant; Odibo)

for straining beer into (seen in use)

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

a. Wide-mouthed, spherical pot with short, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection. Height about 30 cms. Undecorated.

(Chief Andreas's place, Odibo)

Name and use: oshitoo (informant; Odibo)

for cooking (ditto)

b. Spherical and inverted bag-shaped pots with upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, out or flattened rims and rounded or nearly pointed bases. Made in various sizes.
Undecorated. (Figure LXVIII No. 303, SAM 3776; No. 305, SAM 8474 Near Omafe; Figure LXIX No. 307, SAM 3977; No. 308 SAM 8475 near Omafe.)

Name and use: *oshito* (museum records) for beer (ditto)

(iii) Inturned/inward-sloping:

a. Small, inverted-bag-shaped pot with inturned neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base.
   Height about 11 cms. Single grooved line at base of neck. (Figure LXVIII No. 304 SAM 3777 Ovamboland)

   Name and use: *ombie* (museum records)
   no record

b. Large, inverted bag-shaped pots with inward-sloping necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rims and rounded bases.
   Height about 30 cms. Undecorated. (Figure LXVIII No. 306 SAM 3776 Ovamboland)

   Name and use: no record

Decoration

Kwanyama pottery is generally undecorated. A few examples have a grooved line at the base of the neck. The surface of the vessels is generally smooth with a matt finish. Sometimes pots have a shiny surface, possibly due to the application of fat or oil.
**System of Distribution**

Potters make both for their own use and for sale to those households where no pottery is made.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - Literature**

**Potters:** The potters were women (Tonjes 1911-56).

**Materials:** No information.

**Tools:**

1. As a support on which to build a potsherd (Schofield 1946:203)

**Technique:** The potters worked in an underground workroom, **ondjibolde** (Tonjes 1911), especially constructed for this purpose. This room was generally built away from the village and surrounded by an aloe hedge (Schofield 1948). The roof was on a level with the ground and there was a door wide enough for only one person to enter at a time. The room was designed to protect the vessels from draughts during the period of manufacture (Tonjes 1911).

**Drying:** The pots were set aside to dry after shaping before firing (Schofield 1948).

**Decorating:** No information.

**Firing:** A hollow in the ground was filled with lighted fuel, and in this the pottery was placed. It was covered first with more hot fuel, then with a layer of earth (Schofield)

No further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

(i) Open-mouthed:

Hemi-spherical bowl with rounded base. Height about 6 cms. With four small handles.
Undecorated. Coarse ware, buff internally and brindled outside. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIV No. 1, TVL.)

Name and use: no record for serving meat to guests

(Schofield 1948)

(ii) Incurved:

Shallow, wide-mouthed, incurved bowl with rounded base. Height about 5 cms. With eight small lugs around the mouth. Undecorated.
Black to buff smooth ware. (Schofield 1948, Plate XIV No. 4 TVL)

Name and use: no record for serving meat to guests

(Schofield 1948)

B. POTS

Pots were generally gourd-shaped. (Schofield 1948)

E. MISCELLANEOUS

a. Pottery spoons (Delachaux 1936).

b. Stemmed tobacco pipes (Delachaux 1936)
Decoration

Vessels were finished with a brown or buff, matt or burnished surface, both finishes being sometimes used on the same pot (Schofield 1948). Small lugs are also found on food bowls.

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made and used by the Kwanyama. The potters are women, who mould their wares from the lump.

A small range of Kwanyama pottery types is made, consisting mainly of open-mouthed bowls, and pots with well-defined narrow-mouthed necks and poorly-defined wide-mouthed necks. The base of the pots is in some instances almost pointed.

A single horizontal grooved line at the base of the neck is the only decoration used on pots and small lugs on bowls.

Only the generic term for the earthenware vessels is known, oshitoo. Pottery vessels are made for cooking and as containers for beer, meat and vegetables. Pipes and spoons of pottery were made in the past; whether they are still made and used today has not been established.
91. NORTHERN AMBO

b. Kwankwa

The Kwankwa were not visited.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

B. POTS

2. With necks:

(ii) Everted:

Flask-like vessels with everted necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection and pointed bases. Height about 22 oms. Decorated with applied lumps and graphic design. (Figure LXXII No. 321 SAM 4099, Ovamboland)

Name and use: osito (museum records)

no record

C. BEAKERS

Tall, flat-based vessels in which the height exceeds the diameter. Height about 15 oms. Decorated with applied lumps and graphic design. (Figure LXXII No. 319, SAM 4100)

Name and use: osito (museum records)

for drinking (assumed from shape)
Decoration

The examples of Kwankwa pottery seen were decorated with lumps of clay which appeared to have been applied rather than moulded. A grooved line design on the neck of the vessel was also common, consisting either of broken, parallel, horizontal lines bordered with a band of vertical hatching, or of hatching with lines of unequal length and arcs.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Nothing is known of the Kwankwa industry past or present. Examples of Kwankwa ware are flask-like vessels and beakers, decorated with applied lumps of clay and grooved designs.

The generic term for pottery is the same as that used by the Kwanyama.
91. **NORTHERN AMBO**

c. **Ndombondola**

There is no information concerning the pottery of this group.

**NORTHERN AMBO — DISCUSSION**

Very little is known about the pottery of the Northern Ambo. The Kwanyama make and use pottery today, but it is not known whether the Ndombondola and Kwankwa still do so, nor is there any record of their techniques.

The pottery utensils collected amongst the Kwanyama and Kwankwa are entirely different in both shape and decoration, nothing is known of Ndombondola ware.

Both the Kwanyama and Kwankwa use the same generic term for pottery.

With the exception of the flat-based beakers made by the Kwankwa, the pottery of the Northern Ambo appears to be un-influenced by contact with the West.
SOUTHERN AMBO

a. Ondonga

There is no information concerning the pottery of this group.

b. Kualuthi

The Kualuthi were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

The following information was obtained from Miss A. Martens and from photographs taken by her near Oshikuku, in 1958, now in the South African Museum collection.

Potters: The potters are women.

Materials: No information.

Tools: 1. As a support on which to build a potsherdf

2. As smoothers

   a piece of smooth wood

   a bone

   a flat pebble

Technique: Vessels are formed from the lump. The potters work out of doors, kneeling on the ground.

Drying: No information.

Decorating: No information.

Firing: Firing takes place in a hole in the ground.

The ash is then rubbed off the vessels with sand.

No further information in this section.
Pottery forms, names and uses

The following vessel types were seen in museum collections and in photographs taken by Miss A. Mertens, now in the South African Museum, Cape Town.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

a. Small, shallow incurved bowls. Decorated with applied bosses around the mouth. (Photograph; Oshikuku, South West Africa)

Name and use: no record


(Photograph; Oshikuku, South West Africa)

Name and use: no record

B. POTS.

2. With necks

(ii) Everted

Flask-shaped vessels with everted necks formed with poorly defined point of inflection, rounded rims and rounded or flattened bases. Height 25-30 cms. Decorated with graphic design and raised lumps. (Figure LXIX No. 309, SAM 4097 No. 311, SAM 4098 Ovamboland)

Name and use: oaitoo (museum records)

Decoration takes the form of bands of grooved lines around the neck, and the application of small lumps of clay.
No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is still made and used by Kualuthi women. The vessels are moulded from the lump.

Only a small range of vessel types were seen, consisting of deep and shallow bowls, the latter like those of the Kwanyama illustrated by Schofield; and flask-like pots similar in shape and decoration to those of the Kwankwa.
SECTION I - Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Potters: The potters were women who were taught the craft when they were young girls. The knowledge was not confined to particular families and anyone who was interested was able to acquire it. (Hahn 1928)

The potters were specialists (Lebzelter 1934).

Materials: Both Hahn (1928) and Lebzelter (1934) record that the Kuambi district was one of the main centres of the pottery industry in South West Africa on account of the availability of suitable clay and the fact that in a number of places water was available even during the dry season. A bright red, not particularly good clay was used without a filler (Lebzelter 1934). The clay used was obtained from antheaps (Hahn 1928).

Tools: No information.

Technique: A lean-to type of shelter was built for the potters to work in (Lebzelter 1934). There is no record of the technique used.

Drying: No information.

Decorating: No information.

Firing: A fire was made in a deep hole (onjimbongo) which was covered with layers of wood and sand. The pots
were put in small holes (osiosero) near the fire and similarly covered. (Lebzelter 1934)

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery forms are mentioned by Lebzelter (1934).

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks
      Name and use: no record
   b. Hemi-spherical vessels, some with pointed bases.
      Undecorated.
      Name and use: okandindo
      no record

B. POTS

1. Without necks
      Name and use: no record
   b. Three-legged pots.
      Name and use: no record

Decoration

Pottery was undecorated (Lebzelter 1934).

System of Distribution

Kuambi potters used to supply the bulk of the country's requirements. (Hahn 1928) Potters's husbands
used to peddle the wares from village to village (Lebzelter 1934).

No further information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery was made by Kuambi women as recently as 1934, and was traded with neighbouring tribes. There is no record of their shaping techniques, but their firing methods were described by Lebzelter (1934).

The range of pottery types made by the Kuambi, and described in the literature, was small and similar to that of the Ombalantu. There are no examples of either ware available for study.
92. SOUTHERN AMBO

d. Ombalantu

The Ombalantu were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

No information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

Potters: Pottery was decidedly women's-work and was carried out on a professional basis (Lebzelter 1934).

Materials: Very good clay for pottery was found in the Ombalantu district (Lebzelter 1934). No filler was used (Lebzelter 1934).

Technique: The potters worked in a lean-to shelter near the "kiln" (Lebzelter 1934) or in an underground room (Hahn 1928). There is no record of their techniques.

Drying: No information.

Decorating: No information.

Firing: The firing method described by Lebzelter (1934) (p. 617) apply to both Kuambi and Ombalantu.

No further information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types are mentioned by Lebzelter (1934) who does not differentiate between Kuambi and Ombalantu ware, and appear in photographs in Hahn (1928).

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks
a. Hemi-spherical bowls, some with pointed bases. Undecorated. (Lebzelter 1934)

Name and use: okandindo (Lebzelter 1934)

no record.

b. Shallow dishes. Undecorated. (Lebzelter 1934)

B. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pots with wide or narrow mouths. Undecorated. (Hahn 1928; Lebzelter 1934)

Name and use: no record

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical pots with narrow, upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, and rounded bases. Undecorated. (Hahn 1928)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

This ware is undecorated.

System of Distribution

Potters are specialists who sell their wares. Their husbands peddle their wares from village to village. (Lebzelter 1934).

CONCLUSION

According to literary information the Ombalantu made pottery by the same method and of the same type as the Kuambi. There is no detailed account of these.
92. SOUTHERN ANGO

e. Omlonkathi

The Omlonkathi were not visited.

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical and inverted-bag-shaped pots with short, upright necks formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded or flattened rims, and rounded bases. Height 13-17 cms. Undecorated or decorated with graphic design. (Figure LXIX No. 310, SAM 4107; No. 312, SAM 4104; No. 313, SAM 4105, Ovamboland)

Name and use: matsa (museum records)

Decoration

Only one of the vessels seen was decorated. The design consisted of a wide band of grooved lines patterning a triangle design below the neck with regularly spaced applied lumps along the lower border of the band (No. 313).
No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

There is no information concerning the manufacture and use of pottery amongst the Kolonkathi either now or in the past.

The examples of their pottery which have been seen are all of the same type and size: spherical pots with very short, upright necks. The pots were either left with a plain finish or decorated with a grooved line design and applied lumps of clay, like the flask-like vessels of the Kwankwa and Kualuthi.
92. **SOUTHERN AMBO**

f. *Ongandjera*

There is no information concerning the pottery of this group.

g. *Eunda*

There is no information concerning the pottery of this group.

**SOUTHERN AMBO – DISCUSSION**

The women of the Kualuthi, Kuambi, Ombalantu and Kolonkathi tribes of the Southern Ambo are known to have made and used pottery although there is no description of their techniques, with the exception of that of the Kualuthi, who mould their vessels from the lump. Nothing is known of the Ongandjera, Eunda and Ondanga.

According to information in the literature the Kuambi and Ombalantu potters were the most productive, since they lived in a region where suitable clay was available even in the dry season. They supplied other tribes with pottery.

The Kuambi and Ombalantu make the same range of pottery types, and do not decorate their wares. None of their pottery was seen but from the description in the literature it appears to be comparable with that of the Kwanyama. The Kualuthi make flask-like vessels decorated with applied lumps and a grooved line design, and bowls of various sizes; the former vessels are like those of the Kwankwa and the latter like those of the Kwanyama. Onkolonkathi ware, although different in form from other Ambo ware, is decorated in the same way as that of the Kualuthi and Kwankwa.
a. Kuangari

The Kuangari and Bunja are classified as Eastern Ambo because of the resemblance of their huts to those of the Ambo tribes, and because they themselves claim Ambo ancestry. Professor Westpahl of the University of Cape Town classifies them with the Okavango tribes on account of language similarities.

Miss Shaw attended a pottery demonstration at Lupala in July 1961.

SECTION I - Field Technology

The following information was obtained by Miss Shaw at the pottery demonstration.

Potters: The potter who gave the demonstration was a man, who said that amongst the Kuangari both men and women made pottery.

Materials: Clay from either a river band or a termite hill was used. Coarsely ground potsherds are mixed with the raw material to strengthen it. At the demonstration the clay was used immediately after mixing.

Tools: 2. As smoothers

2 spatulas of uguva wood (rumyagili)

1 crescent-shaped tool of uguva or uhabe wood (sihakeso)

1 calabash smoother with bevelled edges (simyareso)
Technique: The vessel was started from a conical lump of clay which was hollowed out from the wide end, and increased to the required size by the addition of rolls of clay which were added in complete rings after the hollowed lump had been enlarged by beating with a wooden spatula. During building, which took place outside, the pointed end of the cone was placed in a hollow in the sand in which it could be turned easily. When then base of the neck was reached the vessel was set aside to dry a little while another pot was built to the same stage. The neck of the first pot was then shaped by beating it narrow, with emphasis on the edge of the tool, from the outside, and smoothing it wide from the inside. After half an hour in the sun the pot was turned upside down and the base pared off with the crescent. It was then alternately beaten with the spatula and wetted until properly shaped.

Drying: Pots made in the morning remained in the sun during the afternoon, were put indoors for the night and fired the following day.

Decorating: A cross-hatched design was outlined with the point of the wooden crescent which was dipped in water and wiped clean from time to time. Decoration was done after the neck had been formed and before the vessel was turned upside down to complete the base.

Firing: The firing took place next morning. The vessels to be fired were placed around a small grass and stick fire
to warm up while the potter prepared a shallow hole for them using an adze and his hands. The pots were placed on their sides with their mouths facing toward each other and a few pieces of bark (preferably umau bark; acacia family) were put inside each vessel. Bark, sticks, and grass were then used to cover the vessel and the coals from the preliminary fire were heaped on top of the small pile. After about one hour the vessels were placed the right way up and recovered with the fuel for another fifteen minutes, after which time they were examined and removed from the hearth if they were ready. On this occasion one of the vessels cracked and the potter claimed that it had not dried sufficiently before firing.

Sealing/Testing: The potter claimed that the pots were waterproof. Acacia gum was smeared inside some vessels to ensure their imperviousness (Miss Juntenen; Finish Mission, Lupala).

Mending: No attempt was made to mend the vessel cracked during firing.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types were seen in museum collections.

A. **BOWLS**

2. With necks

   (i) Upright:

   Wide-mouthed deep bowls with tall, upright necks formed with well-defined point of inflection,
out rims and rounded bases. Height 10-16 cms.
Decorated with graphic design and raised band.

(Figure LXXII No. 320 SAM 8484 Lupala)

*Name and use:* Large size: *kayiga* (museum records)
for cooking (ditto)

Small size: *kandimba* (ditto)
for sauce or beer (ditto)

(iii) **Inward-sloping:**

Wide-mouthed, fairly deep, bowls with tall, straight, slightly inward-sloping necks formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened thickened rim and rounded base. Height 13-15 cms. Decorated graphically. (Figure LXX No. 315, SAM 9025, Runtu; No. 316 SAM 9025, Runtu)

*Name and use:* no record

**B. POTS**

2. **With necks**

(i) **Upright:**

Very large, inverted bag-shaped pot with short, wide-mouthed neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Height about 45 cms. Undecorated. (West of Lupala)

*Name and use:* no record

for beer (from beer-stains on vessel)
b. Spherical pot with tall, narrow neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rim and rounded base. Height about 19 cms. Decorated graphic design and raised band. (Figure LXXII No. 322 SAM 8486 Lupala)

Name and use: kavara (museum records) for beer (ditto)

c. Wide-mouthed pot with tall, straight, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 13 cms. (borderline case) Decorated graphically. (Figure LXX No. 317 SAM 9025 Runtu)

Name and use: no record

Decoration

The decoration of the examples acquired from Runtu and Lupala is markedly different in style. The Runtu specimens are decorated with grooved and incised lines, cross-hatched and hatched, forming a decorative band around the neck of each vessel and extending in a less concentrated pattern over the body. The pots from Lupala have a cross-hatched grooved design carried out on a raised band around the mouth of the vessel and a row of v-shaped stamped impressions around the base of the neck.

No further information in this section.
SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is used amongst the Kuangari today and is made by both men and women. Their method of moulding pottery from the lump with the addition of rings of clay one on top of the other to increase the vessel to the required size, was demonstrated by a male potter.

The range of pottery types seen was very small, consisting only of wide-mouthed bowls with necks and spherical pots with tall, narrow-mouthed necks. Decoration takes the form of single stamped impressions and raised cross-hatched bands or all-over incised and grooved patterns.

Vessels are named according to use, vessels of the same type being put to different uses.
b. Bunja

There is information concerning the pottery of this group.

c. Ovambo (undifferentiated)

SECTION I - Field Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

The following pottery types have been seen in museum collections.

A. BOWLS

1. Without necks

   (i) Open-mouthed:

       Very small, oval bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 3 cms. Undecorated.
       (Figure LXVII No. 301, UCT 29.119)

       Name and use: no record

   (ii) Incurved:

       a. Large, shallow bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 13 cms. Applied handles of lug type. Undecorated. (Figure LXVII No. 299 SAM 7845)

       Name and use: no record

       b. Deep, incurved bowl with cut rim and rounded base. Height about 10 cms. Decorated with bosses
B. POTS

1. Without necks

Spherical pot with thickened rim and rounded base. Height about 25 cms. Undecorated.

(WIND. E.4) cf. Kualuthi.

Name and use: no record.

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical pot with straight, upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 17 cms. Decorated with stamped impressions. (Figure LXVII No. 300 TVL. 3558)

Name and use: no record.

E. MISCELLANEOUS

A number of clay pipes found in Ovamboland are now in museum collections:

(i) Modern pipe bowl. Black baked clay, slightly burnished. (SAM 4769)

(ii) Black clay head decorated with incised design, with bamboo stem. (STUTT. I.C. 28149)

(iii) Black clay head decorated with cross-hatched design with iron stem to which it is fastened
by a ring and a band of iron, with a wooden tube for strength. (LMIP. S. Afr. 863 Rautanen) of. Herero.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

Technology

No information in this section.

Pottery forms, names and uses

No information in this section.

Decoration

No information in this section.

System of Distribution

Hahn (1928) records that not all the Ovambo tribes made pottery and that those who made none of their own bartered from their neighbours.

Taboos and other practices in connection with pottery manufacture and use

After the birth of twins the mother has to undergo a cleansing ceremony during which she causes a pot of water balanced over a grass fire to overbalance and walks through the smoke which results (Hahn 1928).
AMBO – DISCUSSION

According to Hahn (1928) not all Ambo tribes made their own pottery, some of them bought what they needed from pottery specialists amongst neighbouring tribes. There is evidence that Kwanyama, Kwankwa, Kualuthi, Kuambi, Ombalantu and Onkolonthathi made pottery, although there is very little of a technological nature available.

The Kwanyama, Kualuthi and Kuangari mould their pottery from the lump, with clay to build the vessel up to the correct shape added in lumps or rings.

Some Ambo tribes are known to have specialised in certain aspects of pottery manufacture more than other Bantu tribes of Southern Africa. For instance, the Kwanyama, Ombalantu and Kuambi have special, sheltered workrooms, sometimes underground, in which they build their wares, and leave them to dry.

Further, the Kwanyama, Kualuthi, Kuambi and Ombalantu firing methods, although not exactly alike, are all nearer "kiln-firing" than other Bantu potters. The fire is generally lit in a deep hole and covered with sand, the pottery is either buried in the fire or else close to it in small holes dug in the ground.

The pottery of the Northern and Southern divisions is very distinctive, although all pottery types are not common to all tribes. The characteristic feature is the finish, which is generally smooth but matt, and the colour of the fired clay. The widest range of pottery seen is that made by the Kwanyama, but they do not make the flask-shaped vessels which are typical...
of Kwankwa and Kualuthi ware, nor the short-necked pots made by the Kolonkathi. No Kuambi or Ombalantu pottery was seen but from descriptions in the literature it appears that it is comparable with that of the Kwanyama.

Very little decoration is found on these wares; Kwanyama pots frequently have a grooved line at the base of the neck or a number of small ornamental lugs around the rim of a food bowl; Kwankwa and Kualuthi flasks and some Onkolonkathi pots have grooved line designs in conjunction with small applied lumps, but undecorated pottery is more usual.

Eastern Ambo ware, as represented by that of the Kuangari is not of the same type as that of the other two groups. Characteristic of Kuangari ware are wide-mouthed bowls with upright or slightly inward-sloping necks, and "carafe-shaped" pots. The examples of this ware from Lupala and Runtu are differently decorated; the former with a raised band of grooved cross-hatching around the mouth of a vessel and individual stamped impressions at the base of the neck, and the latter with incised designs of cross-hatching and hatching within triangles and horizontal bands, and in some cases over the entire vessel.

The different traditions of the Kuangari and other Ambo tribes are shown not only in the pottery types but by the fact that amongst the former both men and women make pottery and amongst the latter only women. In this respect and in type of pottery the Kuangari are nearer to the Okavango tribes than to the Ambo.
According to Schofield (1948) typical Ambo pottery resembles Hottentot ware more closely than that of any other South African people, in general shape, neck ornamentation and the use of decorative bosses.

Contact with the West does not appear to have greatly influenced either of the Ambo pottery traditions, except in the making of flat-based flask-shaped vessels by the Kwankwa and Kualuthi rather than rounded or fairly pointed ones.
10. **OKAVANGO TRIBES**

The Ipukushu and Mkuangari hyamba were visited by Miss E.M. Shaw, Ethnologist at the South African museum, Cape Town in 1961.

101. **Ipukushu**

Ipukushu, Sagani and Andara were visited.

**SECTION I - Field**

**Technology**

The following information was obtained by Miss Shaw from an informant at Sagani.

**Potters:** The potters were men.

**Materials:** No information.

**Tools:** No information.

**Technique:** Pottery was built with clay formed into rolls, but it was not learnt what technique was used.

**Drying:** Vessels were dried in the sun for a week before firing.

**Firing:** Dry wood and dung were used as fuel. The pottery was fired in about fifteen minutes; it was said to be fired as soon as it became red.

No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types have been seen in museum collections.
A. BOWLS

2. With necks

(ii) Everted:

Small, wide-mouthed, spherical bowl (borderline case) with short, straight, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, rounded rim and rounded base. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with applied red colour in "stencilled" designs.

(Figure LXXII No. 326 SAM 5653 Andara)

Name and use: kamjungu (museum records)

for relish (ditto)

B. POTS

2. With necks:

(i) Upright:

a. Large, wide-mouthed pots with tall, upright necks formed with poorly defined point of inflection, cut or flattened rims and pointed bases. Height 30-40 cms. Decorated with grooved, cross-hatched and hatched bands around mouth on raised band, and around base of neck. Thick brown ware.

(Figure LXXIV No. 328 SAM 5654 Andara, Figure LXX No. 314 COP no number, Ghanzi; Figure LVII No. 293 SAM 3254 Otjituo, South West Africa)

Name and use: kamjungu (SAM records No. 328)

olujdo (SAM records No. 293)

no record
b. Spherical pot with straight, tall, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, flattened rim and pointed base. Height about 38 cm. Decorated raised band and graphic design. (Plate XXV No. 81 SAM 9008, Mukundapopo, Okavango)

Name and use: kandimbe (seller; museum records) for making and serving beer (ditto)

c. Wide-mouthed, bag-shaped pot with upright neck formed with poorly-defined point of inflection, cut rim and slightly pointed base. Height about 28 cm. Decorated with graphic design. (Figure LXXIII No. 325 SAM 5654 Andara) (Borderline case ?2(i)a.)

Name and use: kumunjungu (museum records) no record

(ii) Everted:

Pot with short, straight, everted neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, cut rim on tapered wall and pointed base. Height about 25 cm. Decorated with colour. (Figure LXXIII No. 327 SAM 5653 Andara)

Name and use: kumunjungu (museum records) for beer or water.

Decoration

Two types of pottery were studied: the first, a thick, heavy ware, was decorated with grooved bands of hatching and
cross-hatching around rim and base of neck; the second was a fine, well-finished ware with red design in applied colour.

No further information in this section.

**SECTION II - literature**

**Technology**

No information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

**A. BOWLS**

1. *Without necks*:

   (ii) **Open-mouthed**:

   Wide-mouthed bowl. Decorated with graphic designs. Heavy brown ware. (Schotfield 1945)

**B. **

Simple pipe made of reddish unglazed clay. May be smoked with or without additional reed stem (Shaw 1930)

**Decoration**

The bowl mentioned by Schotfield is decorated with a broad belt of incised designs below the rim. Each section of the belt is decorated with a different motif of herringbone, hatching, or triangles. (Schotfield 1945)

No further information in this section.

**CONCLUSION**

The Kankukushu make pottery today; according to informants the potters are men. There is no record of their
Two types of ware have been seen in museum collections. One a heavy ware, decorated with grooved designs; the other a finer ware decorated with colour. The first consists of very large wide-mouthed vessels with upright necks, spherical pots with narrow upright necks, and wide-mouthed bowls, the latter of spherical and near-spherical pots and bowls with short everted necks. Examples of both these wares were collected in the same vicinity.

The narrow-mouthed spherical pots are comparable with those made by the Kuangari potter at Lupala in both shape and decoration; further the term *kandimbe* is used by both Mpukushu and Kuangari though not to describe vessels of the same type or those put to the same use.

None of the feature of the two Mpukushu traditions appears to have been influenced by contact with the West.
102. **DIRIKO**

The Diriko were not visited.

**SECTION I - Field**

**Technology**

**Potters:** The potters are men. (Rudner; verbal information)

No further information in this section.

**Pottery forms, names and uses**

The following pottery types, seen in museum collections, were collected from a settlement occupied by both Diriko and Mpukushu families. These specimens were, however, attributed to Diriko potters.

**B. POTS**

2. **With necks**

(i) **Upright:**

Large spherical pot with straight, upright neck formed with well-defined point of inflection, out rim and slightly pointed base. Height 33 cms. Decorated with two raised bands of cross-hatching joined by groups of diagonal grooved lines.

(Figure LXXII No. 324 SAM 9007 near Ondongo, Okavango; cf. PLATE XXV No. 76 Mpukushu)

**Name and use:** *kanjungu* (seller; museum records)

for beer, when it was bought it was being used for storing tobacco seeds.

(ii) **Everted:**

Small, wide-mouthed pot with straight, everted neck
formed with poorly defined point of inflection, flattened rim and rounded base. Height about 15 cms. Decorated with graphic design. (Figure LXXII No. 323 SAM 9006 Nguµbe, Okavango)

Name and use: kanjungu (seller; museum records) for cooking meat (ditto)

A Diriko vessel from the Angolan territory of the Okavango is included for comparison.

B. POTS

2. With necks

(iii) Inward-sloping:

Pot with tall, straight, inward-sloping neck, cut rim and dimple base. Height 22 cms.

Decorated with graphic design. (Figure LXXI No. 318 PAR. 54.56.6 Nganyelo)

Name and use: indeho (museum records)

Decoration

Both examples of South West African Diriko pottery were decorated with grooved cross-hatching on raised bands. The Angolan example, although also decorated with cross-hatching, had no raised bands and had an incised triangular design around and below the neck.

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.
DISCUSSION

Pottery is made by Diriko men, but it is not known what technique they use.

The pottery of the South West African Diriko which was seen resembled that of the Mpukushu more closely than that of the Angolan Diriko pot. In fact, since the vessels were collected at a Diriko-Mpukushu homestead it seems likely that either they were actually Mpukushu ware, or else both tribes in that region were making the same pottery types, probably in the Mpukushu tradition.

The name given to the two vessels attributed to the Diriko was the same as that believed to be the generic Mpukushu term, (kamjungu).
There is no information concerning the pottery of this group.

ANGOLAN IMMIGRANTS

a. Nyembe

(i) Kangara Nyembe

Miss E.M. Shaw, Ethnologist at the South African Museum, Cape Town visited this group in July 1961. She attended a pottery demonstration at Kuringkuru.

SECTION 1 - Field Technology

The following information was obtained by Miss Shaw at the demonstration she attended.

Potters: The men are potters. The potter said that he had a market for all the pottery he made as people liked pottery containers for keeping liquids cool.

Materials: The potter used clay dug from the river bank, it was dark grey with spots of red brown. According to him the clay improved if he left it outside for twenty-four hours after digging, before preparing it for use. This was done by pounding it in a trough, with a pestle which was dipped frequently into water. The potter added water and pounded the mixture until he was satisfied with its consistency. If a tall-necked pot is to be made the potter adds ground, sifted potsherds to the clay in order to strengthen it.
Tools:  
1. As a support on which to build  
a tin basin, formerly a flat stone

2. As smoothers  
a flat piece of wood  
a thin, wooden spatula  
the blade of a knife

3. For decorating  
(i) For graphic designs:

a steel knife; formerly this was home-made

Technique: Vessels are built up with rings formed by  
making a large hole in flat oakes of clay. The size of the  
cake depends on the size of the vessel to be made. After  
placing three rings of equal size one on top of the other  
in the basin and smoothing them together both inside and  
out - outside with a piece of wood and inside with the  
side of his forefinger - the potter started to bend the  
clay inwards to shape the neck, taking "tuoks" in it, as it  
were, so that a smaller ring could be added. The fifth  
and final ring was even smaller and was smoothed upwards  
to form the neck itself. The entire outer surface of the  
pot was then smoothed with wet hands.

The rim was formed as follows: a ring of clay was  
out off around the top of the neck, and the wall termina-  
tion flattened. A line was then drawn around the neck below  
the edge and the rim was moulded by indenting the clay at  
this point with a wooden tool. The entire vessel was  
smoothed again and again until the potter was satisfied.
Water was then poured into the pot through the mouth to keep the base wet while the upper section dried in the sun for half an hour. After this the pot was removed from the basin with the aid of the knife and the inner surface smoothed. Excess clay was cut away with the knife and the walls were beaten inwards. The clay which had been cut off was formed into a smooth flat cake which was then fitted over the hole. An alternative method was to leave sufficient clay to close the hole when the walls were beaten inwards. The outer surface was then smoothed, flattened and indented to form a concave base.

**Drying:** Decoration was carried out after shaping the upper section.

**Firing:** A hole six to seven inches deeper than the tallest pot was dug and lined with grass and millet stalks and pats of dung. Bark of the *mangetti* tree is also sometimes used. Burning pats of dung were then put bit by bit into each vessel. This preparation takes place in the afternoon and at sundown the pots are put into the prepared hearth. When the fire is burning nicely, grass and dung are packed into the hole. The firing is usually completed by midnight. The fired pottery is removed from the hole with a stick and left to cool off at the side of the hearth. Cracking during firing is caused by processing vessels which are either too dry or not dry enough.

**Sealing/Testing:** No information

**Mending:** No information.
Pottery forms, names and uses

B. POTS

2. With necks

(i) Upright:

Spherical pots with tall, straight, upright necks and rounded or dimple bases. Varying in size. Decorated with incised design around neck. (Potter's; Lupala)

Name and use: no record for storing liquids (potter, Lupala)

No further information in this section.

SECTION II - Literature

No information in this section.

CONCLUSION

The Nyembe immigrants in the Okavango territory make and use pottery today. Amongst the Mkuangari group the men make the pottery, using rings of clay formed by making large holes in flattened rounded shapes.

The vessel made at the demonstration was more like the example of Angolan Diriko ware (No. 318) than the pottery of the Ambo or other Okavango tribes, both in shape and decoration.
104. ANGOLAN IMMIGRANTS

a. Nyembe

(ii) Mamaka Nyembe

This group of the Nyembe were not visited.

SECTION I - Field

Technology

Potters: The potters are women (Hellberg in lit. 5/11/61)

No further information in this section, and none in Section II.
OKAVANGO TRIBES — DISCUSSION

The Sambiu are not included in this discussion.

No information concerning the method of pottery manufacture was obtained from either the Diriko or the Mpukushu, but it was learned that amongst both these tribes there are men potters.

Pottery belonging to two different traditions is attributed to the Mpukushu, a fine ware with painted designs and a thick heavy ware with grooved and incised decoration. The examples of pottery attributed to the Diriko were in the same type of ware as the latter and may be of Mpukushu manufacture, or made in imitation of Mpukushu ware. Spherical necked pots in a style similar to the thick Mpukushu ware are made by Kuangari (East Ambo) at Lupala, and it seems likely that there is a relationship between the two groups, particularly as the Kuangari include the term kandimbe, also used by the Mpukushu, in their pottery vocabulary.

Amongst the Kangara tribe of the Nyembe all potters are men, and amongst the Masaka of the same sub-division all potters are women. The men use a ring technique quite unlike that of any of the Bantu tribes of Southern Africa, but it is not known whether the women use the same method. The Kangara potter at Kuringkuru made a carafe-shaped vessel which is the only example of Nyembe pottery described for the survey, and which is quite unlike the wares of the other Okavango tribes which have been studied.
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It was said in the introduction to this survey that one of the reasons for undertaking this work was that by using pottery as a basis for cultural classifications and comparisons it might be possible to trace cultural and trade contacts between tribal groups. To do this thoroughly one would need more detailed information on all aspects of pottery than it has been possible to collect for every group during this survey. The present study can only serve as a guide to the type of research which needs to be undertaken more fully, the results of which would then have to be linked with other aspects of material culture and social life, to obtain a true picture of the relationships between the Bantu peoples of Southern Africa.

A study of the information obtained from this survey shows that the ten divisions of the Southern Bantu have developed differing pottery traditions. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace various basic similarities, and to find some pattern in the distribution of designs, techniques and customs, resulting from contact between groups in their present homelands, and suggesting previous contacts and relationships.

A common characteristic in the manufacture of Bantu pottery in the region of survey is that a wheel is not used, all vessels being built by hand.

The Southern Bantu may be sub-divided into two groups on the basis of the sex of the potters; the Okavango tribes and the Kuangari, who were classified as Eastern Ambo, may be disting-
uished from other Bantu by the fact that amongst them there are men who make pottery, whereas elsewhere all potters are women. This implies a different division of labour and possibly a different social system.

As regards building techniques, it is suggested that, as moulding from the lump entirely is the most primitive method, the others recorded in the region of survey are most probably developments of this basic technique, which have taken place slowly in different directions and in varying degrees. The possible paths of development are set out below:

**Moulding from the lump entirely**

- Addition of clay to moulded lump, (which in some cases became modified to flattened pad) in:
  - rough lumps
  - rings
  - coiled rolls

- Building with rings, base completed last.

- Entire hollowing of lump with completion of base last.

- Building from widest diameter.

The simplest form of moulding from the lump is used to the greatest extent by the Tsonga, the Chopi tribes of Mozambique, and the Venda and Lemba of the Northern Transvaal. Potters of the Karanga sub-division of the Shona and of the Natal Nguni tribes also use it, but mainly in the manufacture of small vessels only. A vessel started with a base moulded from the lump or made by flattening a piece of clay, and formed by the addition of clay in lumps or rings, is made by Ambo, Cape and
Immigrant Cape Nguni, Natal Nguni and Southern Sotho potters.
Building on to a base by coiling rolls of clay is characteristic of the Swazi technique and has also been used by Mpondo, Lobedu and Teve potters. The building of the body of a vessel with rings, with the completion of the base last, is used by most Shona tribes and an Nkuna potter of Tzaneen, and building from the widest diameter is a feature of the Tswana technique. The method of hollowing the lump entirely to form the walls of a vessel, with or without additional clay, and the completion of the base last is used by Kuranga of Belingwe and some of Serowe, and by the Xananwa and Tlokwa of the Northern Sotho. Although it is not known what the most common methods of all potters of all Bantu tribes are, it is interesting to note that the main regions where moulding from the lump and the primitive methods derived from it occur, are, with the exception of Vendaland, in the Southern part of the region under discussion; the more evolved methods are found further North. The use of the ring technique by the Nkuna potter of Tzaneen may possibly be due to the fact that Letswalo people, also of Tzaneen, are of Karanga origin and may therefore also use this typical Shona method, which was adopted by the potter's mother.

The most common types of hearth used in firing were a cleared area of level ground and a hole deep enough to contain the pots. Two types of more specialised hearth are used by a number of Ambo and by some Basuto. In the first case the vessels are either buried in a hole with the fire or in small holes near it, and in the second the fire and pottery are
surrounded by a protective stone wall.

Not all potters consider it necessary to seal or test their wares after firing, but there is a very interesting resemblance in the treatment of fired vessels formerly practised by the Venda and Lemba and by the Ronga of the Tsonga group. Further, not only are the methods of treatment similar but the terms *hangule* and *khangule*, suggest a close connection or shared contact between these groups.

Generally speaking the use of pottery is more limited today than it was in the past, probably as a result of European influence. Food and washing bowls and cooking vessels, once widely used, are now seldom made except amongst the Tsonga of Mozambique and the Venda and Lemba of the Northern Transvaal, and have been replaced by trade utensils. Pottery is most widely used for storage of beer and water, as it is ideal for keeping liquids cool and sweet; very large beerbrewing pots are also still made, as are vessels for serving beer.

Although all Southern Bantu people used pottery for the same purposes, it can be seen, from the range of vessels which they now make, that they did not all use the same shaped vessels, with the possible exception of open-mouthed food bowls and basins, which do not vary much in type. Some types of vessel are characteristic of the wares of certain groups; for instance, very large, wide-mouthed pots for brewing are common amongst Cape and Immigrant Cape Nguni and Basuto, and spherical ones amongst Natal Nguni, whereas the other peoples visited used pots with necks. Carinated and sub-carinated vessels are characteristic
of Tsonga (Mozambique), Chopi, Eastern Tswana and Tonga of Rhodesia, and are also made in Basutoland occasionally. Nguni pots are usually neckless, those of the Natal sub-division being mostly spherical, those of the Swazi bag-shaped or spherical and those of the Cape Nguni tribes barrel-shaped. Spherical, neckless pots are also made and used by the Shona, but to a lesser extent, and they are characteristic of Venda, Lemba and Lobedu pottery. Most tribes use necked vessels of some sort, some to a greater extent than others. For example most Ambo, Shona, and Basuto make tall vessels with necks, but although these were widely made by the Natal Nguni in the past they are now rarely seen. Short necks are characteristic of Sotho ware, with the exception of that of the Basuto, and are also a feature of Tsonga pottery. When classifying a vessel tribally one must take into account not only its shape and individual features, but also its finish and decoration.

Decoration of pottery is more important amongst some peoples than others, and is generally confined to wares used in the serving of food and drink and to bowls for washing. Natal and Immigrant Cape Nguni and Swazi decorate their pottery by firing and burnishing with a shiny black finish, the Tonga of Rhodesia also make a black ware, as do some Tsonga tribes, but their finish is poor compared to the Nguni ware. A burnished red finish is characteristic of Tswana, Tsonga (Mozambique), Tonga (Rhodesia) and some Chopi ware, but different methods of colouring are used.

Various types of polychrome pottery are made by Sotho, other than the Basuto, Venda, Lemba and Shona. These wares are generally
distinguishable from each other by the graphic designs within which colour is applied, and by the amount of decoration on the vessel, if not by its shape.

The use of raised lumps of clay for the decoration of pottery is found amongst Tonga, Zezuru and Budjga (Shona), Tsonga of Northern Transvaal, and to a lesser extent in Mozambique, Natal and some Cape Nguni. Goodall suggested that amongst the Shona tribes this "moulded" decoration originally had an anthropomorphic significance which has been lost. The Tsonga type of raised decoration is much closer to that of the Rhodesian tribes than that of the Natal Nguni, who make raised designs said to be in imitation of those on their wooden utensils.

This survey deals mainly with modern Bantu pottery, and it is known from some pre-historic finds and from the literature that there have been changes in style of decoration and finish in most Bantu pottery traditions. To assess these and their significance it would be necessary to combine both archaeological and ethnographical information. By doing this it might be possible to obtain a picture of the development of each tradition to its present state, and to get an idea of development of a recognisable individuality in each case, and of the stage at which it emerged.
APPENDIX

The table on the two following pages was compiled from four analytical report on various clay samples collected during the survey. The last report (dated 10.2.65) included a second, different set of figures for all the samples of the third report (dated 18.4.63). Although it has not been possible to ascertain the reason for this variation before submitting this thesis, both sets of figures are included in the table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAY: Tribe of potter; and location.</th>
<th>% SiO₂</th>
<th>% Al₂O₃</th>
<th>% Fe₂O₃</th>
<th>% Moisture</th>
<th>% Clay (Koalin)</th>
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<td>MABASO, Tugela (p.100) Ferry</td>
<td>63.5</td>
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<td>62.82</td>
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<td>SWAZI (p.129)</td>
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<td>1. Hora Valley (report 18.4.63)</td>
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<td>25.24</td>
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<td>(report 10.2.65)</td>
<td>55.31</td>
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<td>2. Mbabane (report 18.4.63)</td>
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<td>21.68</td>
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<td>NKUNA, Tzaneen (p.190) 2 clays (report 18.4.63)</td>
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<td>BASUTO (p.214)</td>
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<td>1. Pokeng, Lihlokong</td>
<td>43.87</td>
<td>32.13</td>
<td>6.43</td>
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<td>2. Mazenod Mission 2 clays, used separately.</td>
<td>48.22</td>
<td>38.96</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>2.56 (turns white on firing)</td>
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<td>3. Pokeng, Basuto (p.251) Hill Raw clay:</td>
<td>62.02</td>
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<td>Filler</td>
<td>49.25</td>
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<td>% SiO₂</td>
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<td>% Clay</td>
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<td>3. (contd.) Clay and filler Clay used for decoration (?slip)</td>
<td>65.23</td>
<td>15.14</td>
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<td>4. Kwena, Phalwane (p.219)</td>
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<td>5. Basuto, Mt. Ayliff (p.246)</td>
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<td>Tswana (p.312) Kgatla: Kwarape Pan Thamaga Mochudi Handicraft Centre; 2 clays used mixed.</td>
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<td>Venda: Sinthumule (p.399) (report 18.4.63) (report 10.2.65)</td>
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<td>56.26</td>
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<td>(p.411) Nesengani (report 18.4.63) (report 10.2.65)</td>
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<td>Chobi: Makupulane (p.465)</td>
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<td>Nyembe, Kuringkuru (p.644)</td>
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