

Archaeology and Identity In the 19th Century Northern Cape
Frontier: the Xhosa of the Pramberg

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the identity of the Xhosa communities that settled in the frontier zone of the Northern Cape during the first half of the 19th century. It does this through the archaeology, and ethnographic and historical accounts. The concept of a baseline Nguni identity in the Eastern Cape is examined with an emphasis on settlement, mobility and cultural interaction. The historical background and a brief history of the of the Xhosa in the Northern Cape will be detailed, focusing on the Pramberg community. The archaeology of three Xhosa sites in the Pramberg will be described and analysed, and then contrasted and compared with the ethnographic and historical evidence. The result of this comparison is a discussion of the identity change and continuity of the Pramberg Xhosa in the context of the cultural milieu of the frontier and the appropriation of land by the expanding Cape colony.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study will look at the identity of Xhosa communities that settled in the Prامberg region of the Northern Cape frontier in the first half of the 19th century (Figure 1.1). Developments in the Eastern Cape linked to the Mfecane prompted sporadic migrations of Xhosa groups into the Karoo. The migrations were planned, but the numbers were small. The Xhosa had knowledge of what lay beyond the rainfall boundary that separated the Eastern Cape from the Karoo through growing trade west into the Cape colony and northwest to Sotho-Tswana and mixed cultural groups at the Orange River.

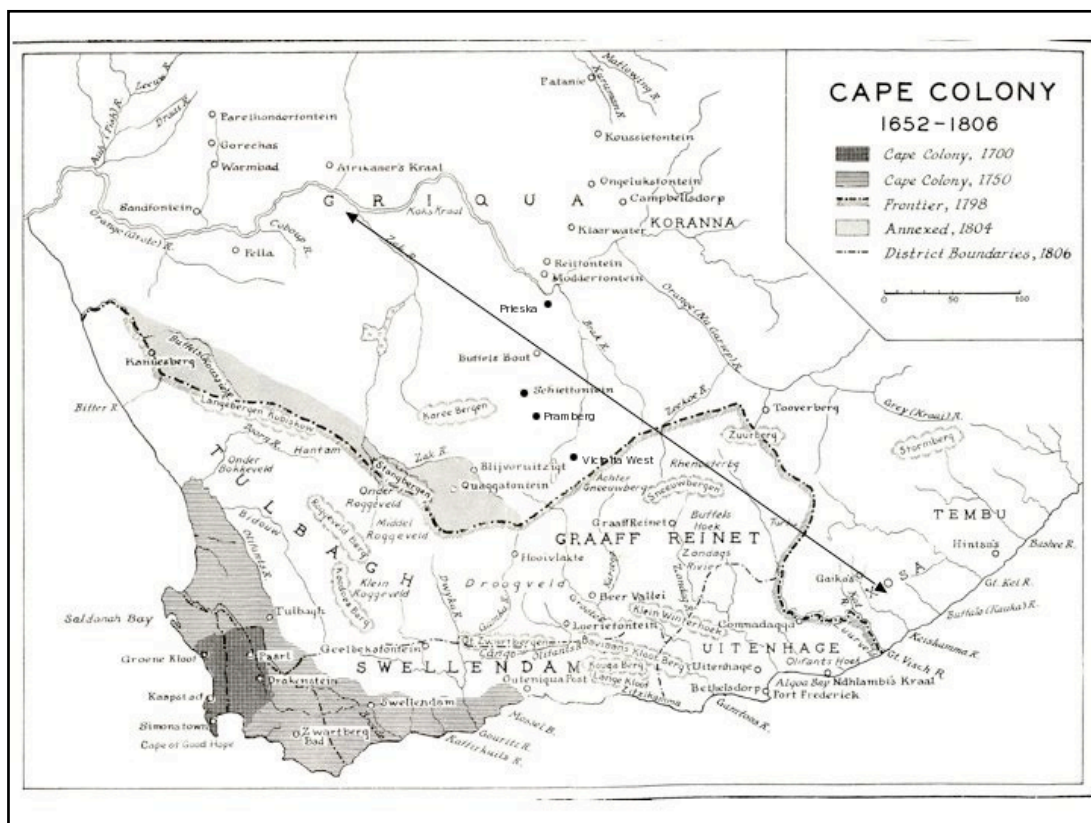


Figure 3.1: Map showing the Cape Colony between 1652 and 1806, and the direction of Xhosa migration.

I plan to examine the changes to Xhosa identity that occurred upon settlement in the Northern Cape. I will do so through first examining the concept of a baseline Nguni identity, and how it focused on migration, interaction and assimilation. Xhosa lifestyle, mobility and cross-cultural interaction will be explored in the Eastern Cape through historical and ethnographic accounts. I will then provide an historical background on the Xhosa in the Northern Cape, and what internal and external developments prompted their migration, first more broadly and then focusing on the Karreeberg and the Pramberg.

Three Xhosa sites in the Pramberg in the Northern Cape will be described and analysed and this will provide the archaeology in which to compare and contrast the ethnographic and historical accounts. The structure and layout of the sites will be examined along with the material culture, and a sequence of occupation of the Pramberg will be formulated. Rock engravings on the Pramberg plateau are also described and examined, and possibly offer an alternative reading of hunter-gather and pastoralist relations.

These facets will then be examined in conjunction with the historical and ethnographic accounts to provide clues to Xhosa identity change in the malleable and fluid frontier zone of the Northern Cape.

Historical accounts of the Xhosa in the Northern Cape are few and far between. Elizabeth Anderson's MA Thesis (1985) on the history of the Northern Cape is an invaluable reference in this regard, as is Peter Kallaway's (1980 & 1982) work on the Xhosa of the Karreeberg. Both Anderson (1985) and Kallaway (1980 & 1982), however, rely on archival research and historical documents to tell their accounts and this leaves space between the lines for archaeology to offer new and insightful observances, particularly in terms of identity and culture contact.

Martin Legassick's (1980 & 2010) seminal works on the Northern Cape frontier mentions the Xhosa on the Orange River, but does so briefly and without much context, as his focus is more on the Griqua and missionaries. Nonetheless, his insights

on the frontier zone are invaluable in terms of providing a context in which to place the Northern Cape Xhosa communities. For Xhosa history, Jeff Peires' *House of Phalo* (1981) is authoritative. It explains the circumstances that prompted migrations out of the Eastern Cape Xhosa homeland, but covering the diasporas and the minor Xhosa houses and clans that made the diaspora up, is beyond the scope of the book.

Indeed, the Northern Cape frontier has received scant archaeological attention. Pat Kramer's MPhil thesis (2012) on corbelled housing and my own Honours thesis (2011) scratched the surface of Northern Cape frontier archaeology on the ground. Studies in rock art and San communities in the Karoo are far more prevalent, but generally pre-date the 19th century and, therefore, fail to offer an archaeological interpretation of the frontier milieu.

This dissertation, then, offers an examination of the changes in identity and lifestyle, two often related terms, that the Xhosa of the Pramberg undertook when they settled in the Karoo. The historical and ethnographic accounts provide the text and the archaeology fills the spaces between the lines.

CHAPTER TWO

XHOSA ETHNOGRAPHY

THE NGUNI DIASPORA

The Xhosa under consideration here had their origins in the borderlands of the Eastern Cape. Historically, the southernmost limits the penetration of Bantu-speakers into South Africa was placed at an area between the Drakensberg and the coast in a region around the Fish River (Maggs 1980: 1). An environmental boundary is reached at a latitude of 33°S, where concentrated summer rainfall gives way to a general all-year rainfall pattern. Domesticated African cultigens, such as millet and sorghum, require ample summer rainfall to flourish, and the line that separates the two rainfall areas would signify the frontier of agricultural cultivation. The basic climatic and environmental shift across the Eastern Cape frontier allowed for and supported other economic modes, such as pastoralism and hunter-gatherer. Nonetheless, over time this environmental boundary could be crossed, as the Xhosa did as they migrated to the Northern Cape. It is significant to consider, then, how the cultural and economic structure of the Southern Nguni reflects and facilitates this shift.

Before addressing the archaeology of the Xhosa in the Northern Cape, and what this tells us about identity, it is worth questioning the existence of a baseline Nguni identity. As will be illustrated, fluidity and movement of Nguni groups in the pre-colonial era was commonplace. This movement was natural both within and between Nguni groups and non-Nguni groups. This chapter seeks to address the ethnohistory of the Nguni in the Eastern Cape borderlands and mutually entangled issues of frontier culture and interaction across cultural boundaries. Firstly, it is imperative to understand what factors facilitated this fluidity and movement as opposed to what prompted it.

Ancient Nguni history, drawn from linguistics, anthropology and archaeology, is marked with patterns of migration and resettlement. From the original Nguni homeland in the Interlacustrine area of East Africa, south to Swaziland and KwaZulu Natal in South Africa and from there into the interior plateau, sporadic and uncoordinated movement has been a socially reproduced feature of Nguni society and culture. Nguni speakers initially left East Africa at around AD1000, prompted by drought and associated social and territorial pressures (Huffman 2004: 79, 89).

The Nguni of East Africa had lived in small political units. This tradition continued upon their arrival in Southern Africa. Political independence was important, due to the significance of cattle and the concomitant volatility of cattle wealth, and political relationships were restricted to low-level units (Huffman 2004: 82). Because of the significance of cattle, homesteads were established on slopes above valleys, allowing for both summer and winter grazing.

Settling primarily from south Swaziland to the Fish River in the Eastern Cape, early Nguni in South Africa can be broadly divided into Northern Nguni, those settled north of the Mtamvanu River, and Cape Nguni, those settled to the south of it. The Fish River formed part of an ecological barrier that stretched northwest across South Africa that marked the limit of summer rainfall. Cultivation of sorghum and millet relied on adequate summer rains. Drought, a common catalyst for Nguni migrations, did not only effect the cattle but Nguni agricultural practices too.

Both Nguni groups in South Africa were not static peoples. Nguni have a low tolerance for high population densities (Huffman 2004: 93). Population increase means for a rise in social tension. Social tension was caused by competition for resources and pasture. From about AD1300 to AD1500 population density was still low for the Nguni. Populations naturally increase over time and by AD1500, triggered by high density and associated tensions, Nguni groups along the east coast began to look into the interior of the country for land and pasture.

Huffman (2004) identifies three Nguni migrations within South Africa. The first occurred in the mid-16th to early 18th centuries when resource competition in northern KwaZulu Natal had pushed Nguni groups into the interior plateau at the Waterberg in Limpopo Province (Huffman 2004: 93). The second movement, between 1630 and 1670, was also triggered by resource competition, this time linked to severe climatic conditions, and saw migratory groups relocate from the KwaZulu Natal Midlands to the Gauteng, Magaliesberg, Polokwane and Springbok Flats regions, as well as the northeastern lowveld (Huffman 2004: 96-98).

The final Nguni migration process can be identified as part of the Mfecane and is the most pertinent for this study. Some of the migrations triggered by the Mfecane include the Hlubi attack on the Tlokwa, Mzilikazi's migration to the Pretoria area, the Ndwandwe attack on the Pedi and Xhosa raids on the Griqua, San and Korana at the Orange River. Other Nguni groups migrated back north, to Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia (Huffman 2004: 106). These are just a handful of the movements and resettlements that occurred during the Mfecane period.

The Mfecane was indeed a time of great stress, instability and insecurity throughout the country, although views have varied as to its prime causes (Hamilton 1995). Huffman (2004: 102-107), however, narrows the Mfecane concept down to significant facilitating processes and their associated consequences. These processes include heightened competition for European trade, the introduction of maize cultivation, and the resultant population explosions.

The increase in demand for ivory and cattle by European settlers led to a competition between groups for these resources. Competition led to the formation of larger political units and subsequent increases in the frequency and scale of cattle raiding at around 1780. Simultaneously, the cultivation of maize was spreading through South Africa. Maize gave a higher yield, on more fields, for the same labour outlay as more traditional crops such as sorghum and millet (Huffman 2004: 106). This triggered a significant population increase, and attendant resource and land stresses.

The Mfecane may be the most explicit, and infamous, example of Nguni population increases and associated social and territorial tensions, but, as can be seen, migration and relocation was an ingrained social and cultural strategy to new historical circumstances. These deeper time diasporas indicate this and provide some analogical ideas how migration and movement, including that of Xhosa to the Northern Cape, was facilitated. On this note, attention will be shifted to the Southern Nguni, the Xhosa specifically, and the interactions prompted by their movements.

THE XHOSA: FRONTIERS, INTERACTION AND IDENTITY

A brief look at Xhosa lifestyle in their Eastern Cape homeland is provided here to provide context and gain a broader understanding of the lifestyle underpinning the migration and the mobility

Xhosa settlements in the Eastern Cape tended to cluster on slopes above valleys. This was to allow access to seasonal grazing areas: the upland sourveld for summer and the lowland sweetveld for winter (Huffman 2004: 83; Beinart 2010: 24). The Eastern Cape was a well-watered area and, consequently, the Xhosa were able to disperse their homesteads at varying distances all over the countryside. Spurs and ridges were popular areas to establish a homestead, because they provided access to bushy, wooded gullies, where fuel for fire and housing could be found. Each Xhosa homestead had its own fields and a central byre, where the cattle stayed overnight.

Homesteads were made of eight to fifteen grass or mat beehive huts in a residential zone arranged in a semi-circle behind the central cattle enclosure and midden. These beehive huts were similar in form to those constructed by pastoral communities, such as the Khoe, and were made from dung or clay and thatched with long grass. The central cattle byre was often made of thorn-bushes. Significantly, beehive huts do not preserve well in the archaeological record.

Each homestead was a self-contained economic and legal unit, and the inhabitants of each unit formed a distinct social group (Hammond-Tooke 1993: 63). The homestead

head was the senior male of the lineage, and his wife (or wives), unmarried children and dependent relatives lived with him in the homestead. Relationships were prescribed by kinship. Labour within the homestead was divided according to sex. Women tended the gardens and made meals. They also maintained the dwellings and made pots and baskets. The men tended to the cattle, constructed the dwellings and worked with iron, leather and wood. Cattle were central to the homestead's existence. They provided meat and milk, were slaughtered in sacrifice in ritual, and were indicators of wealth as well as a trade commodity. Cattle were also a foundation of the social structure, often being used as gifts and as tribute to chiefs.

Despite the distinction of the homestead as an individual unit, it could not exist in isolation. The manner of Xhosa hierarchical structure meant that even the most geographically isolated homesteads was the under the authority of a chief or subchief (Hammond-Tooke 1993: 48). The homestead head was the authority figure within the homestead, but he owed allegiance to vested authority higher in the hierarchy. A chief or subchief would demand tribute, while the homestead expected protection and judgment of cases in law (Peires 1981: 4).

Outside of the system of hierarchy, a homestead was linked to its neighbours through ties of kinship and clan. Wives had be found from neighbouring homesteads, as Xhosa descent is traced through the male line. This also placed significance on the concept of forefathers and clan ties. Members of a clan thus shared a common ancestor, and although clan-members did not necessarily understand their relationships within the clan, they knew they were linked and, as such, were a type of extended family (Peires 1981: 5).

As important, and more practically significant, were ties with neighbours, outside of those of clans and kinship. These ties were bound within social and economic relationships. Networks of obligations between neighbouring homesteads provided for hardships in the future. Neighbours took turns slaughtering cattle and opening grain bins. Cattle were pastured and herded together and hunting was a neighbourhood event. Social festivities, such as feasts, dances and stick-fights, were attended and

held by homestead heads, reinforcing existing networks of obligation and creating new ones.

Travel, then, was a feature of a homestead head's life. Apart from visiting neighbours for social visits, a homestead head would visit the Chief's homestead for reasons of war, law and politics. He would also travel to arrange a marriage, to seek a diviner and for trade. Peires (1981: 7) describes headmen traveling purely for the love of it, and through these treks and visits from other travelers, the Xhosa had a good idea of the wider world they lived in.

Travel may have been a necessary task for a homestead head, but this was dictated by the health of the resources of the homestead itself. The Eastern Cape borderlands receives the southernmost extent of summer rainfall. Agriculture, then, was a seasonal cycle, and seeds and crops had to be planted by September so as to grow through spring and summer for harvest by April. In a good year the majority of the produce was stored in grain pits under cattle enclosures, where it would be opened in times of need or festivity. Drought and famine, however, was rare.

Cattle keeping was also seasonal and the Xhosa practised transhumance in this regard. The mobility of cattle was necessary for a more stable food supply. Cattle were moved to the sourveld over summer and then the sweetveld over winter, as each had its own potentials that made all year grazing impossible (see Beinart 2010). Transhumance patterns were regular, and in wealthier communities cattle outstations were manned by herd boys at a distance from the homestead during various parts of the year.

Travel and movement was not confined to the social obligations of the homestead head and to transhumance patterns. When drought and famine did strike, whole communities were known to migrate (Peires 1981: 9). Geographic expansion was woven into the social fabric of the homestead in two ways. Firstly, sons of a homestead head were told by their feather to leave the homestead and set up their own elsewhere. This was social practice from commoner to chief, where the Right Hand

House system outlined later made for at least two sons setting up often rival clans in different parts of Xhosaland. The death of the homestead head also signaled movement for his surviving kin, as the homestead was abandoned upon his death and left to crumble (Peires 1981: 10). Therefore, even at the level of a commoner, Xhosa communities were geared toward travel and territorial expansion. Territorial expansion inevitably brought the Xhosa into contact with other population groups on the landscape, such as the Khoesan.

Southern Nguni and Khoesan have a long history of interaction. Southern Nguni groups such as the Mpondo, Bhaca, Thembu, Mpondomise, Hlubi and Xhosa all interacted extensively with their Khoe neighbours. This interaction was often strained and sometimes violent, but was often more symbiotic and positive in nature. Different scales of interaction were in operation, based on social equilibrium and historical need. Economic, social and cultural factors were the main reason for interaction (see Prins & Lewis 1992: 143). Both Khoe and San individuals were valued for their role in specific activities and functions, such as rainmaking. Later, this extended to joint cattle raiding and warfare, despite that the Khoesan were often seen as traditional enemies by Southern Nguni groups.

Interaction was not necessarily unidirectional or from the assumed powerful to the less powerful. A common, but evidently erroneous, assumption governing cultural exchange between farmers and hunter-gatherer groups is that hunter-gatherers tend to assume the cultural clothing of the pastoralists or agro-pastoralists around them (van Zwanenberg & Press 1976:14; Jolly 1996: 279). Historically, hunting and gathering is viewed as a lower status occupation compared to farming and pastoralism. The historic evidence from the Eastern Cape frontier, however, suggests otherwise, particularly in terms of divination and religion (see Hammond-Tooke 1998). Modes of subsistence themselves are fluid and permeable. Groups can move into and out of various modes as nature or necessity demands. Historically then, it was not uncommon for farming groups or individuals to be incorporated into Khoe or San communities, or for Khoe and San to be incorporated into agro-pastoral groups (Derricourt 1974; Jolly 1996: 287).

The more obvious evidence for interaction for the Xhosa can be gleaned by simply examining the Xhosa language. One-sixth of all Xhosa words contain clicks, derived from Khoesan. The Xhosa also borrowed many cognate words from Khoesan languages such as Kora and Nama. Khoe word roots and phonetic elements exist in Xhosa that deals with cattle and religion (Harinck 1969: 151). Indeed, the word 'Xhosa' appears to be derived from the Khoe '//kosa', meaning 'angry men' (Peires 1981: 13). Historians have attempted to extrapolate from this linguistic borrowing to understand what exactly were the cultural and socioeconomic influences of the Khoesan on the Xhosa through time (see Ehret 1982; Headland & Reid 1989: 53; Traill 1995: 27-49).

Linguistic elements suggest a uni-directional flow between the Khoesan and Xhosa. Genetic studies, on the other hand, suggest long-term bi-directional flow (see Excoffier 1987: 167-171; Hitzeroth 2005). Southern Nguni have a greater percentage of Khoesan genes in their blood than population groups further north of the Vaal River, such as the Ndebele and Sotho-Tswana. This too would point toward long-term interaction.

In developing this discussion, however, we need to be more specific about the Khoe and San. San bushmen operated in an entirely different sphere to Khoe pastoralists. In many ways the Xhosa considered them more 'other' than the Khoe. This 'otherness' was fundamentally premised on the social 'peculiarity' of the San, who did not emphasise core values often based on the possession of cattle, as the Khoe and Xhosa did. Prins and Lewis (1992: 135), drawing from Hammond-Tooke (1965), identify a tripartite spatial system amongst the Southern Nguni, including the Xhosa. This system separates the forest, the grassland and the homestead. The forest is the place of awe, danger and wild animals, a place of witches and zombies. The homestead is the opposite, the place of social life and human society, centered on the cattle byre. The grassland lies between the two and acts as a mediator. Rivers have the same role, springing from forest patches, flowing through grassland and then past the homestead.

For the Southern Nguni, San are associated with the grassland and water (Prins & Lewis 1992: 135). By extension San are considered mediators between nature and culture, between the forest and the homestead. Therefore, San were placed in a unique position in the Southern Nguni cosmology. As a result of this position San became valued in Xhosa ritual and religious practices. They were feared and needed, demeaned and valued. San were actively sought out for their ability to “prevent natural destruction, witchcraft and sorcery, and to heal the sick” (Harinck 1969: 153). For this they were paid with cattle or crops (Dowson 1994: 334). This altered the power equilibrium of San society, as diviners became successful food procurers as well as socio-religious mediators. Several sources mention extensive Southern Nguni borrowing of divinatory animals, medicinal knowledge, trance, diviners huts and even the *Thikoloshe* from San cosmology and ritual (Prins 1996; Hammond-Tooke 1997; 1998; 1999; Challis 2012). While others stress that religious borrowing was more likely to occur in the other direction (Jolly 1997; 2005; Guenther 1999). This underpins unidirectional interaction and exchange.

Relying on historical evidence, Harinck (1969: 146) states that the earliest contact between Xhosa and Cape Khoe took place in the 14th century. Shipwrecked Portuguese sailors in 1622, in the area of the present day Keiskama River, describe local inhabitants that fit the physical and cultural traits of Khoe. They go on to describe Bantu-speaking groups, assumed to be Xhosa, who practiced agriculture and pastoralism at the nearby Bashee River, suggesting that the two groups were at least living near one another, if not interacting (see also Boxer 1959). Peires (1981: 13-15), however, questions these sailors’ descriptions and Harinck’s conclusions, stating that any pre-1675 genealogy that mentions ‘Xhosa’ is fictitious, and that the agro-pastoralists mentioned could not have been specifically Xhosa people. Nonetheless, the account does indicate contact between pastoral Khoe and a group of agro-pastoral Southern Nguni.

Regardless of the date of Xhosa clan formation, as Xhosa lineages expanded they swallowed up many Khoe and/or San clans, primarily through intermarriage but also sometimes by force. Xhosa social structures contained mechanisms that allowed for

incorporation and assimilation of other groups and individuals as Xhosa chiefdoms expanded (Kopytoff 1987; Jolly 1996: 287).

To explore these mechanisms of expansion it is pertinent to understand that those who lived completely outside of Xhosa physical territory also lived outside of the Xhosa moral community (Peires 1981:42). The moral community was premised on social distance. A fellow clan member or neighbour was naturally socially closer than someone from another, different clan or under a different chief. Therefore, hostility was expected towards those who were considered outsiders and socially distant. Nonetheless, social distance could be contextually moulded by the establishment of kinship links through marriage. To reject a marriage alliance was a deliberate political insult (Peires 1981: 43). Gift-giving was another method of shortening social distance and creating friendly ties. Nonetheless, both gift-giving and bride-giving did not always guarantee friendly relations (see Peires 1981: 43-44). The most effective way of erasing social distance would be through incorporation into Xhosa chiefdoms.

The mechanics of chief succession within chiefdoms allowed for incorporation of other individuals and clan. Xhosa territorial expansion was activated by the departure from the homestead of sons of reigning chiefs. Sons would start new chiefdoms in 'virgin' territory after initiation and circumcision. The dispersal of chiefs' sons was a method to avoid armed conflict between royal generations. These new clans would increase Xhosa control of land and peoples, including Khoe and San, and also avoid clashes over land and influences with their chiefly fathers (see Peires 1981: 20-22).

This process had implications concerning the privileged position of the Right Hand House in the mid-19th century (see Hammond-Tooke 1993; Harinck 1969: 148-149; Peires 1975). By having a Great Wife and a Right Hand Wife, Xhosa chiefs created a structural duality that inherently privileged one house, that of the Great Wife, over the other, that of the Right Hand Wife. The chief's heir was exclusively drawn from the offspring of the Great Wife and never from the Right Hand Wife. The Great son would become chief, while the Right Hand son was provided with enough followers through his mother's House to establish his own, nominally illegitimate, chiefdom.

This new chiefdom could then challenge the chiefdom of his father or brother for power, land and/or cattle. Significantly, this allowed for inherent territorial flexibility. Movements of sons and their followers were part of the social structure and were a prime mechanism and facilitator for territorial and geographic expansion.

The tension between the Right Hand House and the Great House caused turmoil and strife that ultimately split the Xhosa polity as a unified political unit over time. The emergence of the Gcaleka and Rharhabe in the mid-19th century stems from this process (see Peires 1981: 116-117). Harinck (1969) and Hammond-Tooke (1965) stress that fissiparous tendency in Xhosa social structure, particularly during colonial contact. Peires (1975), however, questions this interpretation and highlights segmentation as opposed to fission, whereby the distribution of political power is shifted rather than split. Peires (1975) states that the Xhosa were always a single, unified cultural and political unit, albeit one that recognized an essentially powerless paramount. Regardless of whether the rise of the Right Hand House caused fission or segmentation, it was a process that would fundamentally alter Xhosa history.

The Right Hand House also further opened Xhosa society. The segmentation or fission of Xhosa lineages brought Xhosa groups into contact with Khoe chiefdoms. The line that separated Xhosa from their Khoesan neighbours was thin and liable to fade. Khoe chiefdoms would seek Xhosa aid in conflict with rival Khoe chiefdoms. Xhosa in turn would seek aid from Khoe chiefdoms in pursuing those defiant Khoe who would not pay them tribute. Interaction like this took place at a time of need and social imbalance. Interaction also occurred at times of stasis and equilibrium, particularly through alliance by intermarriage.

Contact and incorporation implies intermarriage and there is a long tradition of it between Khoesan and Southern Nguni groups. Groups such as the Mpondomise and Thembu intermarried extensively. A prominent Mpondomise myth tells of a senior chief marrying a San woman, and Thembu praise songs often include mention of San (Derricourt 1974; Wilson 1982). Additionally, intermarriage between Xhosa and Khoe worked both ways. Oral histories mention numerous examples of farmer/Khoesan

intermarriage (Klatzow 2010: 231). Khoe royal lineages were recipients of Xhosa princesses when Xhosa clans sought sanctuary in Khoe territory. Xhosa men often took Khoesan women as wives, primarily for political reasons. The practice of bride-giving was a method of consolidating political and military alliances by descent groups, and a way of regulating trade and allocating territory (Harinck 1969: 167). Challis (2012: 272) highlights the importance of intermarriage amongst different clans as a method of gaining stability in alien or tense environments.

Most importantly for the theme of identity under consideration here Harinck (1969: 147) stresses how the processes emphasised cultural compatibility between Xhosa and Khoe. Hammond-Tooke (1999: 128), albeit emphasizing Khoe influence on Southern Nguni, highlights similarities in patrilineal descent, dualism between the left and right, the youngest child as heir and circular settlement around a central cattle byre. Indeed, differences between Khoe and Xhosa only occurred in physical make up, language, mode of subsistence and labour division. Nonetheless, Khoe entering the Xhosa social structure did so as inferiors, but only in economic terms. Racially and socially they were considered equals and their inferior or subservient status, particularly in public affairs, could pass within one or two generations. Khoe chiefdoms outside the Xhosa social sphere were part of patron-client relationships.

Khoe and Xhosa intermarriage, miscegenation and incorporation, were prevalent through time and created groups or clans of mixed cultural identity. Peires (1981: 188-191) identifies six of 25 major Xhosa clans of mixed Xhosa-Khoesan make up or origin. Minor clans were also often made of a mixture of Xhosa and immigrant groups, from the Mpondomise (the Ngwevu), the Thembu (the Qocwa), the Sotho (the Ntshilibe), and the Khoe (the Giqwa) (Peires 1981: 16). Immigrant individuals also often joined Xhosa clans. Significantly, the majority of clans that were incorporated involuntarily by the Xhosa were Khoesan in origin. These include the Sukwini, the Gqwashu, the Nqarwane, the Cete and the isiThatu (Peires 1981: 16). These clans were incorporated by military conquest, whereby individuals from defeated Khoe chiefdoms were incorporated into the victorious Xhosa clans (see Peires 1981: 22-24). No individual or clan could assume chieftainship unless they could prove royal Xhosa

descent. For the San, Wright (1971: 60-61) mentions mixed San and Mpondomise groups raiding southern Natal under a San chief in the early 19th century.

A good indication of Xhosa and Khoe entanglement is illustrated by the following example. Hinsati, chief of the Inqua (Gqakula), was the most powerful Khoe kingdom west of Xhosaland. He gave shelter to a Xhosa royal refugee, Ziko (Gando), and Ziko offered his daughter as a bride to Hinsati in return for land. Hinsati granted Ziko land and a level of autonomy over Hinsati's people. Ziko's Xhosa chiefdom therefore existed in Khoe land, albeit with marked territorial separation, the Xhosa and the Khoe did not live together, and little direct interference from the Khoe around them (Harinck 1969: 157). This example, however, does not end well for the Khoe. Ziko eventually healed the political rifts that had initially forced him to flee, and the Xhosa turned on Hinsati, essentially out of greed for Hinsati's immense cattle herds. They abducted his Xhosa wife, and destroyed him and his people as a political unit. Such was the nature of volatile and unpredictable pastoral politics, but it proved an example of the type of alliance that could be formed between Xhosa and Khoe clans.¹

Harinck (1969: 169) states that one cannot rightly speak of a 'frontier' existing between Khoe and Xhosa societies, such was the level of interaction and alliance. Khoe chiefdoms relied on Xhosa chiefdoms as Xhosaland pushed into their territories, and Xhosa chiefs valued the higher status of Khoe chiefs. The machinations of political and territorial expansion for the Xhosa meant that assimilation between Xhosa and Khoe was inevitable. Mixed cultural groups and more powerful Khoe chiefdoms were patronized by Xhosa chiefs and their lineage. The relationship between the two was not always mutually beneficial or peaceful, but alliance was formed through shared economic and political interests.

The frontier was not only social, but also ecological and resource-based. Trade had long been a feature of Southern Nguni and Khoesan interaction. Western Cape Khoe were acquiring metal and glass from the crews of European shipwrecks before van

¹ Peires (1981:21-22) tells essentially the same narrative involving Khoe and Xhosa, but with different characters.

Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape in 1652. By the time of the establishment of a refreshment station at the Cape busy trade routes were well in place. Van Riebeeck mentions local Chochoqua Khoe receiving metal and beads from Tlhaping Tswana in the Northern Cape by way of Nama Khoe (Harinck 1969: 160). Ivory had long been traded before van Riebeeck's arrival, with the involvement of Portuguese traders on the east coast from 1552 (Wilson 1982:78). The significance of this pre-colonial trade is that it indicates that the southern Nguni were networking across the ecological frontier, and that the wider world beyond was known and structured.

In the late 17th century the Chochoqua Khoe situated themselves as middlemen between the Dutch in the Cape peninsula and other Khoe chiefdoms further east, such as the Chainouqua, who in turn were trading with the Xhosa. The Dutch were eager to gain cattle and precious metal from further inland and establish trade links with Khoe chiefdoms and Nguni clans. The Chainouqua established a trade connection with the Xhosa, cemented through bride-giving.

This trade link was an attempt by the Cape Khoe and Xhosa to regulate the trade in the Cape region. Copper, iron and glass beads were diffused from the Dutch at the Cape. The Xhosa would exchange dagga, cattle and ivory for these European goods. These European goods acted as money equivalents in the Xhosa internal economy (see Beinart 1980). Xhosa would visit Inqua and Chainouqua Khoe on specific trade expeditions. These arrangements only diminished with the encroachment of European stock-farmers at the borders of Xhosaland. Indigenous trade in stock and metal continued through the 18th century, despite the arrival of European stock-farmers. It was deflected further to the northeast and towards the Orange River and north to the Mpondo and Thembu near Zululand. The colonists in particular sought ivory, often illegally, and by 1770 there was a substantial and busy ivory trade network, involving Xhosa, Khoe and San, to and from the colony. The Xhosa were willing and active participants in this trade, and unlikely to be duped or cheated (Peires 1981: 98).

Despite this seemingly mutually advantageous trading system, relationships with the Colony in this period were strained. Xhosa social and cultural structures facilitated

social, political and economic expansion and integration. To this end, they were mostly successful in drawing their Khoesan neighbours into alliances of reciprocal social relations, but the colonists, however, could not be drawn into this type of relationship. Specific grievances between Xhosa and colonist lay above typical clashes between two pastoral groups seeking cattle and land.

Already geared towards expansion, Xhosa clans meeting colonists for the first time could not see why European groups could not assimilate into Xhosa society much like the Khoe did (Peires 1981: 53-54). The colonists could be included, as the Khoe were, in Xhosa economic, social and political networks. As it were, the Xhosa were met with an implacable attitude from the colony. The colony wanted fixed boundaries and clear dividing lines, both socially and geographically. They were not willing to intermarry or to engage in mutual gift-giving, or to ally with Xhosa leaders against common enemies. For example, the Landdrost of Uitenhage rejected an ox sent as a gift and recognition of his authority by the Xhosa chief Chungwa, residing in 1810 on colonial land. Seeing the gift as a bribe the Landdrost returned the ox, thereby insulting Chungwa and irrevocably souring relations between the two (Peires 1981: 58). Examples such as this increased and relations worsened as colonists pushed further and further into Xhosa territory and the frontier closed.

It is pertinent here to briefly consider the concept of the frontier zone in South Africa. The frontier zone is dynamic, fluid, unstable and temporary. It is an area often beyond an official boundary or between centres of control, whether modern or ancient. Legassick (2010: 7), upon whose seminal work this concept of the frontier zone is based, states that for a frontier zone to exist there must be a crisis of cultural and political values that cannot be resolved by the imposition of a legitimate authority.

Legassick (2010: 6-7) highlights how previous studies of the frontier in South Africa speak of culture contact and frontiers in the context of a single source of legitimate authority. This previous work emphasized the frontier as a moving region between the 'savagery' of the non-whites and the 'civilization' of the whites that perpetuated continuous transformation (Penn 2001: 19). In Legassick's opinion, however, this was

incorrect: 'civilization' did not unvaryingly spread with white settlement, and equating white settlement with white control meant ignoring the existence and role of autonomous non-white communities. Legassick's frontier zone sought to change this by discounting the correlation between white settlement and white hegemony. To do so he predicated the concept of a frontier zone on two elements: the lack of a single source of authority and the process of acculturation.

In the frontier zone, between or beyond states, there was no single source of legitimate, established authority. The frontier then becomes an area in which different, sometimes opposing, authorities could compete, either for legitimacy and/or power. It also became an area where anyone, be they European or not, who could generate power could use and implement it (Legassick 2010: 6). Hence, frontier communities often arrived in an area where there was an authority vacuum. These communities, however, thrive under a lack of established authority. For many frontier communities their establishment in the frontier zone was an attempt to escape from centralized legitimate authority. Its absence allows them to pursue their desire of continuing traditional ways of living and social and cultural structures (Legassick 2010: 7).

Frontier communities may have wished to maintain traditional lifestyles, but this would ignore the dynamic aspect of the frontier zone. The frontier zone, from its beginnings, "involved inclusion as well as exclusion" (Legassick 1970: 58). The frontier was not a socially isolated region where new communities could settle in seclusion and continue their traditions. Instead, the frontier was always a zone of contact and inclusion between two or more societies. Different cultural groups were not separate and discrete and enemies and friends were not divided into inflexible, set categories (Legassick 1980: 65). What is more, the arid environment of the Northern Cape and Karoo encouraged a transhumant lifestyle. Transhumance eroded the fostering of group consciousness, switching loyalty from the larger, political or culture unit to the family and homestead (Legassick 1980: 60).

New modes of life were created through interaction between societies and groups, and adaptations to new environments. Termed 'acculturation' by Legassick, these new

modes were created naturally and mutually and not forced by a single legitimate authority (Legassick 2010: 7). Hence, the milieu of the frontier, where alliances shifted, and distinct communities often bled into one, 'new' community. When that single established authority, in this case the colony, did extend its hegemony over previous frontier zones those under their authority were subject to extensive acculturative influences. This is manifest on a social or personal level with the 'civilizing' tendrils of the missionaries, encouraging not only European religious beliefs but also European ways of living. On a larger, political level it is manifest in the manner in which traditional political structures, such as access to leadership and property rights, are transformed (Legassick 2010: 8). Acculturation became subjugation as new modes of life created a 'colonial situation' (Penn 2001: 30).

Land, its ownership and access to it, are particularly relevant in this regard. As land fell under colonial control, through annexation or shifting official borders, Western ideas of property and land were forced upon non-European communities now living under colonial authority. Europeans could consolidate their landholdings at the expense of non-Europeans. To do so would bring the land, and the people living on it, under the auspices of a single established legitimate authority. This would thereby close the frontier zone, and erode it completely or push it further out still. The existing frontier zone may have disappeared or been removed, but the people often remained. They may have been nominally under legitimate colonial authority, but this did not mean that they obeyed it.

During the 19th century a relationship based on raiding and the trade of stolen cattle, often from the colony, developed between Southern Nguni and San. This relationship was strong enough for southern Nguni chiefs to marry San women (Wright 1971; Vinnicombe 1976). Challis (2012) identifies whole new mixed groups operating in the Maloti-Drakensberg in the early 19th century. Only nominally 'Bushmen', these raiding parties were a mix of San, Khoe, Nguni and individuals who were none of these categories but the product of miscegenation. These groups, "armed with muskets, bows and spears, wearing feathered headgear, wide-brimmed hats, and

riding horses”, raided settler farmers, exchanging the stolen cattle for corn, tobacco and dogs (Challis 2012: 265).

Significantly, Challis (2012) identifies these mixed groups as products of creolisation, the process whereby two or more previously distinct identities join in a new setting to form a new society (Spitzer 2003 in Challis 2012: 270; see also Cusick 2000). Intermarriage between clans could bring stability into hostile, fluid environments, and the children of these mixed marriages could form new group identities of their own. As the frontier area was becoming increasingly hostile, fluid and permeable, there existed a distinct variability in identity along the frontier zone. Creolised groups rubbed shoulders with colonists and more ‘traditional’ Xhosa, Khoe and San communities.

The situation that existed in 18th and 19th century frontier processes might be seen as unique responses to specific events. In terms of a deeper time perspective, outlined earlier in this chapter, the movement of Nguni speakers out of traditional homelands into areas such as the Karoo can be seen as an ingrained set of responses. There existed in the Nguni a deep comfort with relocation and diaspora. Therefore, while the historical circumstances of the 18th and 19th century were new, the strategies, be they cultural or ethnographic, that provided the means or the structure to move were deeper time continuities.

When a frontier situation did arise, as upon the arrival of European colonial authority, the Xhosa were not meek or unchanging. They took to trade with Europeans well, having had a long history of it, and were able to form alliances with disparate peoples to raid cattle and take advantage of illicit trade networks now open to them. Essentially, the Xhosa were open to interaction and did not expand or operate as closed units. They may have influenced outside clans more than they were influenced themselves, but they had a long history of mixing with non-Xhosa and a long history of migration and assimilation.

The long history of interaction between Xhosa and Khoesan, and the fluidity of Xhosa social structure, means that it is difficult to pinpoint a baseline Xhosa identity. Before entering the Karoo the Xhosa were already in possession of inherited cultural models and social structures that predisposed them to interaction. Their existing cultural and social structures were also already inclined to shifting and remodeling. It is against this critical background that I approach the specific historical circumstances of the Karoo Xhosa and consider the archaeology of the Pramberg Xhosa.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The historical background offered here will focus primarily on the Pramberg and Karreeberg areas of the Northern Cape. Although situated nearly 80 km apart, the histories of the two areas are closely linked. The Pramberg and Karreeberg were purposefully settled by Xhosa towards the end of the first decade of the 19th century, and it is on this area that this study will focus. A fuller account of the history of the Xhosa in the Northern Cape is offered in my Honours thesis (2011) and in Anderson's thesis (1985), an account I relied upon in the following section.

Initially, the focus will be on events in the Eastern Cape, or Xhosaland, that lead to Xhosa immigration to the Northern Cape. Attention will then shift to the events during, and related to, the Karreeberg and Pramberg's occupation by Xhosa families, up to the end of Xhosa settlement in the Pramberg.

Xhosa immigrants were arriving in parts of the Karoo and Northern Cape as early as 1790. Pushed by political and territorial pressures in the Eastern Cape and pulled by the opportunities offered by growing cis-Orange trade, particularly in ivory and guns. The focus of these early Xhosa immigrants was the fertile land along the banks of the Orange River. Led by Danster, or Zonie, a brother of Ndlambe and a junior son of the Right Hand House of Rharhabe, the early Xhosa immigrants were active and effective participants in the ivory trade along the Orange in the 1790s.

It is pertinent to examine in some detail the political and territorial situation in Xhosaland in the second half of the 18th century, focusing particularly on the roles of two Xhosa chiefs: Ollela and Thole. To do so would offer understanding of the context, causes and reasons for these Xhosa migrations.

THE SITUATION IN XHOSALAND

The death of the paramount Xhosa chief Tshiwo in around 1702 resulted in a minor succession dispute that left Tshiwo's son Phalo as heir and Mdange, Tshiwo's brother, as regent. Upon coming of age Phalo became paramount chief of the Xhosa people. Mdange and his followers retired to the west, becoming Phalo's strongest supporters west of the Kei River. As paramount Phalo's deeds have become overshadowed by the actions of his sons Gcaleka and Rharhabe, but Phalo did oversee the creation of the Right Hand House lineage, as explained in the previous chapter (Peires 1981: 46). The Right Hand House tradition saw for the division between the Great House of Gcaleka and the Right Hand House of the Rharhabe, and explains how the Xhosa became divided between the Gcaleka of the Transkei and the Rharhabe of the Ciskei (Peires 1981: 46).

Defeated by Gcaleka, Rharhabe and his followers had been forced west of the Kei River. There Rharhabe consolidated his power as the most powerful chief in the region, defeating weaker Xhosa, Khoe and San groups alike. Upon Phalo's and Gcaleka's deaths, paramountcy of the Xhosa passed to Gcaleka's son, the weak Khawatu. Peires (1981: 47) states that it was at this point that the power of the paramountcy was at its weakest and Rharhabe now saw fit to challenge Khawatu for overall leadership of the Xhosa. In due course, Rharhabe was defeated and pushed north, where he, and his Great Son Mlawu, were killed in battle against the Thembu in the late 1770s (Peires 1981: 50).

Rharhabe had ultimately died a defeated man, unable to raise his house to the highest position in Xhosaland. As it were, this task was left to his lesser son Ndlambe. Ndlambe ensured that Ngqika, one of Mlawu's two sons, was installed as heir apparent of the Rharhabe. Ndlambe, regent of the Rharhabe until Ngqika came of age, now set about reinstating Rharhabe superiority west of the Kei River. His hostility and expansionist policy saw for the migration west of a number of lesser Xhosa chiefdoms in the area, including the Mdange and the Mbalu. These smaller clans faced hostile

conquest and incorporation from Ndlambe on one side, and confrontation with the colony on the other (Kallaway 1982: 144).

The Cape colony, however, was experiencing a demand for ivory and cattle. This demand in the Cape was part of the increased competition for trade that was occurring further north in KwaZulu Natal and Delagoa Bay and is seen as a trigger for the later events of the Mfecane (see Huffman 2004: 102; Smith 1969). The trade sector of the economy was now the only economic sphere these displaced Xhosa groups could control. They took advantage of the increased demand ivory and used their geographical position at the frontier of the colony to access the markets of the Cape.

Despite increased participation in burgeoning trade networks, the displaced Xhosa groups soon found themselves raising the ire of the colony. The First Frontier War of 1779 to 1781 was a result of tensions over land and stock between the Xhosa and the encroaching colony. Mahote, chief of the Mdange, was particularly guilty in this respect. Unwilling to bow to Ndlambe's westward incursions, but too weak to defend his position, Mahote repeatedly fled into the Zuurveld and colonial territory (Kallaway 1982: 148). The First Frontier War saw for major changes to the structural continuity of the Mdange and Mbalu clans, and introduces two characters that were to prove influential in the 19th century Northern Cape, Ollela (Bangela) of the Mdange and Thole (Gola) of the Mbalu.

For the Mdange clan, the First Frontier War was particularly destructive. Leadership of the clan passed to Ollela in 1783. Ollela proved himself a weak and feckless chief and the Mdange splintered under his leadership. After the war, they were forced to submit to the Rharhabe but found Ngqika hostile to their return east. To the west the Trekboers were migrating further and further into Xhosa territory. A situation appeared again whereby the Mdange faced incorporation on one side and confrontation on the other. To this end, Ollela and his followers retired east of the Koonap River where they engaged in cross-frontier raids on the Trekboers (Kallaway 1982: 148).

The Mbalu were also in contact with the Trekboers, but on a scale that emphasized trade as opposed to raiding. The Mbalu too had found their clan fragmented and weak at the end of the First Frontier War. The chieftaincy had been claimed by Nqeno, son of Langa, leaving Nqeno's brother Thole and his followers to migrate west to the Zuurveld region. By 1793 Thole and his group had settled themselves on the trade route or last wagon drift to Xhosaland from the colony, where Thole involved himself in vigorous cross-frontier trade, most likely in ivory (Kallaway 1982: 153).

The mobility and opportunism of the Mdange and Mbalu was highlighted during the Third Frontier War of 1799-1802. Both Ollela and Thole had established themselves in positions where they could interact relatively freely across the frontier, whether it was through cattle-raiding or trade. In 1799 the British withdrew their military posts from the Zuurveld. This encouraged Thole and Ollela, as well as other Xhosa groups, to raid into the colony as far west as Swellendam. This daring was eventually met by colonial force and the raiders were pushed back east across the Fish River. Once again, a hostile Rharhabe force was waiting across the river, making retreat and resettlement difficult. Thole, Ollela, and a mix of now rudderless Xhosa, had to content themselves with settling at Leeu-Gamka, well within the colony's boundaries.

Ollela, stripped of Mdange chieftaincy by the British and Ngqika, and Thole were now rootless leaders of fractured and desperate people. However, they both had extensive experience in cross-frontier trade and cattle-raiding, and would have understood the best methods of surviving and thriving in a frontier region. They, and their followers, also had existed as an itinerant, mobile unit for several years. Drawing on these experiences, and the geographical and territorial expansion inherent in Xhosa social structure, migration was an attractive, and feasible, option. In 1800, feeling pressure from the colony due to scrutiny of their settlement and, more significantly, eager to partake in the spoils of the burgeoning cis-Orange ivory trade, Ollela, Thole and their followers chose to migrate north to the Orange River.

XHOSA IN THE NORTHERN CAPE

Geographic expansion and traveling meant that those Xhosa who eventually left the Eastern Cape and settled in the Northern Cape were not doing anything out of the ordinary. The movement was a conscious decision, and Xhosa were aware of the world outside of the Eastern Cape. This awareness would have increased through rising levels of trade, both to the Western Cape and to the Orange in the Northern Cape. However, migration to the Northern Cape would mean crossing the ecological frontier into an area that was far more hostile environment, both in terms of climate and ecology.

The Karoo is an arid and dry region. What rain that falls on the Karoo clusters in late summer and early autumn, blown in by northerly winds, but precipitation is altogether erratic (Mucina *et al* 2007). Droughts are far more common in the Karoo than in the Eastern Cape and last for a longer period of time.

Dwarf karoo and 'white' grasses dominate the Karoo landscape (Mucina *et al* 2007). There is none of the undulating, well-watered grassy plains of the Eastern Cape, and timber is scarce. The majority of the shrubs are deciduous as a drought adaptation, and are not particularly nutritious. The soil is alkaline-rich and weakly structured.

Settling in the Northern Cape, then, would mean adaptations and alterations to Xhosa lifestyle, particularly in terms of resource management, homestead politics and settlement patterns. Seasonal cycles of farming and transhumance that were features of Eastern Cape settlement could not be continued in the same manner in the Karoo. Indeed, the dryness of the Karoo meant that crop agriculture became less of a feature altogether. Transhumance could continue, but it was now predicated on ecological features that stressed disease avoidance rather than pasture type (Beinart 2010).

Despite this, Thole and Ollela were not the first Xhosa to make the move to the Orange River. Danster (Zonie) a minor son of Rharhabe had migrated to the Orange River, along with his followers, in 1795 (Kallaway 1982: 145). Danster was an

experienced and shrewd frontiersman. At his original settlement in the Winterberg, Danster had acquired guns and cattle from the colony, and exploited the ivory trade as well as he could. His knowledge of the growing ivory trade networks had made Danster aware of the various San, Korana and Griqua groups already living at the Orange River. By 1800, Danster and his followers were established on the southern banks of the Orange at Prieska's Drift (Kallaway 1982: 151).

The arrival of Ollela, Thole and their respective followers at the Prieska's Drift settlement consolidated Danster's position there. From 1800 to 1805 the Xhosa along the Orange raided and traded with San, Korana and Sotho-Tswana Tlhaping groups to the north east. The Griqua outclassed the Xhosa in horses and guns and it was their intervention in Xhosa-Tlhaping raiding that forced a split amongst the leaders of the Orange River Xhosa. While the majority of the settlement at Prieska's Drift continued to raid across the Orange, Danster, Ollela and Thole returned south.

Each leader went his separate way. Danster initially returned to the eastern frontier to gather followers but remained mobile and nomadic through the following years, only returning to the Orange in 1811 (Kallaway 1982: 156). Ollela returned to the colony to recruit followers from disgruntled employees labouring on colonial farms (Kallaway 1982: 155). Thole moved to the Zak River region, west of the Karreebergen region, where he temporarily settled with around 200 followers (Kallaway 1982: 155). At this point the leaders were operating separately and pursuing their own agendas, but they would not be out of each others' lives for long.

Ollela and Thole were the first to find themselves operating together. In late 1808 Ollela and Thole had assembled around 400 of their followers in the Gamka area, within the colony's borders (Kallaway 1982: 156). The grievances over migration and raiding opportunities that caused the split at the Orange River appeared again and soon there was hostility between the Ollela and Thole's groups. The colonial authorities, already nervous of around 400 Xhosa operating within their boundaries, arrested Ollela. Thole, in the meantime, quietly moved himself and his followers to

the Karreebergen. By 1809 a small Xhosa settlement was well established at the Karreebergen and the nearby Prambergen (Anderson 1985: 42).

The Karreeberg

Since the 1790s the Karreebergen region had been a popular Xhosa transit camp for groups traveling to the Orange (Kallaway 1980: 1). Before this the area had been a San stronghold. As cis-Orange trade increased and colonial demand for ivory and cattle became acute, the Karreebergen's importance as an outspan saw for San marginalization. Over time the outspan became a permanent, but small, Xhosa settlement, and a pattern of raid and counter-raid developed between the Xhosa and the displaced San. This situation was exacerbated by the arrival of Thole and his followers by 1809.

From 1810 to 1815, Thole was consistently raiding north of the Karreeberg up to the Orange River. With their arrival, hostilities between Xhosa and San peaked. The Cape government had officially recognized San occupation of the area in 1798, but initially did little to enforce this recognition (Kallaway 1982: 2). Two years after Thole's arrival the Cape chose to act and sent a commando to the area. Ostensibly, the commando was sent to aid the San, and, setting a pattern that would repeat over the next few decades, it was to punish the Xhosa for trespassing and raiding Boer farms across the Zak River.

The commando did not destroy the Karreeberg Xhosa but sent them a strong message from the colonial authorities. As it were, this message was mixed. Not long after 1811, Governor Caledon authorized Xhosa movement through the colony, consolidating Xhosa presence in the Northern Cape (Anderson 1985: 24). The number of Xhosa at the Karreebergen and the size of the settlement grew throughout the following decade. This soon led to a renewal of depredations against the San. By 1819 the Cape government saw fit to send a second commando to the Karreebergen. The 1819 commando almost destroyed Xhosa presence in the area. It had forced the

majority of Xhosa to migrate north to the Orange, well out of the reach of the colonial authorities (Anderson 1985: 29). Thole himself was exiled out the colony.

With the Xhosa presence dramatically reduced in the Karreebergen, San groups soon resettled in the region. Trekboer presence at the colony's borders had increased through the preceding decade. In 1821 the Cape government pushed the official colony borders to the Orange in the north and the Karreebergen to the west. As a result, Trekboer presence increased further still through the 1820s and with the San now more strengthened by Xhosa absence, the Trekboers soon found themselves as recipients of destructive San raids. Having effectively nullified Xhosa existence at the Karreebergen, the colony now decided that it needed a Xhosa presence there to act as a buffer against the raiding San.

Without the government's assistance, repopulation of the Karreebergen was almost occurring naturally. Throughout the Northern Cape the number of Xhosa migrating from the eastern frontier was rising. Land and resource pressures, as well as constant clashes with the colony, in the Eastern Cape had made migration to the Northern Cape an attractive option for many Xhosa. On top of that, many Xhosa returning to the eastern frontier gave favourable impressions of the north, particularly for opportunities afforded by involvement in the ivory trade. Therefore, by 1824, there were a stable 40 Xhosa families living peacefully in the Karreebergen, with 1,100 heads of cattle and 21,000 small stock (Anderson 1985: 29).

With the number of Trekboers, Xhosa and San in the region slowly increasing, the government decided to consolidate its own presence in the region. To this end, they created a new sub-district, Beaufort, south of the Karreebergen and the Pramberg. San and Xhosa trespassing into this district could now be officially arrested and exiled to Robben Island. With their own presence strengthened, the government now had to deal with the increasing San raids.

To this end, they officially granted the Xhosa a reserve at the Karreebergen in 1829. This included grazing lands of up to 700 square miles and the ten best fountains in the

area, including the fountain of Schietfontein. It also gave Xhosa and their stock access to the *trekvelden* that lay between the Karreebergen and the Orange River. In return, the colony requested active military service from the Xhosa against the San. The government then officially tasked the civil commissioner of Graaf-Reinet to supervise the resettlement of Xhosa in the Karreebergen and the Prambergen.

The Pramberg

The Pramberg, 80 km east of the Karreebergen, was a smaller and more isolated geographical area. Kallaway (1980: 12) has the region settled by Xhosa in 1809-1810, most likely by offshoots of Thole's followers arriving at the Karreebergen simultaneously. Anderson (1985) has Thole and his family settled there in 1809. The Pramberg region contained only three permanent fountains, and could not support as large a community as the Karreeberg. The land on the plateau was suitable enough for stock and cattle farming, but it was common for the Xhosa communities there to herd their cattle, sheep and goats onto the flat, low-lying land below the escarpment. Particularly in dry months the Xhosa made free use of pasture and fountains on the plains below.

For the first two decades of their existence the Pramberg Xhosa had little contact or interaction with the colonial government. Like the Karreebergen, the Pramberg was in the middle of the trade route that linked the Orange River to the eastern frontier and the colony to the south. Pramberg Xhosa involved themselves in the trade, and were reported to be raiding as far north as the Orange throughout the early decades of their existence. Traders and migrating Xhosa settlers also passed through the Pramberg area throughout the early decades of the 19th century. Nonetheless, the number of Xhosa living permanently in the area was relatively small. For this reason, and due to its relative social and geographic isolation, the Pramberg failed to draw colonial scrutiny at the same level as the Karreebergen did.

After 1830, however, this situation changed, and increasing Trekboer presence south of the Pramberg saw for increasing colonial contact. This contact initially seemed

peaceful. The Xhosa sold their labour to the white farmers when necessary, and it is likely that more localized trade and barter occurred also began in this period (Anderson 1985: 45).

While the Pramberg Xhosa were interacting relatively peaceably with white farmers to their south, they were still consistently raiding San, Korana, Griqua and possibly even Xhosa groups at the Orange (Anderson 1985: 47). These actions made the local white farms nervous and suspicious of the Pramberg Xhosa. They consistently appealed to local Field-Cornets to aid in potential anti-raiding measures against the Xhosa and to cease the Xhosa from trespassing onto their land. The Field-Cornets, in turn, appealed to the civil commissioner at Beaufort West.

In 1838, Civil Commissioner J.J. Meintjies visited the Pramberg Xhosa from Beaufort West. His purpose was to officially grant land to the Xhosa and, in doing so, solidify limits and boundaries between the Xhosa and the white farmers (Anderson 1985: 48). Much like the occurrences at the Karreebergen nearly ten years previously, Meintjies aim was also to stabilize the Xhosa community to provide a strategic buffer between the growing colony and the lawless San further north. By the end of the 1830s then, the small number of Xhosa in the Pramberg seemed secure and settled.

This security, however, was to suffer in the following decade. Economic farming developments through the 1840s saw for the successful introduction and development of wool bearing sheep into the Karoo (see Plug & Sampson 1996; Archer 2000; Keegan 1985). Wool bearing sheep were present in Beaufort district by the mid 1830s, but numbers had always been small (Anderson 1985: 50). The situation changed in the 1840s, as farmers discovered that trade across the Orange River from Beaufort was far more lucrative and less labour-intensive than trading to the colony. Economic depression in the colony saw wine prices fall and wool demand rise. For these reasons the number of wool farms in the Beaufort district, although still relatively small compared to other parts of the Karoo, increased exponentially through the 1840s (Anderson 1985: 50).

Those white-owned wool farms soon realised that they required sizable parcels of grazing land for their sheep to combat the effects of disease and drought. As mentioned, the Pramberg Xhosa often moved their herds from the Pramberg escarpment to the lower land below. Before the growth of Trekboer farms, both numerically and territorially, the Xhosa faced no conflict in doing so, and were able to increase their herd sizes through the years as a result. Now with more Trekboer farmers claiming this land as legally and officially theirs to graze, the Xhosa were facing increased accusations of trespassing and stock theft.

The establishment of the town of Victoria West in 1844 strengthened white farmers' positions. The wool boom saw European merchants, traders and businessmen leave Beaufort West to settle at Victoria West, only 25.7km south of the Pramberg. The accompanying increase in industry and wealth into the region saw for the establishment of larger, more modern and more industrious farms. Water access, land and territory pressures were now becoming acute for the Pramberg Xhosa. Conflict between Xhosa and Trekboer increased as Xhosa refused to recognize the changed status of land they used to be able to visit at will. Xhosa cattle were impounded and communal land seized only to be leased back to the Xhosa at exorbitant fees. For their part the Xhosa stole and killed Trekboer-owned cattle. The situation was tense and not aided by developments at the eastern frontier and closer to home in the colony.

The situation at the eastern frontier throughout the 1840s was deteriorating to near outright warfare between Xhosa and colonist. Residents of Victoria West and the surrounding European-owned farms, upon hearing of the dire situation in the Eastern Cape, soon began to suspect an alliance between the Pramberg Xhosa and Xhosa at the eastern frontier. Afraid of Xhosa attack, and seeking further excuses to push the Xhosa out of the Pramberg, hostilities and aggression towards the Pramberg Xhosa rose. The Cape government sent Acting Civil Commissioner Auret of Beaufort West to survey the situation in 1847. Instead of recommending the forced removal of the Xhosa, as the surrounding farmers so desired, Auret condemned the impounding of Xhosa cattle and reiterated the borders of Pramberg Xhosa land. In return, the

Pramberg Xhosa had to promise not to involve themselves at the eastern frontier in any way.

Despite Auret's recommendations, tensions exacerbated by Sir Harry Smith extension of the colony borders to the Orange River in 1848. The Xhosa community at Pramberg, and those in the Karreebergen and Prieska's Drift in the Orange River, were now under official colonial control. They had to compete directly with white farmers for titles to what was now crown land. As it were, the Pramberg Xhosa were granted 6,000 acres of land for themselves, but there was a stipulation in that the land had to be surveyed at their own expense. On top of that, 6,000 acres was insufficient grazing land for the Xhosa's herds. Any attempt to water stock at neighbouring farms was now officially trespassing and the Xhosa would now not just be facing up to irate farmers but legitimate colonial authorities.

THE END OF THE PRAMBERG XHOSA SETTLEMENT

Fundamentally it was the arrival of missionaries at Schietfontein in the Karreebergen that saw for the end of the Xhosa community at Pramberg. Thole, captain of the Karreebergen Xhosa, and seeking legitimacy and political security ahead of Christianity, requested a Christian missionary to settle at Schietfontein. The Karreebergen Xhosa community were feeling the pinch of encroaching colonial control far worse than the Pramberg community were, and a Christian missionary would consolidate Thole's leadership and act on behalf of the Xhosa in dealings with the colony.

Thole's request for a missionary was successful, and in 1847 Rev. C.W. Alheit of the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS) opened a small station at Schietfontein. Although initially viewed with suspicion, Alheit proved himself a tenacious and hard worker. Within his first five years at Schietfontein, he had overseen the construction of a church, a general store, stone houses and an irrigation system (Anderson 1985: 75).

The Eighth Frontier War in the Eastern Cape had seen for the rise of anti-colonial millenarian movements that had spread to the Xhosa communities at the Orange River. The government, fearing the spread of the movements to the Karreebergen, and acknowledging the work of Alheit, further recognized the right of the Xhosa to their land in 1853. The RMS had requested Alheit to not only proselytize to the Karreebergen Xhosa but to reach out the community at Pramberg. Centralising the Xhosa of the Karreebergen and Pramberg at one settlement would also place all of Alheit's flock under one roof.

Back at the Pramberg drought from 1850 to 1853 had scattered the Xhosa further into white owned land as they searched for pasture and water. Trespassing and impounding has subsequently increased and the number of Xhosa cattle and stock had dropped (Anderson 1985: 93). The Eighth Frontier War and associated anti-colonial millenarian movements gave further cause for the local white farming communities to victimize the Pramberg Xhosa and call for their removal. Small confrontations were blown out of proportion and there was an endless stream of complaints to the government regarding Xhosa activity.

The government, hesitant to respond to farmers' complaints before, chose to act on them in 1855. First, they allotted an additional parcel of land to the Schietfontein reserve. This land was to accommodate the Pramberg Xhosa, who were to be peaceably removed from the Pramberg and settled at Schietfontein. Removing the Pramberg Xhosa would end the constant confrontations and complaints of the white farmers, but would also place them closer to the RMS station at Schietfontein. There, the government hoped, the Pramberg Xhosa would be under the civilizing influence of the missionaries (Kallaway 1980: 12).

Initially, the government offered rewards to those Xhosa who volunteered to move. When this was met with little success, the government convinced two captains of the Pramberg Xhosa to visit Schietfontein and assess the land and water reserved for them. The new land, although far larger than the Pramberg reserve, was far poorer in quality. There was only one perennial fountain, inaccessible at the bottom of a steep

kloof, and previous grazers had indicated that the land's maximum carrying capacity was only 1,500 sheep, 10,000 in a good year (Kallaway 1980: 14). The land was to accommodate 69 families (around 350 people) and up to 20,000 small stock. What the two Pramberg captains thought of their new land has been lost to history, but the stage was set for the Xhosa's removal from the Pramberg.

The relocation of the Xhosa from the Pramberg took place in October 1855. Overseen, amongst others, by a pleased Rev. Alheit and a concerned new Karreebergen captain Daniel Abraham, the removal was peaceful and, ultimately, successful. Anderson (1985: 101) has 12 Xhosa families with 100 heads of cattle and 2,000 sheep returning to the Pramberg the following year, subleasing land from the new tenant. This was in violation of the tenant's contract and when the land was re-let to white farmers they were given permission to impound Xhosa cattle and force the Xhosa back to Schietfontein. By mid 1857 the Pramberg was clear of Xhosa.

The historical background offered here has been narrowed down to focus on the Xhosa leaders and Xhosa communities that were directly linked to the Pramberg. The Pramberg settlement began as an offshoot of the settlement at the Karreebergen, and whilst they grew into separate entities throughout the early half of the 19th century, by the middle of it their fates were again intertwined. This background provides for an understanding and the context of not only Xhosa arrival and settlement in the Northern Cape, but also of the archaeological sequence of the Xhosa in the Pramberg.

THE PRAMBERG SITES

Our survey of the Pramberg identified nine sites (Figure 3.1). Water was considered critical in selecting sites to study, and our aim was to identify larger sites near natural springs or fountains. Libanon 7, Libanon 8, Libanon 9 and Ysterklip were all considered too small and had a modern structural and archaeological signature. They were also all far from natural springs. For this reason, they were not selected for further study.

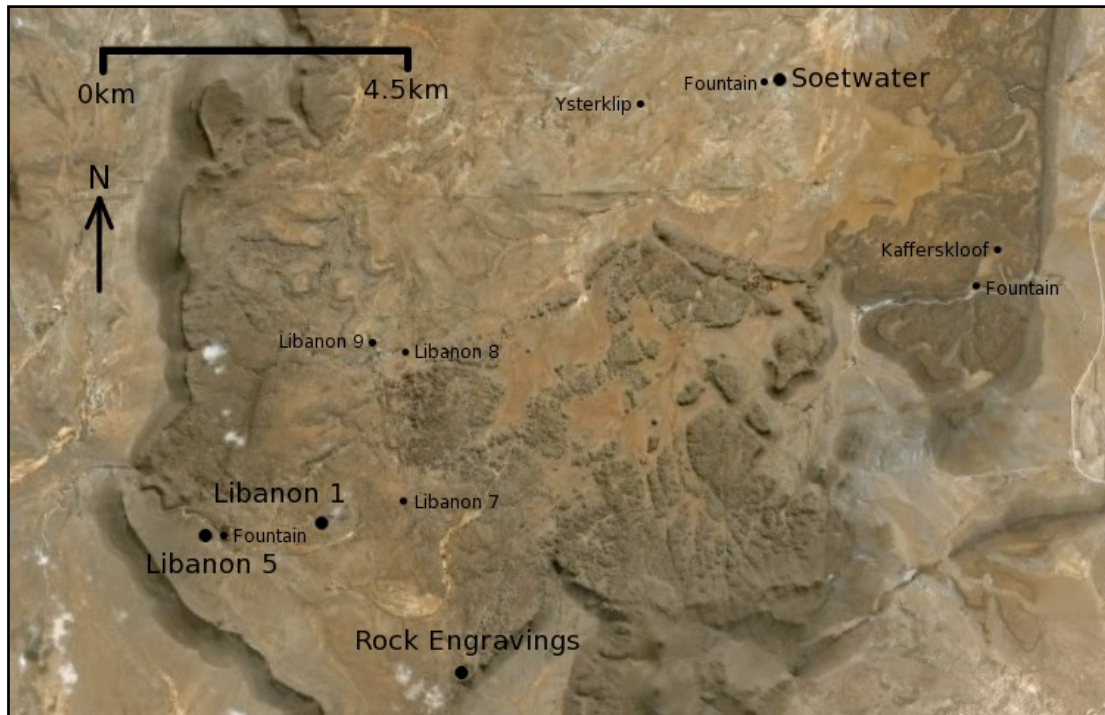


Figure 3.1: Image of the Pramberg plateau showing identified sites and fountains.

Kafferskloof is near a fountain and was the first site mentioned by local farmers when asked about Xhosa in the area. Anderson (1985) had also highlighted it as the largest Xhosa homestead, called Tschivika's Kraal, in the Pramberg and indicated that graves and grindstones had been found there. As it were, Kafferskloof's reputation preceded the material. The site offered little sign of continuous long-term occupation and no material culture.

The sites selected for study were Libanon 1, Libanon 5 and Soetwater (Figure 3.1). Libanon 5 and Soetwater are near perennial fountains, large and structurally complex and show signs of long term occupation. Libanon 1 is smaller and at a distance from natural water, but also gave indications of long term occupation. The following chapters are a description and analysis of the Libanon 5, Libanon 1 and Soetwater sites, and their archaeology.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIBANON 5

SETTING

The Libanon 5 site is situated on the farm of Libanon on the Pramberg plateau. The site is around 230m south of the current Libanon farmhouse (Figure 4.1). Both the farm and Libanon 5 are located here because of a perennial water fountain adjacent to the farmhouse that drains from the plateau to the lower plains below through a deeply cut, meandering kloof, which pools standing water throughout the year. At the western end of the gully is a perennial spring. This spring is marked as a ‘Spring common with *Caffers*’ on a survey map from 1848.

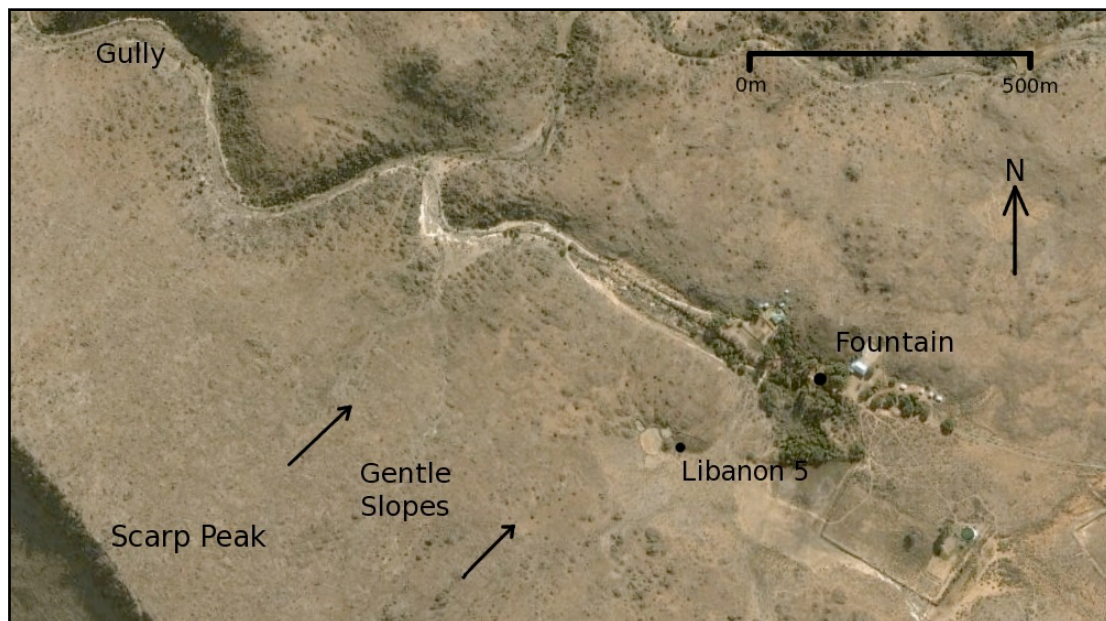


Figure 4.1: Image of Libanon 5 site showing natural features.

The site itself sits on a gentle northeast facing slope at the southern end of the plateau (Figure 3.1). The vegetation is sparse and scrubby. Dolerite outcrops are common throughout the area and range in size from a small car to a two-storey building. Small to medium size shrubs and bushes dot the grassy landscape.

The site sits in a natural amphitheatre backed by small dolerite outcrops on the western and northern sides. To the east of this hill the land is flatter, although criss-crossed with drainage gullies in various states of erosion. Running almost directly east and down the hill on the northern edge of the site is a straight, dolerite stonewall (Figure 4.2). From its westernmost extent at the top of the hill the wall extends for around 65m in a straight line. The wall is reasonably well preserved and double-sided in construction. The wall does not rise above knee height but is clearly visible through the scattered grass patches. Erosion gullies have broken through the wall at a number of points. It is likely that this feature is a recent construction to control erosion of the drainage flowing downslope from the south (Figure 4.1). This wall abuts the eastern end of a kraal situated on the west-facing slope of the hill (Figure 4.2).

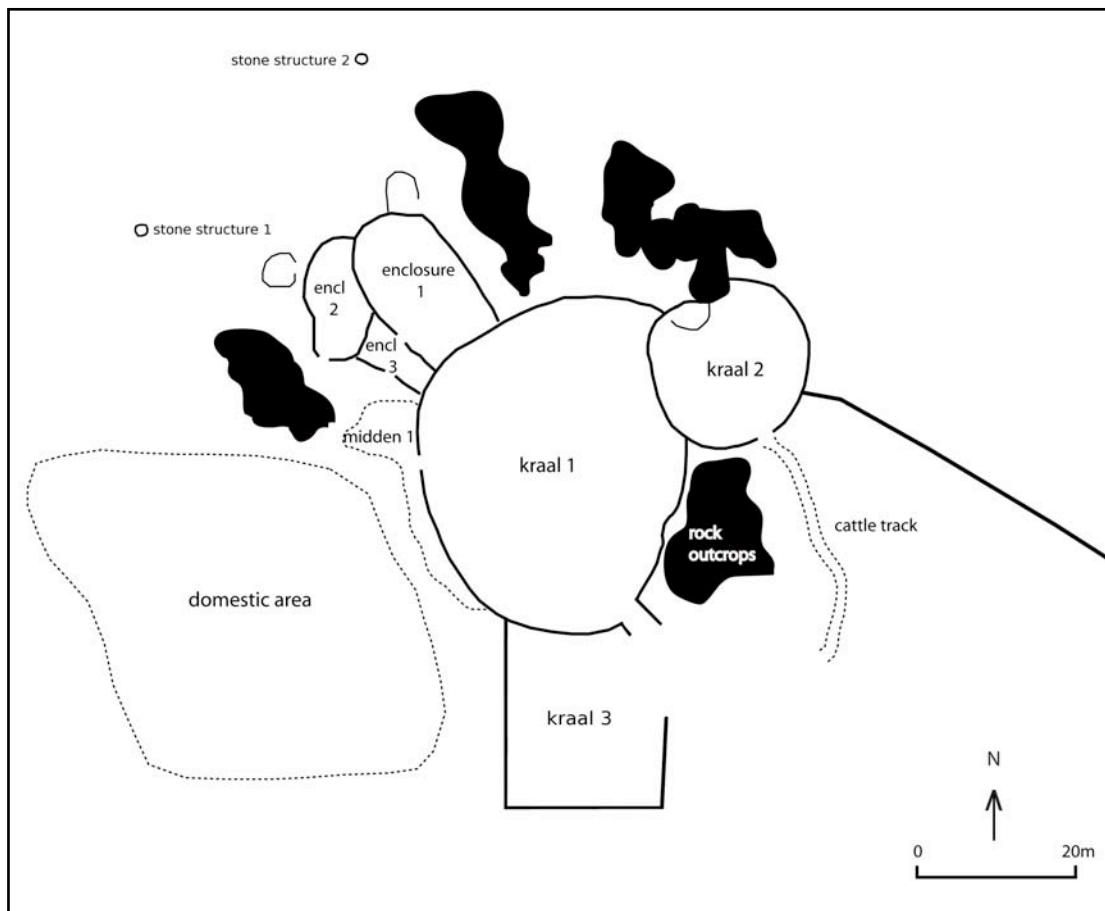


Figure 4.2: Plan of Libanon 5 site.

SITE ORGANISATION

Libanon 5 comprises a series of stone wall enclosures that include at least two animal enclosures (kraals) and possibly several others (Figure 4.2). The most prominent feature of Libanon 5 is a large enclosure, named Kraal 1 (Figure 4.2). It is located on flatter ground below and west of another smaller enclosure called Kraal 2. Kraal 1 is large, measuring around 36.3m from west to east and 45m from north to south, with a circumference of just over 100m. The walling is made of relatively large dolerite boulders, arranged double-sided with some thinner and less substantial sections on the western, eastern and southern sides. There are areas of collapse but the wall is relatively well preserved throughout. It is significant to note that the northern wall of Kraal 1 is shared with the western walling of Kraal 2. In fact, this wall is part of Kraal 2 and Kraal 1 abuts it, indicating that it was constructed after Kraal 2.

There are two entrances into the kraal. One break is probably the original and is located downslope at the southeast end of the kraal. This entrance measures around 4.8m across. Two short walls begin at right angles downslope from each side of the entrance. The northwest wall measures 1.5m and the wall on the opposite side measures 4.2m. These walls were possibly used to funnel or channel livestock in and out of the kraal. This entrance faces downslope. This is a practical approach as it faces the flatter area and plain to the east and the fountain a little way to the north (Figure 4.1).

The second entrance in Kraal 1 appears to have been broken through at a later date. This break is on the western side of the kraal (Figure 4.2). There has been erosion through the wall at this point. There are a number of boulders and stones lying in and around this break that once formed part of the wall. Some of these rest on top of a dung layer and it is this stratigraphic evidence that suggests this entrance was not part of the original enclosure.

The surface of Kraal 1 is primarily hard, red bedrock. There are areas of dung close to the kraal walls, but these are remains of a significant dung deposit that has been dug out which could have been at least 0.5m in areas. The interior of Kraal 1 is not uniformly flat. There is a small ridge near the centre of the kraal, and erosion has formed shallow channels running primarily from northwest to southeast downslope across the kraal. These have formed after the dung was removed and this drainage was not the cause of dung removal. There is a straight line of rocks that have been deliberately placed running for around 10m at a right angle to the southern wall. This line lies on the small ridge near the centre and probably postdates the dung removal. The Kraal 1 surface was scattered with small fragments of European glass, ceramic and metal, and coarse earthenware pottery particularly on the eastern side of the kraal. The European material could have been part of the dung or postdates its removal. The coarse earthenware may be associated with Kraal 1 or, indeed, possibly predates it (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Coarse earthenware from the surface of Kraal 1 at Libanon 5.

Kraal 2 is located above Kraal 1 to the north, on a raised ledge that is located between small koppies on the western, northern and eastern sides (Figure 4.2). It measures 20m from west to east and around 21m from north to south and is smaller than Kraal 1. Kraal 2 consists of neat, well-built wall of single dolerite stones packed together.

As indicated, the western wall of Kraal 2 is shared with Kraal 1. This wall is thicker and although there is a lot of wall tumble downslope in Kraal 1, it is still clear that the Kraal 1 wall abuts it, suggesting, therefore, that Kraal 2 predates Kraal 1.

There is one entrance into Kraal 2 facing southeast and measuring approximately 1.3m across. It therefore has exactly the same orientation as the Kraal 1 entrance and for this reason the two are clearly linked and the time difference in their construction must have been short (Figure 4.2). There are no endstones to mark the ends of the wall on either side of the entrance, and there is some spill from the wall in the vicinity of the entrance as a result of this. Below the kraal entrance is there is a clear track down to the flatter ground below (Figure 4.2).

There are scattered grassy patches and shrubs along parts of the walling, but other than this the interior of Kraal 2 is clear of vegetation. It was clear based on surface inspection that Kraal 2 retained a substantial dung deposit and no dung appears to have been removed from the kraal. This factor, along with the height of Kraal 2 above the lower Kraal 1, indicated that the deposit here would be deep. European metal, glass and ceramic were found scattered on the surface of Kraal 2 (see Zachariou 2011).

At the northwestern corner of Kraal 2, is a small round stone enclosure. The walling is thin and the feature is small, measuring 4.1m from west to east and 3.2 from north to south (Figure 4.2). The walls of this small enclosure abut the large dolerite rocks at the western end of Kraal 2. There is no clear entrance into the enclosure because of collapse but it is likely to have been from Kraal 2 and not from the outside edge of the kraal. The small enclosure therefore appears to be contemporary with Kraal 2 and may have been a subdivision for managing or separating livestock.

At the northwestern end of Kraal 1 is a cluster of three enclosures, two of which share the northern wall of Kraal 1 (Figure 4.2). The largest of the three was named Enclosure 1. The walling of this enclosure is thick and well constructed. It is double sided and rubble-filled and marks some of the most substantial and well-preserved

walling at the site. Its southeast wall measures 10m and is shared with Kraal 1. Enclosure 1's northeastern and southwestern walls abut Kraal 1 at a right angle. Both these walls curve inward to join and form the northwestern wall of the enclosure. The enclosure's maximum length is around 21m and its maximum width is around 13m. The surface is rocky with a covering of long grass and small shrubs. The surface inside slopes gently down to the western wall of Kraal 1. There are indications of some dung and there was one piece of European metal on the surface.

Enclosure 1's entrance is in the southwest wall, approximately 6m northwest of where it joins with Kraal 1 (Figure 4.2). This entrance measures just over 1m across and the walls are finished with endstones. This entrance leads into Enclosure 2 and there is no entrance from Enclosure 1 directly into Kraal 1.

Enclosure 2 abuts the westernmost curve of Enclosure 1 for nearly 10m (Figure 4.2). Enclosure 2 is roughly oval in shape and measures around 18.5m at its longest extension from north to south. There is a slight 'waist' in its western wall that constricts the enclosure at about midway, but at its widest point the enclosure measures just under 8m. The walling is thick and double-sided but not as substantial as the walling of Enclosure 1. There is a narrow entrance at its southernmost point. The entrance measures around 1m across and faces down slope to the south.

The interior of Enclosure 2 also slopes gradually down to the western wall of Kraal 1. The surface inside the enclosure is similar to that of Enclosure 1, being rocky and well covered with longer grass and shrubbery. Here, however, there was no indication of a dung accumulation, and no material culture was found on the surface.

Enclosure 3 is the last and smallest enclosure in the cluster (Figure 4.2). It also appears to be the most recent. This enclosure was simply formed by extending a straight wall of 6m from the southeastern end of Enclosure 2, which abuts the wall of Kraal 1. This forms a roughly rectangular enclosure. This enclosure's maximum length is approximately 10m and its maximum width averages around 4m. Its northeastern wall is shared with Enclosure 1. Enclosure 1's entrance is within this

wall, which means that access to Enclosure 1 had to be through Enclosure 3. Directly opposite this entrance is the entrance to Enclosure 3, which is cruder and subtler. The southwest wall of enclosure 3 is low, narrow and roughly constructed. The interior is grassy and rocky, and there was no sign of dung or material culture.

Immediately to the north of enclosure 1 and west of enclosure 2, and upslope, are two small circular stone wall features (Figure 4.2). These are possibly the remains of the cylinder walls of cone-on-cylinder huts. The feature west of Enclosure 2 is about 2.5m from the enclosure and is around 4.5m in diameter. It is almost square in shape and its walls consist of single large dolerite boulders and rocks packed together. Although this area is densely vegetated, a possible entrance was identified facing directly east towards Enclosure 2.

The feature north of Enclosure 3 is slightly larger than that adjacent to Enclosure 2 and the walling in this feature is double-sided and more substantial. This feature measures around 6.5m from north to south and approximately 4.5m from west to east (Figure 4.2). The end of the western wall abuts the wall of Enclosure 3 at right angles. There is a clear entrance facing directly east in the gap between the eastern wall and the wall of Enclosure 3. The interior is thick with long grass and small shrubs but a possible small stone wall is clearly visible built across the northwest corner of the feature. It is possible that this feature was a cooking *skerm*. No material culture was found in or around either feature.

Just south of Enclosure 3 is a midden that abuts the western wall of Kraal 1 (Figure 4.2). Most of this midden is located to the north of the second entrance to Kraal 1. The erosion gully through this entrance has cut through a red surface soil and exposed bone and other material culture eroding out of the gully sections. The midden does continue on the southern side of the erosion gully and this indicates that the midden predates the modification that made this entrance.

There are large dolerite boulders on the northern edge of the midden that are also 3-4m south of Enclosures 2 and 3 (Figure 4.2). The midden is therefore located between this outcrop to the west, Enclosure 3 to the north, and Kraal 1 to the east.

To the west of Kraal 1, and southwest of the midden, the land begins to slope gently up the high rim of the Pramberg escarpment (Figure 4.1). This area may be the residential or domestic space of the site. The land is relatively flat and clear of any dolerite outcrops or sills. It is well grassed and scattered with small to medium-sized shrubs. There are subtle indications of circular hut foundation stones, several upper grindstones and some poorly developed lower grindstones in this area. Apart from the areas within 10m of the Kraal 1 wall, no material culture was visible in this area.

Forty metres to the northwest of the main Libanon 5 complex are two circular stone walls (Figure 4.2). These are 2m in diameter and just over 1m high. Both are well preserved and were probably the cylinder of cone-on-cylinder huts, having had roofs of grass or thatch. Both structures sit on slightly raised hillocks and both have entrances facing towards the main Libanon 5 complex. Both also have their own small ash midden outside the hut entrance and extensive broadcast scatters of European material culture in front of the structures. It was assumed that both structures were contemporaneous.

Directly south of Kraal 1 is a square kraal named Kraal 3 (Figure 4.2). The Kraal 3 walling is low and roughly double-sided. This kraal shares its northern wall with Kraal 1. This northern wall extends for around 18.4m. The western wall runs straight for approximately 25m at a right angle to the northern wall. The southern wall extends for 21.5m and the eastern for just under 11m (Figure 4.2). The gap between the end of the eastern wall and the northern wall must be the entrance, despite measuring nearly 9m across. The end of the eastern wall shows no endstone. The surface of Kraal 3 was relatively clear of vegetation, apart from sections along the walls, and contained no visible dung or material culture.

Around 100m south of Kraal 3 and the main Libanon 5 complex are the ruins of two rectangular brick structures, both of which had sandstone foundations and it is these that remain, although a number of red clay bricks are scattered in the vicinity. There is a large midden adjacent and associated with these ruins. It is possible that Kraal 3 is also associated with this complex.

PRELIMINARY SUMMARY OF LIBANON 5 SEQUENCE

At this stage, and on the basis of structure, form and abutments, the suggested sequence is entirely relative. In terms of stone features several phases can be posited as appearing at the Libanon 5 site. The oldest structure, and phase 1 of the site, would appear to be Kraal 2. It is here that deposit appeared deepest. The fact that the walls of Kraal 1 abutted the western wall of Kraal 2 also suggested that Kraal 2 was constructed first. Phase 2 would represent the main occupation of the site and would entail the construction of Kraal 1, the formation of the midden and the use of the assumed residential or domestic area.

The midden, the domestic domain, the cluster of Enclosures 1, 2 and 3 and possibly the adjacent stone features would represent a third phase. This is because the walls of Enclosures 1 and 3 abut Kraal 1. Enclosure 1 appears to have been constructed first, due to the fact that its walls are continuous in structure and style. Enclosure 2 would have followed as only a section of it abuts Enclosure 3, while Enclosure 3 would have been constructed last, as the entrance of Enclosure 1 leads into it and its southwestern wall is different in style and structure to the walling of the other two enclosures. It is also possible that Enclosure 3 was added at a later phase but this is unclear. The adjacent stone features appear to have been used as residences. This is indicated by the presence of a possible cooking *skerm* in the one feature. If this is the case, it would suggest that the domestic area of phase 2 was no longer in use.

The two rondavel-like hut features northwest of the site would represent a fourth phase of construction and occupation. Their similarity in construction, style and preservation, as well as respective scatter, would indicate coevality. The square ruins

to the southeast of the main complex would represent the final structural and occupational phase of the site. This would include the adjacent midden and possibly the square Kraal 3 attached at the southern end of Kraal 1, as well as the straight walls. In order to assess the relative sequence I now turn to the excavations and the material culture.

EXCAVATIONS

Excavations were conducted in Kraal 2, Midden 1, and along the western exterior of Kraal 1 and the assumed residential zone. These excavations considerably elaborated and extended the preliminary excavations undertaken in 2010 (see Zachariou 2011). The aim was to expand the sample size of material culture in order to establish a stronger absolute chronology sequence of the site, and to assess the phases overviewed above.

Kraal 2

Kraal 2 is situated on a small terrace above and to the east of Kraal 1 at Libanon 5 (Figure 4.2). Three 1x1m trenches were excavated in kraal 2 in 2010, but relatively little material was recovered (see Zachariou 2010). While the excavated material did contribute to an understanding of the chronology of the site, the excavations themselves established that the dung deposit in Kraal 2 was the deepest sequence available at Libanon 5, especially where the dung abutted the southern wall. This suggested that since its establishment the kraal had been used relatively continuously, possibly into the 20th century. Further excavations were conducted in 2011 to try and increase the material culture sample to further understand the sequence and use this to try and construct a better absolute chronology. Additionally, it was not possible to assess whether the dung was associated with the kraal wall base and the 2011 excavations were also aimed at exploring this relationship.

A 2x2m square was placed adjacent and at a right angle to the western kraal wall, 3m north of the squares excavated in 2010 (Figure 4.4). The square was named B/C 5-6 in keeping with the grid reference used in 2010. Excavation proceeded by 0.1m spits for the first 0.2m and only every second bucket was sieved.

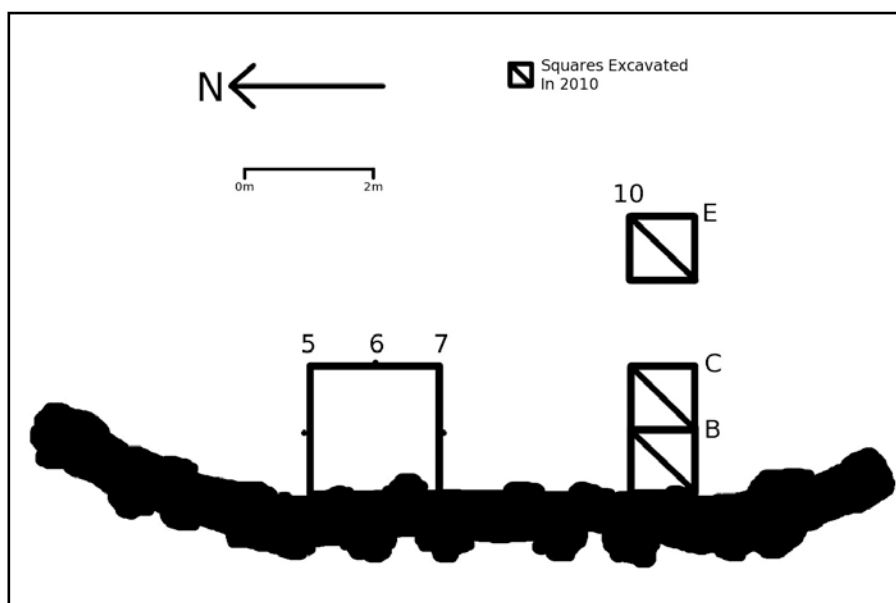


Figure 4.4: Plan of Kraal 2 excavation.

The stratigraphy of this excavation was consistent with the sections of the 2010 excavation (Figure 4.5). It is as follows. Spit 1 was a fine, dry, ashy deposit topped by 3-5cm of sandy wash throughout. Hard nodules of dung appeared near the wall, but were absent from the rest of the square. Only one glass sherd and a corroded metal strip were present in Spit 1.

The fine, dry, ashy deposit continued in Spit 2, but appeared to be thinning out towards the centre of the kraal. Below this was a compacted dung layer. The appearance of the dung layer at this point can be correlated with the same horizon identified in the 2010 excavations. This indicated that the start of the dung horizon is spatially extensive and that the fine deposit above it represents wash and sedimentation of the kraal after it ceased to be used to keep livestock. Towards the bottom of Spit 2 this dung deposit continued and hardened. Because of the thickness of the dung and the absence of any cultural material, the decision was made to

abandon excavating by 0.1m spits and to dig with shovels. From 0.2m down to bedrock every third bucket was sieved.

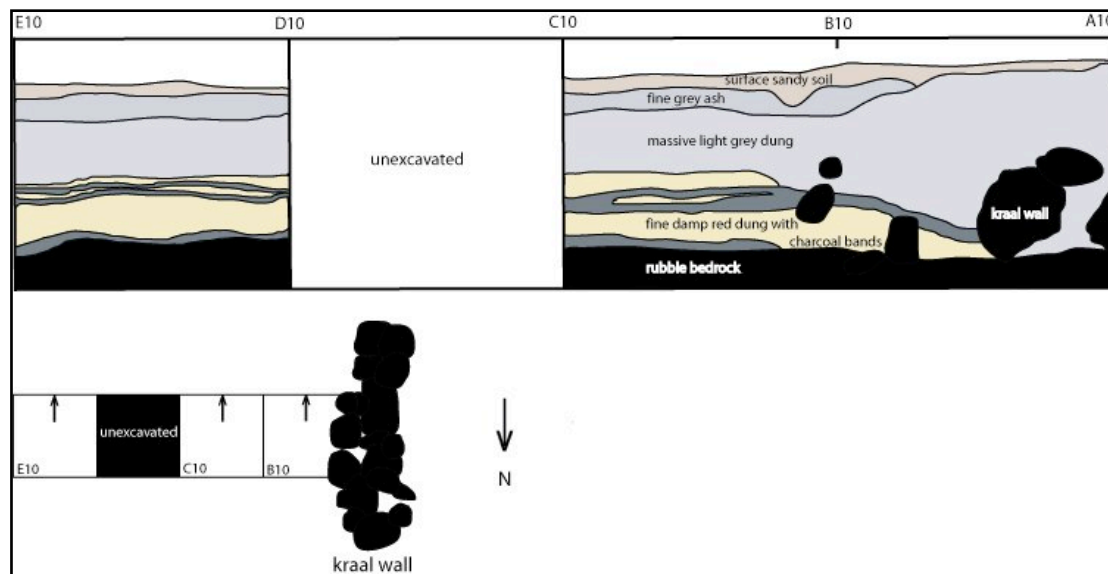


Figure 4.5: Cross-section of southern wall of Kraal 2 2010 excavation at Libanon 5.

The light grey and compact dung layer continued for another 0.1 to 0.15m below Spit 2. Nodules of dry dung continued to be denser close to the kraal wall. Artifact finds were scarce and only six sherds of ceramic and two dark green or black glass pieces were recovered. At a depth of 0.45 to 0.40m this light grey dung layer gave way to a fine, damp redder dung layer. Additionally there are short (+/- 4cm) charcoal bands throughout the deposit. Large rocks that had collapsed off the kraal wall were present within a metre of the in situ wall. At this point excavation continued with trowels. This continuing dung horizon was culturally sterile and lies directly on bedrock. It was established that the base of the dung and the base of the kraal wall share the same surface.

Once again, very little material culture was recovered from the 2011 excavation. A total of six ceramic fragments were recovered, all from the upper dung horizon. These are two pieces of undecorated white ware, two red printed ware pieces, a painted ware fragment and one Asian porcelain ginger jar piece. Three glass fragments were recovered in total. All are dark green or black glass and are from alcohol bottles. The metal strip is heavily corroded and undiagnostic. The absence of European material in

the lower layers of Kraal 2 is real and is not a sampling issue. I return later to the materials stratigraphic distribution and chronological implications.

Midden 1

Excavation took place at Midden 1 to gather material culture, as Midden 1 is the only midden at Libanon 5. It is clear from the eroded gully and the 2010 excavations that the base of Midden 1 abutted the base of the Kraal 1 wall, and that the material found in the bottom layer dates to the early use of Kraal 1 and potentially to the first occupants of Libanon 5 in the 19th century. However, there is a distinct absence of ‘Nguni’ artifacts from the 2010 excavation and this led us to believe that we were missing the earliest phase of site occupation. Consequently, the whole midden was excavated in order to expand the sample and to gather as much material as possible. Once again, uncertainty about absolute chronology required a larger sample of material, which could potentially be used for dating.

The excavation continued from the earlier grid, and square coordinates were based on the system used in 2010 (Figure 4.6).

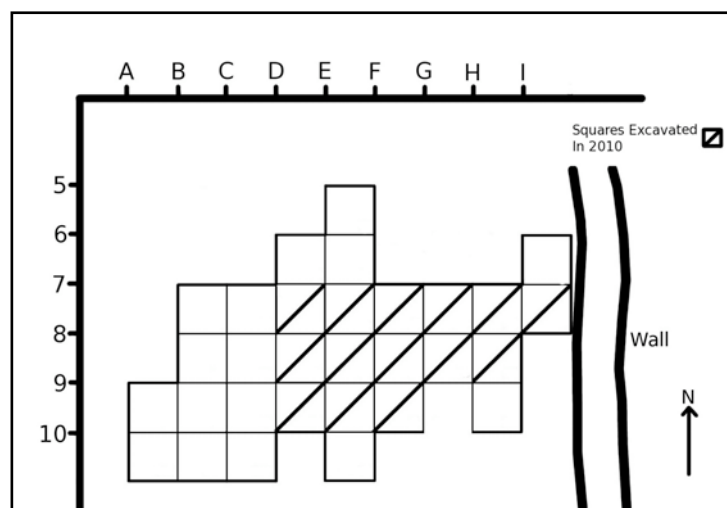


Figure: 4.6: Plan of Midden 1 excavation at Libanon 5.

The stratigraphy is uniform throughout the midden, with a top layer of fine, sandy red wash sitting above a fine, grey ash deposit that in turn lies on partially decomposed

orange bedrock (Figure 4.7). Excavation was done stratigraphically by deposit colour and the two horizons treated as separate units. Overall 15 1x1m squares were excavated in 2011 and all deposit was sieved using a combination of 3mm and 1mm sieves.

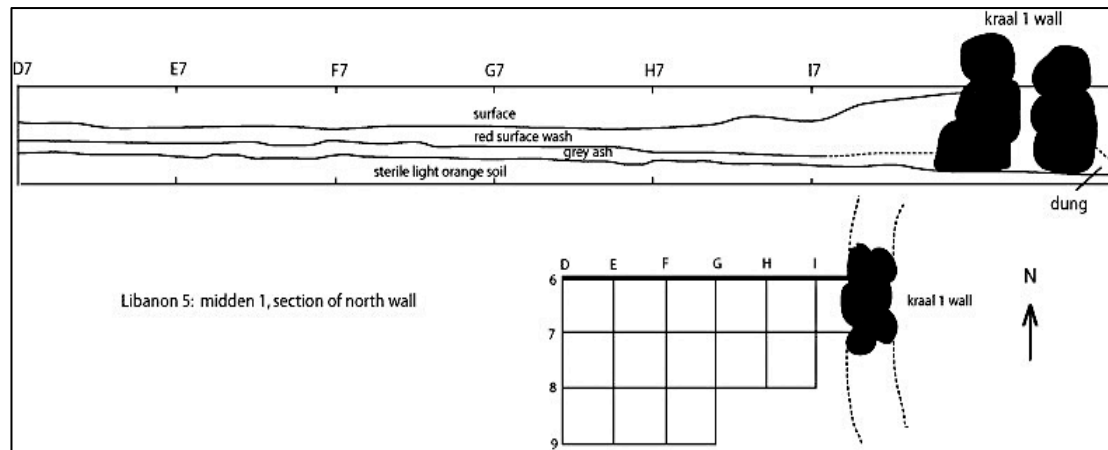


Figure: 4.7: Cross-section of northern wall of Midden 1 2010 excavation at Libanon 5.

The upper red surface wash layer contained highly fragmentary bone, European ceramic, glass, glass beads, metal and ostrich egg shell fragments (OES). The fragmentary nature of the ceramic and glass were consistent with the red being a soil wash and a general broadcast scatter of material culture. The red was horizon gets thicker towards the west away from the Kraal 1 wall. It was thin near the wall because the underlying grey ash was rounded up against the wall and was thickest at that point. This indicates that we had reached the extant of the midden and that artifacts in these squares could not be securely associated with the grey layer as it pinched out.

A possible feature was found in square A9 (Figure 4.7). Six rocks arranged in a straight line about 0.8m long had been placed on top of the grey layer. The line ran in a northeast to southwest direction. It did not appear to extend into adjacent squares and clearly is not linked in any way to the Kraal 1 wall.

The grey layer was a midden proper. The size of the glass and ceramic sherds increased and better preserved faunal remains were recovered. Metal, OES, OES

beads and glass beads were also recovered. As indicated above, the midden began to thin out towards the west.

The 2011 excavations effectively completed the excavation of the entire Midden 1. Again, the analyses of the material and the chronological and cultural implications are provided below.

Excavations On the Edge of Kraal 1

Further excavations took place south of Midden 1, along the western edge of the Kraal 1 wall and extended further west towards the assumed residential zone (Figure 4.2). The aim was to continue probing for material to extend the sample for both culturally and chronologically relevant material. Further trenches were extended towards the assumed residential area and in the residential zone to explore domestic space stratigraphy and for the recovery of material culture.

Trenches were placed at intervals abutting the western side of the Kraal 1 wall (Figure 4.8). The first was 7m south of Midden 1. This square began as a 1x1m but was expanded to a 2x1m to explore the in situ base of the Kraal 1 wall. This 2x1m is labeled I/J18 in keeping with the nomenclature used in Midden 1. The next square (L22) was a 1x1m situated three metres southwest of I/J18, again abutting the wall. The final trench was a 2x1m (M/N27) placed 4m southwest of L22. In all these trenches excavation proceeded by 0.1m spits and all deposit was sieved.

Excavation of I/J18 exposed stratigraphy similar to that of Midden 1. A red wash of 0.15 to 0.25m is above a grey layer of 0.1 to 0.15m and this sits on bedrock. Nodules of dung consistently occur against the wall throughout the grey layer. These dung incursions have been washed through the wall from Kraal 1 and do not represent any in situ kraal deposit. The grey layer thinned away from the wall towards the residential area. Stratigraphy was assumed to be similar throughout the wall trenches and excavation then proceeded according to the I/J18 section.

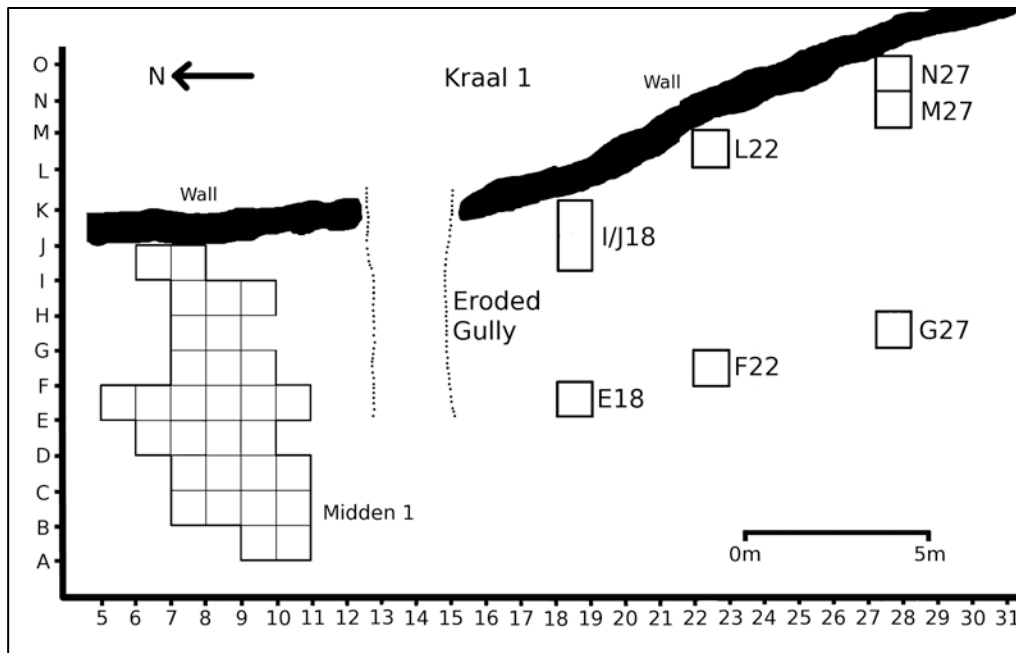


Figure 4.8: Plan of excavations west of Kraal 1 wall at Libanon 5.

Finds in I/J18 were minimal (Table 4.1). Spit 1 yielded fragmented ceramic sherds and corroded metal. Spit 2 contained tiny fragments of bone. Glass sherds and larger bone pieces appeared in the top 5cm of Spit 3. This material is associated with the top of the grey horizon and the bottom half of Spit 3 down to bedrock was treated as a single stratigraphic unit. A single blue transfer-printed ceramic sherd was found in the grey layer as were small, fragmented glass pieces and animal bone.

In square L22, two European ceramic sherds and one sherd of dark green or black glass were recovered from the upper red layer. The grey layer continued to thin away from the wall and finds were minimal. The frequency of animal bone increased in the grey and pieces on average were larger. There was no European ceramic present in this layer, and only three sherds of glass were recovered. One sherd was flat, transparent and possibly window glass.

Square	Unit	Ceramic	Glass	Metal	Earthenware	Ostrich	Lithics	Total
						Egg Shell		
I/J18	Spit 1 (Red)	3	0	7	0	0	0	10
	Spit 2 (Red)	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	Spit 3 (Grey)	1	3		0	0	0	4
L22	Spit 1 (Red)	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
	Spit 2 (Grey)	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
M/N27	Spit 1 (Red)	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Spit 2 (Grey)	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
E18	Surface (Red)	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
	Spit 1 (Red)	4	0	0	2	0	0	6
	Spit 2 (Grey)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
F22	Spit 1 (Red)	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
	Spit 2 (Grey)	0	0	0	0	1	7	8
G27	Spit 1 (Red)	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Spit 2 (Grey)	0	0	0	0	0	23	23
Total		13	19	7	2	2	30	73

Table 4.1: All finds in excavations west of the Kraal 1 wall at Libanon 5, by square and layer (N).

The final wall trench, M/N27, was the most distant excavation from Midden 1 on the western side of Kraal 1 (Figure 4.8). Stratigraphy was consistent with the other trenches but fewer artifacts were recovered compared to other wall trenches. The red layer contained small fragmentary bone and a single sherd of European ceramic. The grey layer contained two sherds of dark green or black glass. No bone was found in the grey layer of M/N27, unlike L22 and I/J18.

In all trenches the bottom of the grey layer shared the same surface as the base of the Kraal 1 wall. The grey layer was thicker close to the wall, and thinned out to the west towards the residential area. Nodular dung inclusions were present against the wall in every grey layer and it is likely that these represent wash from the major dung deposit in Kraal 1. Finds throughout were sparse. None of these trenches added greatly to the assemblages.

Three 1x1m trenches were excavated in the proposed residential zone west of the kraal 1 wall and south of the midden (Figure 4.8). Trench E18 was three metres west of I/J18, F22 five metres west of L22, and G27 five metres west of M/N 27 (Figure 4.8).

Excavation of E18 proceeded in 0.1m spits and all deposit was sieved. Flat, transparent glass and a brown transfer-printed ceramic sherd were lying on the surface of E18 and treated as part of Spit 1. Spit 1 was consistent with the red, sandy soil wash. Four European ceramic sherds, two sherds of undecorated coarse earthenware, and a small amount of fragmentary bone were found in Spit 1. Spit 2 extended to bedrock. The top 0.05-0.07m of Spit 2 was also red wash. A thin grey layer appeared for 3-5cm, just above bedrock and is similar in texture and appearance to the grey layers at Midden 1 and along the Kraal 1 wall excavation pits. Small bone fragments were more numerous in this layer, similar to the grey layer in I/J18 to the east. One OES piece was also found in the grey.

Excavation of F22 proceeded by 0.1m spits. Spit 1 consisted of the red wash and five sherds of glass were recovered. Three sherds were of dark green/black glass and two were transparent glass. Spit 2 continued for 0.1m down to bedrock. The soil colour, however, stayed the same and was treated as a single stratigraphic unit with Spit 1. No European artifacts were recovered from Spit 2, but seven small Late Stone Age (LSA) microliths and one OES fragment were found in this layer.

The final 1x1m trench was situated 4m southeast of F22 and 5m directly south from M/N27 (Figure 4.8). Excavation of G27 also proceeded in 0.1m spits and the deposit was uniformly the red, fine soil throughout. The top 0.1m yielded a single blue transfer-printed ceramic sherd. Twenty-three granite LSA tools were found in the bottom 0.1m.

Of the three trenches in the residential zone, the E18 section was the only one that clearly showed distinct grey and red horizons. Trench E18 was the closest to Midden 1 and probably represents a continuity of it. The grey layer present in I/J18 also

extends up to 5m towards the residential zone, albeit in a thin 3-5cm horizon. Only small bone and a single OES sherd were present in the grey layer of E18. The lack of artifacts suggests that this layer is not part of a midden process, despite its similarity in soil colour and consistency to the grey layer at Midden 1.

Overall, these trenches suggest a similar stratigraphy to Midden 1 and indeed the basal deposits associated with the outside of the Kraal 1 wall suggest that ash was specifically dumped there. Both F22 and G27 were placed more than 6m from the wall and the lack of a grey horizon in both these trenches suggest that this was the case, and that dumping ash, as with the grey layer in Midden 1, was restricted. Additionally, none of the lower ash predates the construction of Kraal 1 and the base of both share the same surface. The presence of LSA tools near the bottom of F22 and G27, and the OES fragments in E18 and F22, indicates the presence of a San camp in this area that probably predates the Xhosa habitation. It is also possible that the LSA material is associated with the Libanon 5 settlement.

FINDS

Ceramics

Method

The ceramics recovered from Libanon 5 and Soetwater were analysed following the same procedures and classification used previously (Zachariou 2011).

The ceramic assemblage excavated in 2011 from Libanon 5 was analysed separately from the 2010 sample. I constructed spreadsheets that detailed the frequency of ware type, decoration, and sherd counts. I combined counts for each square into totals for each stratigraphic unit .

The assemblage excavated in 2011 was then combined with the assemblage from 2010. Combining the collections would form a complete sherd and vessel count for each layer. Minimum number of vessel (MNV) counts were then made.

MNV counts were problematic due to the small and fragmentary nature of many of the sherds. Rims were preferred to bases in assigning MNVs, although attempts were made to assess MNVs from body sherds that did not seem to come from vessels represented by the rims. This was done through the type or design and decoration. The MNV counts for the undecorated white ware category is substantially smaller than that of decorated ware. Decorated ware is easier to refit and match and undecorated sherds could be part of decorated vessels.

Once this was complete, I attempted to identify form and make counts. This was also challenging due to the fragmented nature of the sherds and of the assemblages as a whole. Diameter measurements of vessels, for example, were pointless due to the small sherd sizes. Form was therefore assigned through differences in decoration, the slope of body sherds, sherd thickness, rim thickness and diagnostic features such as foot rings and handles.

The data gathered was entered onto a spreadsheet for each layer that captured ware type, decoration, number of sherds (N), MNV and form (Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).

Midden 1 Grey Horizon 2011 Assemblage

European refined industrial ware was the most common ceramic type in the 2011 assemblage. Of the 99 sherds excavated in 2011, 83.8% are classified as refined industrial ware (Table 4.2). The remaining ceramics are clay pipe fragments placed in the 'other' category (11.1%), Chinese export ginger jars (3%), European porcelain (1%) and stoneware (1%).

Blue transfer-printed is the most common ware type in the 2011 assemblage and made up 41.4% of the total (Table 4.2). The next most common ware type is undecorated white ware (23.2%), followed by normal slip ware (7.1%), painted ware (5.1%), flow-

blue printed ware (3%), green transfer-printed (2%) and black & grey transfer-printed (1%) and flow blue painted (1%).

			Grey		Red	
			N	%	N	%
Asian Porcelain	Ginger Jars		3	3	3	2.5
European Porcelain	Undecorated		0	0	2	1.7
	Decorated	Gilded & Enameled	0	0	1	0.8
		Printed	0	0	1	0.8
		Yellow Glaze	1	1	1	0.8
		Moulded	0	0	0	0
Stoneware	Salt-Glazed		1	1	2	1.7
European Refined Industrial Ware	Undecorated		23	23.2	34	28.6
	Decorated	Painted	5	5.1	7	5.9
		Cut Sponge	0	0	0	0
		Normal Slipware	7	7.1	3	2.5
		Lined (Red)	0	0	3	2.5
		Lined (Blue)	0	0	1	0.8
		Flow Blue Printed	3	3	10	8.4
		Flow Blue Painted	1	1	5	4.2
		Blue Printed	41	41.4	25	21
		Pink Printed	0	0	0	0
		Green Printed	2	2	8	6.7
		Brown Printed	0	0	2	1.7
		Black/Grey Printed	1	1	0	0
Other	Pipes		11	11.1	11	9.2
Unidentified			0	0	0	0
Total			99	99.9	119	99.8

Table 4.2: Ceramic from Midden 1 at Libanon 5 by layer, showing ware type, decoration and N and % frequency for the 2011 assemblage.

Midden 1 Red Horizon 2011 Assemblage

The ceramic excavated in 2011 from the red layer was initially kept separate from the assemblage excavated in 2010. They were only combined after the new finds were entered into a spreadsheet recording ware type and decoration.

The 2011 red layer ceramic assemblage totaled 119 sherds (Table 4.2). It is predominantly made up of European refined industrial ware (82.3%). The remainder is porcelain (2.4%), Chinese export ginger jar (2.5%), stoneware (1.7%), and clay pipe fragments (9.2%).

The most common refined industrial ware is undecorated white ware, represented by 34 sherds (28.6%). Next is blue transfer-printed (21%), then flow blue printed (8.4%), green transfer-printed (6.7%), and painted ware (5.9%). Flow blue painted ware (4.2%), lined ware (3.3%), slipware (2.5%), and brown transfer-printed ware (1.7%) is also present.

Midden 1 Grey Horizon Combined Assemblage

The combined assemblage for the grey layer has a total sherd count of 136 and an MNV of 27 (Table 4.3). The majority (86%) of the sherds, belong to European refined industrial ware. Chinese export ginger jar sherds are also present (4.4%), representing two vessels. Yellow glaze porcelain is present (0.7%), as are clay pipe fragments (4.4%). Of the 27 vessels represented, four are plates, two are saucers, two are bowls, and there is one each of flatware, serving dish/large plate, and large serving dish (Appendix 1).

The most common sherd found in the combined sample is that of blue transfer-printed ware (44.1%). The largest vessel count also belongs to blue transfer-printed ware. Ten vessels were assigned to this ware category. The majority of the blue transfer-printed sherds come from one vessel, a large serving dish with a Wild Rose pattern (Figure 4.9). These sherds are significantly larger than any others. The Wild Rose pattern peaked in popularity between 1830 and 1860, but was in production by 1825 and was still available as late as 1890 (Henrywood and Coysh 1982:399).

			Grey			Red		
			N	%	MNV	N	%	MNV
Asian Porcelain	Ginger Jars		6	4.4	2	7	3	2
European Porcelain	Undecorated		0	0	0	4	1.7	0
	Decorated	Gilded & Enameled	0	0	0	4	1.7	1
		Printed	0	0	0	3	1.3	1
		Yellow Glaze	1	0.7	1	1	0.4	1
		Moulded	0	0	0	1	0.4	1
Stoneware	Salt-Glazed		1	0.7	1	6	2.6	3
European Refined Industrial Ware	Undecorated		31	22.8	0	58	25.2	0
	Decorated	Painted	7	5.1	1	12	5.2	2
		Cut Sponge	0	0	0	4	1.7	2
		Normal Slipware	9	6.6	2	11	4.8	2
		Lined (Red)	0	0	0	3	1.3	3
		Lined (Blue)	0	0	0	1	0.4	1
		Flow Blue Printed	3	2.2	1	20	8.7	4
		Flow Blue Painted	1	0.7	1	5	2.2	1
		Blue Printed	60	44.1	10	51	22.2	9
		Pink Printed	2	1.5	1	2	0.9	1
		Green Printed	3	2.2	3	13	5.7	4
		Brown Printed	0	0	0	4	1.7	2
		Black/Grey Printed	1	0.7	1	1	0.4	1
Other	Pipes		11	8.1	3	11	4.8	2
Unidentified			0	0	0	8	3.5	0
Total			136	99.8	27	230	99.8	43

Table 4.3: Ceramic from Midden 1 at Libanon 5 by layer, showing ware type, decoration, N, % frequency and MNV for the combined assemblage.

None of the other decorated sherds or ware types from the grey horizon give specific chronological markers. Blue transfer-printed ware in general was the predominant transfer-printed colour from the 1780s to the 1830s (Klose & Malan 2009: 12-21). Black/grey, green and pink transfer-printed ware were only introduced from the 1830s onwards, flow blue ware became popular in the 1840s, and slip ware was widely available from 1797 to 1890 (Klose & Malan 2009: 12-21). British porcelain was being manufactured from around 1800 and was available throughout the century

(Klose & Malan 2009: 12-21). With this in mind, it can be posited that the lower grey horizon in Midden 1 was deposited from the 1830s.



Figure 4.9: Refitted blue transfer printed, Wild Rose pattern serving dish from the grey horizon of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

The grey layer abuts the base of the Kraal 1 wall, and by association possibly dates the construction of Kraal 1 and definitely dates an early period of use. When we remember that occupation of the Pramberg by Xhosa may have begun in 1809, the chronological indicators available from the lower grey horizon of Midden 1 points to a date in the 1830s.

Midden 1 Red Horizon Combined Assemblage

When combined with the 2010 assemblage the total sherd count for the red layer is 230 with an MNV of 43 (Table 4.3). European refined industrial ware accounts for 80.4% of the combined assemblage. Undecorated white ware is the most common ware (25.2%). Blue transfer-printed ware, representing 11 vessels, is next most common (22.2%). Flow-blue printed (8.7%), green transfer-printed (5.7%), painted ware (5.2%), and slip ware (4.8%) are also well represented.

In terms of vessel form, plates are most common, with a count of six, followed by side plate/saucer with 5, flatware with 3, cup/bowl with 2 and cup with one (Appendix 2).

The most common ware type of the non European refined industrial ware in the combined assemblage are European porcelain sherds (5.5%) and clay pipe fragments (4.8%) (Table 4.3). Four of these decorated porcelain sherds are gilded and enameled and were part of a cup. Three porcelain sherds from a cup are printed, and there is a yellow glazed sherd. Chinese export ginger jars make up 3% of the assemblage and stoneware 2.6%. Decorated (4%) and undecorated porcelain (1.8%) is also present.

The variety of ware type, decoration and form is much greater in the upper red layer of Midden 1 than in the grey layer. In the red horizon, 15.9% of the ceramics are not European refined industrial ware, compared to 13.9% in the grey. Furthermore, the range of sherds by decoration is also greater in the red, and while blue transfer-printed ware makes up 44.1% of the total ceramic sample in grey, it accounts for only 22.2% of the assemblage in red. This would indicate increased access to, and wider use of, a variety of European ceramic.

While the grey layer represents a true midden, the red layer is less ashy and appears to represent more of a wash in which scattered artifacts were less formally dumped. This is perhaps reflected in the greater fragmentation of the ceramic sherds in this layer and the lack of refitted pieces. The small amount of bone found in the red, compared to the grey, also suggests that the red layer is not part of a formal midden process. On stratigraphic evidence, the second entrance to Kraal 1 near Midden 1 was only made after the grey horizon in Midden 1 was deposited. The red layer and the adjacent entrance in the Kraal 1 wall, however, are probably of the same date. I return to this issue in the discussion of Libanon 5 as a homestead at the end of the chapter.

Excavations West of Kraal 1 Wall

The excavations south of Midden 1 yielded a small European ceramic sample. In total, 14 ceramic sherds were recovered from the three trenches abutting the wall and the three trenches towards the assumed residential zone (Table 4.4). The three trenches excavated along the kraal 1 wall show similar horizons as each other. Therefore, the ceramics in each respective red layer and grey layer are lumped. Of the three trenches further west towards the residential zone, two trenches (F22 and G27) have only a red soil layer, while square E18 has the top red layer and a lower grey layer on the bedrock. Samples from F22 and G27 are lumped, whilst material from E18 is stratigraphically considered.

The top red layer of the wall squares yielded six sherds. All six are of European refined industrial ware. There are two sherds apiece of undecorated white ware and painted ware, and one sherd each of flow-blue painted and brown-bodied ware. The lower grey layer of the wall squares yielded a single blue transfer-printed sherd. The assemblage is too small to meaningfully attribute MNV counts, but they are included nonetheless.

			Grey		Red	
			N	MNV	N	MNV
European Refined Industrial Ware	Undecorated		0	0	4	0
	Decorated	painted	0	0	2	2
		flow blue (painted)	0	0	1	1
		blue printed	1	1	3	3
		brown printed	0	0	1	1
		brown bodied	0	0	1	1
Earthenware			0	0	2	1
Total:			1	1	14	9

Table: 4.4: Ceramic from west of the Kraal 1 wall by layer, showing ware type, decoration, N and MNV.

The finds in the red are consistent with the wash from Midden 1, although the number of sherds is obviously lower than the sherds in the red layer abutting the wall in

Midden 1. Only one sherd recovered from the grey layer along the wall would suggest that this low frequency is exactly the same as the grey layer in Midden 1 and draws attention to Midden 1 grey as a formal dump.

Squares F22 and G27 were situated more than 6m west of the wall and 11m and 16m from Midden 1, respectively (Figure 4.8). The stratigraphy was a uniform red wash.

Square F22 contained no ceramics at all and square G27 contained only one sherd of blue transfer-printed ware. Square E18 was situated 5m west of the wall and 7m from midden 1 (Figure 4.8). Two stratigraphic layers were apparent. The surface of E18 yielded one brown transfer-printed rim sherd (Table 4.4). Four sherds of ceramic were recovered in the top red layer. All four are of European refined industrial ware. Two sherds are of blue transfer-printed ware and two are of undecorated white ware. No ceramic was found in the lower grey layer. The red layer of E18 also yielded two sherds of undecorated thin-walled coarse earthenware (Figure 4.10). This pottery is similar to the surface collected coarse earthenware sherds from the surface of Kraal 1 (Figure 4.3). The E18 finds support a more secure association with the occupation of this area of Libanon 5.



Figure 4.10: Coarse earthenware fragments from the red layer of square E18 at Libanon 5.

The small number of ceramic finds in these squares, particularly in the grey layers, suggests that the ceramic was deposited as part of a wash process. The lack of ceramic in squares F22 and G27 would also indicate this.

Pipes

The white clay pipe fragments described here are from the combined assemblage. A total of 22 white clay pipe fragments were recovered from Midden 1 (Table 4.5). Eleven fragments are from the grey horizon and 11 fragments were recovered in the red horizon (Table 4.5). Eight stems and three bowls were recovered from the grey (Table 4.5). Five of the stems are plain and undecorated, one stem is burnt, one is glazed and one has text moulded on its side. All are made of kaolin and their bore diameters range from 1.52mm to 1.95mm (Appendix 3). The moulded text reads "Bu-" and is a maker's mark. Three pipe bowl fragments were also recovered. Two are undecorated and kaolin, while a third is soapstone and has a cross-hatch decoration around and below the bowl lip.

		Grey	Red	Total
	Stem	8	7	15
	Stem and neck	0	1	1
	Stem and Bowl	0	1	1
	Bowl	3	2	5
Total		11	11	22

Table 4.5: Pipe fragments in Midden 1 by layer and vessel part (N).

Eleven fragments were also recovered from the red layer (Table 4.5). Seven fragments are pieces of pipe stem, two are pieces of the bowl and there is one fragment apiece that is stem and neck, and stem and bowl (Table 4.5). Two of the stems have moulded markings on the side. One is unclear and the other reads 'BURNSCOTT'

Maker's marks appeared on pipe stems from the 1860s (Ayto 1987: 27). The maker's name was moulded onto the stem's side, sometimes with his address or the town in which he was based (Ayto 1987: 27). The "Bu-" embossed stem in the grey layer can be presumed to have read "Burnscott" and associates it with the marked stem in the

red horizon. There is no record of a Burnscott pipemaker in Great Britain or in South Africa. Often the names on pipe stems are of tobacconists or wholesalers, particularly towards the end of the 19th century (Ayto 1987: 27). However, there is also no record of a tobacconist or wholesaler under the name of Burnscott operating in Great Britain or South Africa.

Metal

Midden 1 Grey Horizon 2011 Assemblage

The metal artifacts described below are from the 2011 assemblage. Twenty-six metal items were recovered from the grey horizon in 2011 (Table 4.7). Five nails or barbs were recovered from the grey area. All are heavily corroded and three are bent. The three bent nails range between 4-5cm in length and are uniform in diameter. One nail or barb is straight and measures 5cm in length and is of the same diameter as the previous three. These four nails all have a flat head and weigh between 1g and 3g. The final nail is wedge-like as it tapers to a thin flat point at its end. The nail is flat and measures one centimeter across. Its maximum length is 7.5cm and it weighs 19g and it does not have a flat head.

		Grey		Red	
		N	Weight (g)	N	Weight (g)
Nails		5	29	3	13.5
Wire		0	0	0	0
Cast iron		1	63.5	3	996
Strips	Worked	3	106.5	2	17
	Undiagnostic	10	36	2	2
Other		7	1400.5	4	2
Total		26	1635.5	14	1030.5

Table 4.6: Metal from Midden 1 by layer and showing N and weight (g).

There is one sherd of diagnostic cast iron (Table 4.7). It appears to be a section of the bowl of a three-legged cast iron pot. The sherd weighs 63.5g, is corroded and primarily flat but for an edge that curves sharply up.

There are 13 metal strips recovered from the grey layer (Table 4.7). The majority are corroded and undiagnostic. Two of these strips are worked and one strip is pierced. One of the worked strips (max. length: 3.7cm, max. width: 1.3cm) has had an end folded back. The second worked strip is slightly larger (max. length: 5cm, max. width: 2.8cm) and is bent for the last third of its length, with that end folded sharply back. The pierced metal strip has a maximum length of 16cm and a maximum width of 3cm. The piece is heavily corroded and weighs 95g. There are single piercings at either end of the strip.

In the 'other' category are seven artifacts (Table 4.7). A light round/ball-shaped clothing bauble was recovered. Weighing 2.5g, the bauble is well preserved and measures approximately 0.5cm in diameter. There is a small hoop at the top, possibly for attachment to clothing. On the bauble, circling the hoop, is a circular indentation, which appears decorative.

A well preserved metal piece was also recovered that was part of a shoe sole. The piece is flat and thin, with eight small holes punched through for nails to attach to the rest of the shoe. The piece is curved at one half to follow the toe of the shoe. At the opposite end are two projections extending outwards, each at opposite corners. This piece has a maximum length and maximum width of 4.8cm and weighs 17.5g.

Two well-preserved percussion caps were recovered from the same square in the grey layer. One cap is in its original shape and the second cap has been flattened. Percussion caps replaced flints as detonators in guns throughout Europe in the first half of the 19th Century (Atmore & Sanders 1971: 537). As a result, the marketplace was flooded with older flintlock models. Many of these were sold to African communities, but by 1852 some Africans were using percussion-lock muskets, although these were in the minority (Atmore & Sanders 1971: 537).

A possibly alloy strip was also recovered in the grey layer. This piece has a maximum length of 1.5cm and maximum width of 0.4cm and is well preserved. The one end of this small strip has been folded back over and then slightly curved upwards, giving it an appearance of a fastener or clip. A very small wire hoop, measuring 0.6cm in diameter, was also recovered. The hoop is well preserved, also possibly alloy, and does not form a complete circle.

Finally, a complete, large wrench (commonly called a *bobejaan* wrench in South Africa) was recovered from the grey horizon (Figure 4.11). The wrench was lying on the bedrock out of the western wall of block A10, the block furthest from the kraal 1 wall and in an area where the grey layer had thinned considerably (Figure 4.6). The wrench is cast iron, heavily corroded and weighs 1379g. Its maximum length is 33cm and maximum width is 9.5cm across the head. The length of the handle is 16.5cm and its diameter is 3cm.



Figure 4.11: Wrench recovered from the grey horizon of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

There are no makers' marks on the wrench, but it is similar in size and design to 19th Century English coach wrenches. Coach wrenches of this style were being manufactured throughout the 1700s and were exported to the colonies in the early 19th century (Page n.d.). An illustration from a trade card published in 1829 shows a similar looking coach wrench from the *Birmingham Directory* (Figure 4.12). A catalogue of Richard Timmins & Son of Birmingham, England from the early 1840s also shows an

illustrations of coach wrenches with similarities to the Midden 1 wrench (Figure 4.13). The wrench does not fit the character of the other metal recovered in the grey horizon, being larger and more complete. However, it gives another chronological marker for the layer.



Figure 4.12: An illustration of an English coach wrench from a trade card published in 1829 (Davistown Museum).

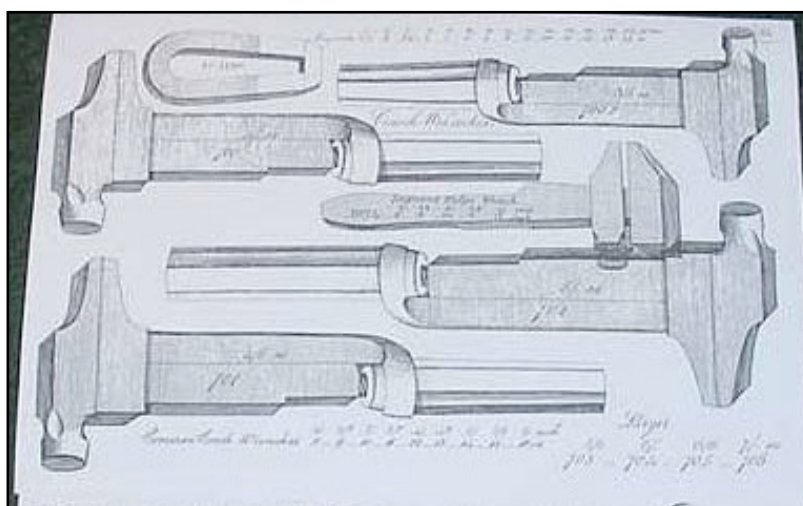


Figure 4.13: The wrench section of the catalogue of Richard Timmins & Son of Birmingham, England, from the 1840s (Davistown Museum).

Midden 1 Red Horizon 2011 Assemblage

Three nails were recovered in the red layer (Table 4.7). All of the nails are heavily corroded and all have a maximum length of between 4.5cm and 4.7cm. All three also have clearly visible heads. Two of the nails have square shafts ending in points and the third is wedged or tapered at the end.

Three cast iron pieces were also recovered from this layer (Table 4.7). One is a large cylindrical shaft with a maximum length of 15cm and a maximum width of 3.5cm. The body is rough and there is little corrosion. The piece is dense and heavy, weighing 954g. It is possible that this piece was used as a heavy-duty joint, possibly for a railway carriage or as part of a wagon attachment.

The second cast iron piece is a smaller curved cylindrical piece. It measures approximately 4.5cm in length with a maximum diameter of 1cm. The diameter is not uniform throughout and it appears snapped at both ends. There is little corrosion and the piece is tusk-like in shape.

The final cast iron piece is a part of the rim, neck and shoulder of a cast iron vessel. The rim is not complete but has a maximum diameter of 1.7cm. The neck is short and the shoulder angles out significantly suggesting a large vessel body. There are uniform diagonal grooves in the interior of the shoulder section, but not within the neck or rim.

Two worked metal strips were recovered (Table 4.7). One is a worked, corroded metal strip that has a maximum length of 13cm and a maximum width of 3.2cm. There is a small flattened bolt at one end that fastens to a second strip that extends along the back of the first strip. The second strip is snapped and does not extend for the full length of the longer strip.

Another metal piece was recovered that formed the end of a longer metal strip. The piece is almost oval in shape with a maximum length of 3.8cm and maximum width of 2.5cm. At opposite ends of the oval there are flat single bolts that attach to a similar shaped, corroded piece. There is a slight rise or hump running across the width of the middle.

Four other diagnostic artifacts were also recovered (Table 4.7). The first is a well-preserved clothes hook, most likely used for fastening. This piece has a maximum length of 1.2cm. There is also a Martini-Henry cartridge case. The cartridge is hollow

and open at both ends. On the body, just below the top, is a raised groove encircling the body. A percussion cap similar to those found in the lower grey layer was recovered. Finally, there is another small hoop, again similar to the hoop found in the lower grey horizon, with the same diameter of 0.6cm.

Glass Beads

The 2010 and 2011 glass bead assemblages were combined for the following description and analysis. Glass beads were recovered from Midden 1 and are described according to Wood (1995; 2008). The bead assemblage is small (30 glass beads) and features were recorded and described primarily for classificatory purposes (Appendix 4). Method of manufacture, colour, shape, diaphaneity and measurements of interior and exterior diameter and width were recorded. The beads from the 2010 and 2011 assemblages were combined before recording and analysis.

A total of 30 glass beads were recovered from Midden 1 (Table 4.5). Six beads are from the grey horizon and 24 are from the red horizon. Two of the glass beads in the grey layer are red on white (white hearts), two are peach, one is oyster and one is white on brown (Table 4.5). All but the white on brown bead are cylinder-shaped. The white on brown glass bead is barrel-shaped and larger than any other glass bead in the assemblage.

Twenty-four glass beads were recovered from the red layer (Table 4.5). The most common colour is black and white heart with seven beads in each of these colours. There are three beads apiece in white, peach and white-on-brown, and one blue on white bead. Twenty-two beads are cylinders and two are tubes (Appendix 4). One tube is black and has the smallest interior and exterior diameters of all the beads in the assemblage. The other tube-shaped bead is white.

	Grey	Red	Total
White Heart	2	7	9
Black	0	7	7
Peach	2	3	5
White	0	3	3
Oyster	1	0	1
White on brown	1	3	4
Blue on white	0	1	1
Total	6	24	30

Table 4.7: Glass beads from Midden 1 at Libanon 5 by layer and bead colour (N).

Quantities of glass beads were not imported into South Africa until the early 19th century, and this was normally contained to coastal areas and communities. In the mid 19th century the variety of coloured beads entering the Karoo began to increase (Saitowitz and Sampson 1992: 102). This explains the greater quantity and variety of beads in the red horizon. Black beads and white hearts were predominantly common, and were carried by *smousen*, hunters, travelers and missionaries venturing into the Karoo. Missionaries in particular traded with beads and gave them as gifts in parts of the country beyond the colonial border (Beck 1989: 223).

African communities, however, were specific about which beads they wanted and tastes were not fixed or constant. Xhosa fashions were particularly unpredictable. In July 1825, the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape found white, sky blue, striped white and deep blood red beads attractive, but these beads were to be opaque or would not be accepted (Beck 1989: 220-221).

The glass bead assemblage is small and has limited value in reconstructing trade routes, cultural identity and site chronology. However, white hearts first arrived in South Africa in the 1830s, and oyster beads were the only white beads found in South Africa prior to the 1830s (Wood 2005: 185). Despite the sample's small size, the

presence of white heart beads in the grey horizon gives the horizon a chronological marker in the late 1830s.

Ostrich Egg Shell and Ostrich Egg Shell Beads

Ostrich egg shell (OES) fragments and beads were found in both horizons of Midden 1. Seventy-one OES fragments were recovered in total. Thirteen were recovered from the grey layer and 58 from the red layer. All the fragments are smaller than 5cm.

Five OES beads were recovered, three from the grey horizon and two from the red. Interior and exterior diameter measurements were taken and all the beads are unbroken and undecorated. The interior diameters range from 2.04mm to 2.47mm, and the exterior diameters are between 4.71mm and 5.24mm (Table 4.8).

The presence of OES and OES beads at Midden 1 offer another indication of San presence on the landscape. There is no other San cultural artifact at Midden 1, and the majority of OES fragments was recovered from the red layer and, therefore, may possibly have been part of a wash process. The OES bead sample is small, also gives indication of a San presence and also may have been part of a wash process.

Layer	Square	Interior Diameter (mm)	Exterior Diameter (mm)
Grey	H7	2.37	4.96
	D7	2.47	4.77
	F8	2.06	5.24
Red	A9	2.04	4.71
	E10	2.27	4.81

Table 4.8: Ostrich egg shell beads from Midden 1 at Libanon 5 by layer, square and diameter.

Glass

Glass was collected from every excavated area at Libanon 5. This included midden 1, kraal 2 and the trenches along the outside of the Kraal 1 wall and domestic area. No complete vessels were found and the majority of the glass pieces recovered were

small, fragmented sherds, making identity and the assignment of form and function difficult. Every glass sherd, regardless of size, was bagged and tagged.

Olive Jones and Catherine Sullivan's *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary* (1989) and Ethleen and Al Lastovica's *Bottles and Bygones* (1982) were the primary sources of information for glass description and categorization. Harrison's (2000) study of glass from the Shark Bay and Swan River areas of Western Australia concerned glass collected and sampled from open sites. Conte and Romero's (2008) study involved excavated glass from a mid-19th century military settlement in Argentina.

Method

The glass was washed and labeled for each excavation at Libanon 5. The glass pieces were divided up by colour. This was done arbitrarily, primarily because colour does not have a correlation with glass type, production technology, and function (Jones & Sullivan 1985:12). In South Africa, colour can be used to ascertain limited ideas of glass function, therefore the glass was divided into 6 main colour groups: dark green/black, green, brown, clear, frosted and opaque. Counts were made of each colour group, but weight was only taken for the glass from the Midden 1 excavation in order to plot the distribution density. As discussed below, this was done to compare the distribution of worked versus unworked glass.

As mentioned glass colour is useful in ascribing glass function, and in 19th century South Africa dark green or black glass was used for bottling beer, wine and brandy. Green glass was also used for alcoholic beverages (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982). Clear or colourless glass was used for food storage, medicine, ink and carbonated beverages (Lastovica & Lastovica 1985). Opaque and frosted glass was used primarily for tableware, though this is often dependent on glass colour as blue glass would have been used for poison, medicine or castor oil (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982).

The glass was further divided by separating diagnostic from non-diagnostic pieces. Diagnostic pieces included bases, necks/shoulders, lips/rims/bores and any marked or decorated sherds. These diagnostic pieces were described using glossary from Jones and Sullivan's *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary* (1989). Ethleen and Al Lastovica's *Bottles & Bottle Collecting* (1982) was also used and was particularly helpful in providing information on South African glasswork. Bottle bases were by far the most common diagnostic piece, followed by lips/rims/bores. Due to their prevalence bases were used to establish MNVs. Any glass colour group that did not have a corresponding base or lip/rim/bore was given its own MNV.

The glass excavated from Midden 1 in 2011 was combined with the glass excavated from Midden 1 in 2010. This gives a larger sample and a more accurate MNV count. I was also unhappy with my descriptions and colour assignments from the 2010 glass description. All glass now described is from the combined 2010 and 2011 glass assemblage.

The total glass excavated at Libanon 5 is 931 fragments weighing 1420.2g and with a total MNV of 26 (Table 4.9).

Midden 1 Grey Layer

Glass excavated from the grey layer of Midden 1 consists predominantly of very small undiagnostic fragments. Dark green or black glass fragments are most common, and green glass is next best represented (Table 4.9).

Thirteen diagnostic sherds are present in the grey layer (Figure 4.14) . Six are dark green or black and from bottle bases, one sherd is a dark green or black bottle rim, one sherd is a patinated green bottle rim, two pieces are from dark green or black bottle shoulders, three green sherds have curved edges, and the last diagnostic piece is a single piece of frosted white glass with decoration and rim, possibly from tableware.

Bottle bases are the most common diagnostic sherd in the grey layer and were used to count MNVs. With one refit, six different vessels were present in the grey horizon. The diameters of each bottle base were all 8cm across and were all similar in type, having rounded heels and flat resting points. Only one base gave indication of a dome-shaped pushup. Another base sherd had a significantly thinner resting point.

	Unit	Grey		Red		Total	
			%		%		%
	Total Weight	520.9	100	899.3	100	1420.2	100
	Total N	293	100	638	100	931	100
	Total MNV	13	100	10	100	23	100
Dark Green/ Black	Weight	418.9	80.4	681.8	75.8	1100.7	77.5
	N	203	69.3	339	53.1	542	58.2
	MNV	5	50	4	40	9	41.7
Green	Weight	70.8	13.6	44.1	4.9	114.9	8.1
	N	50	17.1	49	7.7	99	10.6
	MNV	2	12.5	1	1	3	12.5
Clear	Weight	15.8	3	70.7	7.9	86.5	6.1
	N	34	11.6	100	15.7	134	14.4
	MNV	3	18.8	1	1	4	16.7
Frosted	Weight	14.3	2.7	38	4.2	52.3	3.7
	N	1	0.3	24	3.8	25	2.7
	MNV	1	6.25	2	2	3	12.5
Opaque	Weight	0.7	0.1	47.8	5.3	48.5	3.4
	N	1	0.3	8	1.3	9	1
	MNV	1	6.25	1	1	2	8.3
Brown	Weight	0.4	0.1	4.3	0.5	4.7	0.3
	N	4	1.4	2	0.3	6	0.6
	MNV	1	6.25	1	1	2	8.3
Unidentified	Weight	0	0	12.6	1.4	12.6	0.9
	N	0	0	116	18.2	116	12.5

Table 4.9: Glass excavated from Midden 1 at Libanon 5, by layer, and colour, weight (g), N, MNV and % frequency.

The dark green or black bottle rim is probably from one of the vessels already counted through the bottle bases. It is a two-part rim with a stopper finish. The green rim is

missing the bore and its form is unclear. Noticeably, bases are well represented in Midden 1 grey relative to rims. The frosted white piece is most likely from a tableware item. It has fluted panels as decoration and a flat rim (Table 4.10).



Figure 4.14: Diagnostic glass fragments from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

The three diagnostic green glass sherds have abrupt, sharply curved edges. Otherwise the pieces are flat, and have tiny seed bubbles within the glass. This gives no indication of age but implies that the sherds all come from the same vessel. The sharp angle of the curve suggests these sherds represent a case bottle for alcohol. Indeed, the dominance of dark green or black glass indicates that much of the glass from the grey layer in Midden 1 is from alcohol bottles (Table 4.10).

	Grey	Red	Total
Alcohol	7	5	12
Non-alcohol bottle	3	1	4
Pharmaceutical	0	0	0
Tableware	1	2	3
Jar/Pot	0	0	0
Unidentified	2	2	4
Total:	13	10	23

Table 4.10: Glass function and MNV in Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Midden 1 Red Layer

The glass from the red layer of Midden 1 also consisted of many minute, non-diagnostic sherds. A separate category of 'Unidentified' was created for the sherds that were too small to assign colour to. Again the most common glass colour was dark green or black with 339 fragments weighing 681.8g (Table 4.9). Next most common was clear glass with 100 sherds weighing 70.7g, followed by green glass with 49 sherds weighing 44.1g (Table 4.9).

A total of 13 diagnostic sherds were present (Figure 4.15). These included three bottle lips/rims/bores, four bottle shoulders, three bottle base fragments and three frosted decorated sherds.



Figure 4.15: Diagnostic glass fragments from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Of the three lips/rims/bores, one is of green glass and two are dark green or black glass but are of different shape and design. The green glass piece is heavily patinated, features a stepped lip design and is a fragment of an alcohol bottle. One dark green or black lip fragment is of a two-part design with a stopper finish. The second dark green or black glass piece has an averted lip. The four shoulder pieces are all dark green but otherwise unremarkable.

All three bottle bases are dark green. One piece is a fragment of the inside of the push up and part of the bottle wall. No resting point or heel remains attached. The other base fragment shows a rounded heel, a flat resting point and a dome-like push up. The final base fragment also has a rounded heel and flat resting point and can be refitted with a similar sherd in the grey layer below. The bottle bases were used to count MNV as the dark green or black lips/rims/bores may have come from the same vessels. All three vessels are alcohol bottles (Table 4.10).

The three decorated frosted fragments have different patterns. One sherd has a cut geometric pattern of fluting, one slightly smaller sherd is decorated with fluted panels, and the third sherd has an unclear geometric pattern. The third sherd may be from the same tableware vessel as the two larger pieces and an MNV of two was created (Table 4.10).

Significantly, there is very little difference between the two horizons of Midden 1. Smaller, unidentified glass fragments are more common in the red horizon, but that is keeping in character with a wash layer. More glass was recovered from the red horizon, both in terms of weight and number, but the proportional share of the total of each glass colours is similar in both horizons (Table 4.9). Dark green or black glass dominates the assemblage. Dark green/black glass was used almost exclusively for alcoholic beverages, and despite the small sample, it is alcohol bottles that make up the majority of the vessels (Table 4.10).

West of Kraal 1 Wall

All of the squares excavated along the wall contained small glass sherds as did two of the three squares in the domestic area. In total, 21 glass sherds were recovered from the excavations along the Kraal 1 wall and in the domestic area (Table 4.11). Most of the glass recovered is dark green/black (twelve sherds) (Table 4.11). Transparent glass is the next most common, with 7 sherds, and the remaining two sherds are green

glass. All the sherds are predominantly small and fragmentary, but there are a four diagnostic pieces present.

	Grey	Red	Total
Dark Green/Black	5	7	12
Green	1	1	2
Clear	2	5	7
Total	8	13	21

Table 4.11: Glass excavated from west of the Kraal 1 wall at Libanon 5, by layer, colour and N.

Three of the four diagnostic sherds were recovered from the surface and the upper red wash layers. Two transparent sherds from the red are of thin, flat glass, most likely representing window panes. One transparent sherd from the surface is moulded and could be from a piece of tableware. The one diagnostic sherd found in the lower grey layer is a dark green or black bottle rim, most likely from an alcohol bottle.

Retouched and Knapped Glass

In the process of examining the refits I noticed that a dark green or black refitted base appeared to have been roughly smoothed or abraded along the broken walls perpendicular to the base, effectively ‘flattening’ the base (Figure 4.16). It was an obvious sign of human modification and led to an examination of the other bases for similar alterations. No other bases had this particular modification but their reexamination revealed many potential cases of deliberate glass knapping. It is on creating more certainty about this possibility that the next section is concentrated.

The recycling of European glass as a tool by indigenous people has been documented in archaeological and ethnographic records from Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australasia. This is obviously because glass fractures easily and gives sharp edges along flakes and blades. Many archaeological records, for example, reveal a trend for glass to be used in the manufacture of arrowheads and endscrapers (Conte & Romero 2008: 249), or to reproduce existing lithic forms (McCall 2012). More recently,

ethnographic records document African and American groups using glass fragments for haircuts, hide-scraping and wood smoothing and polishing (Clark 1981; Wilkie 1996). Despite this, the recognition of retouched glass and its description are scarce in South Africa.



Figure 4.16: Ground glass bottle base refit from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

This may be because of the possibility mentioned in all studies of falsely identifying glass artifacts, and the difficulty of correctly identifying that retouched edges or glass flaking was indeed the result of intentional human action. Glass is a brittle substance and natural trampling and/or breakage can reproduce features that look like flakes, retouched edges or even cores. Natural breakage can look like intentional modification, and naturally broken flakes can easily look like anthropic ones. Because of this difficulty, archaeologists have come up with different techniques to reduce uncertainty and bypass this problem.

Post-Depositional Effects

The main and most prevalent problem when attempting to identify securely modified glass pieces or flakes concerns its brittleness and ease of fracture, and that trampling, treading or any other post-depositional damage can create features on the glass that look intentional.

Knudson (1979) undertook a controlled study of cattle-trampled glass pieces and noted a pervasiveness of steep and abrupt modification and edge damage. On the other hand, Conte and Romero (2008:260) stress that trampling *can* create scars along edges that can be mistaken for deliberate retouch (see also Nielsen 1991; Harkey 1980). In South Africa, Beaumont's (1961) study recommended that apparently intentionally flaked or worked pieces of glass should not be accepted as such unless the fragments were found in a 'sealed' deposit, such as in a cave. Therefore, one cannot simply accept apparent retouched edges as evidence of actual use.

Given the above, there have to be attributes for identifying knapped glass. Allen and Jones (1980), for example, published a set of criteria in which to differentiate knapped glass from naturally broken glass. They emphasized the amount of wall attached to bases, the use of thicker parts of the bottle, the presence of percussion bulbs on flakes, and bifacial versus internal and external unifacial flaking on the lower parts of the bottle wall (Allen and Jones 1980:231). Despite this, they stressed that location and commonsense would still provide the best guide (1980:231).

Additionally, Conte and Romero (2008) and Harrison (2000) also highlight the significance of morphological features when identifying modified glass fragments. Both draw parallels to lithic artifacts, with Conte and Romero (2008) emphasizing similarities to known tool types already in use and Harrison (2000) highlighting features consistent with percussive flaking. Niemoeller and Guse (1999) found that the mean length, mode and median of flake scars from artifacts to be significantly larger than those of trampled material. Hayden (1979) mentions microchipping through use rarely produces scars larger than 7mm and that brittle materials, such as glass, produce no edge rows, have feather terminations and smaller scarring. Therefore, microchipping on flake edges could produce a smaller layer of scars on a retouched edge.

Conte and Romero (2008), as well as Harrison (2000) and Martindale and Jurakic (2006), suggest microwear analysis to test actual use of retouched edges, over and above the examination of macroscopic morphological traits.

Conte and Romero (2008) compared apparent retouched edges on three series of glass material, attempting to use metallographic microscopes to examine fractures, striations and grooves. They compared trampled glass collected from the street and modern glass used as tools to excavated glass. All pieces exhibited signs of intentional retouch, but under microscopic analysis the edge scarring was unique to each type.

Harrison (2000) examined use wear traces under microscope and found that striations caused by mechanical abrasions would be consistent in orientation, while striations caused by natural modifications would be random and haphazard. Martindale and Jurakic (2006) analyzed use wear patterns of expedient and curated glass tools and found that different tool use left different patterns of striations, and that flaking caused by trampling lacked the regularity of intentional retouch.

Martindale and Jurakic (2006:418) list other post-depositional effects on glass. Soil movement can dull the glass, moisture can create surface weathering and pitting, and rapid temperature changes can create cracks and further surface damage. Patination, or oxidization, of glass with exposure to water vapour in the air, can also occur (see Lorrain 1968, Sanford 1975). Jones and Sullivan (1985:15) point out that patination, or the absence thereof, is no guarantee of age, and that some glass is more prone to it than others. There is also the possibility of solarization, whereby glass colour changes through exposure to ultraviolet rays.

According to Jones and Sullivan (1985), these alterations on the glass caused by the various weathering processes do not alter normal glass analysis and are often unnecessary to describe or discuss. Nonetheless, when examining intentional or unintentional glass knapping patination in particular can provide clues to post depositional damage. Differing levels of patination would indicate scars produced at different times, and thus damage caused by natural, post-depositional phenomena.

Context

It is with this background on the difficulty of identifying glass fragments as artifact or pedofact in mind that I approached the examination of any potential glass artifacts in the Libanon 5 midden assemblage. My focus was initially on bottle bases and thicker body parts (or walls) attached to the bases, especially those associated with curves and corners. Previous studies (Harrison 2000, Cooper and Bowdler 1998) identified bottle bases as being the preferred core from which to strike glass flakes. I have already there there is a prevalence of bottle bases at Midden 1. My focus then spread to all the excavated glass in the hopes of identifying glass flakes morphologically similar to lithic flakes. These glass fragments were separated and bagged. Glass sherds with potential retouched edges were also separated and bagged. All the isolated glass fragments were then placed into categories for further analysis.

Once these fragments were separated (n=16), categories were created according to Harrison (2000). Harrison divided his recovered glass into four different classes. These were glass flakes, glass cores, worked fragments and 'other'. Glass flakes were any pieces of glass with at least one ventral surface, a point of applied force or intact margins. Glass cores were glass fragments with at least one complete negative scar with an inverse percussive bulb and/or a feather or inverse termination. Worked fragments were those pieces of glass that did not morphologically resemble flakes or cores but has some sort of usewear or edge modification. The 'other' category described culturally modified glass that did not fit into the other classes.

Using Harrison's categories I was able to place a total two fragments in the glass flake category, four in the glass core category, seven in the worked fragments category and three in the 'other' category (Table 4.12).

Category			
	Grey	Red	Total
Flake	0	2	2
Core	3	1	4
Worked	4	3	7
Other'	2	1	3
Total	9	7	16

Table 4.12: Modified glass fragments recovered from Midden 1 at Libanon 5, by layer and modified glass category.

Midden 1 Grey Horizon

From the grey layer of Midden 1 a total of nine fragments were identified as being possible worked glass artifacts (Table 4.12). This includes two refits of the dark green or black ground base fragment that initially started the enquiry (Figure 4.16). These pieces are in the 'other' category. Two patinated green glass fragments were also set aside and placed in the worked glass category (Figure 4.17). They are both triangular in shape and slightly curved, with the distal edges on both fragments showing signs of intentional retouch, thereby creating a sharp, acute edge, as well as signs of small chipping along the retouched edges. The acute edge occurs on the concave side of the fragment on both examples. The natural curve of the glass on these fragments would securely cradle the thumb if held between the thumb and forefinger. With the acute worked edge angling up to the concave section, the fragment would appear to be perfectly shaped for use as a scraper. Significantly, the rate of patination is equal across the pieces, suggesting the glass was already in this shape when disposed.

Another dark green or black fragment was set aside for similar reasons (Figure 4.18 and Figure 4.19). Also triangular in shape, this fragment appears retouched along one of the longer margins, again creating a sharp, acute edge, and with consistent chipping or retouch all along the acute margin. The natural curvature of the glass also appears to have been utilized to allow for a comfortable, secure grip between thumb and the side of the index finger. This piece is in the worked glass category.

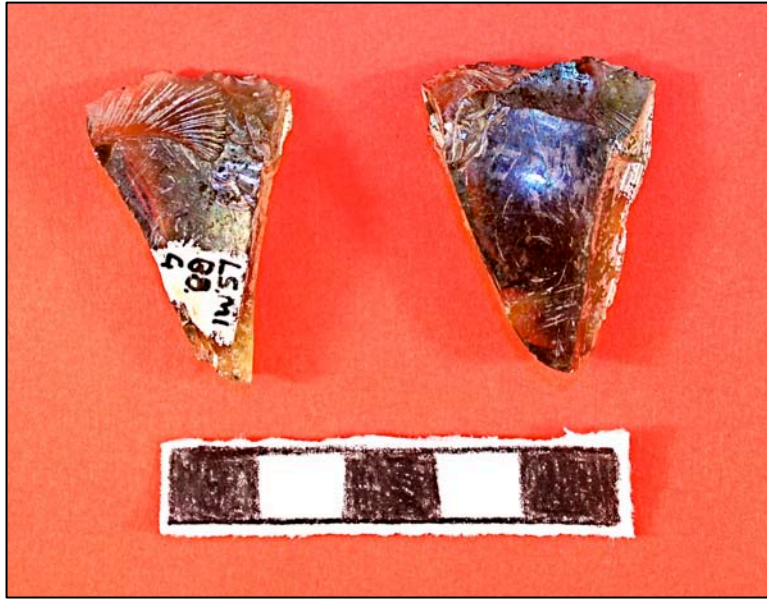


Figure 4.17: Two worked glass pieces from the grey horizon of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

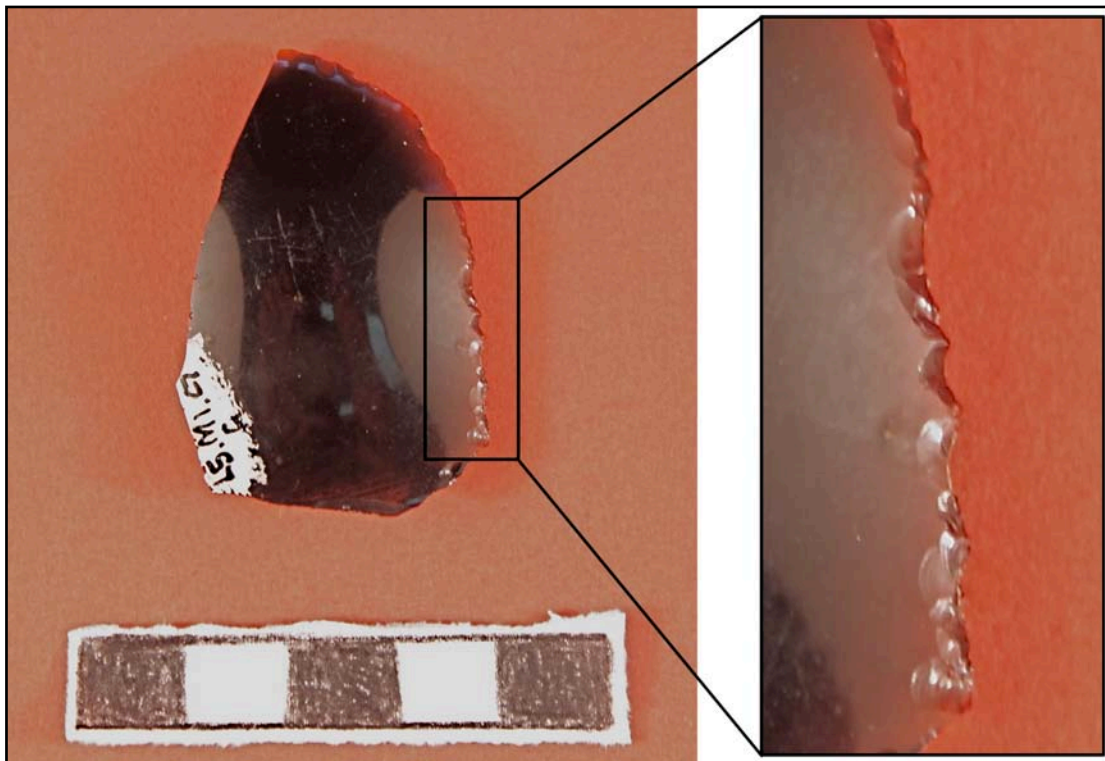


Figure 4.18: 'Dorsal' view of a worked glass piece showing concave scarring along the acute margin, from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.



Figure 4.19: 'Ventral' view of a worked glass piece from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

A fifth, smaller piece has been modified into a more desirable shape, utilizing the flatness of the bottle wall to create 'backing' for a more comfortable grip (Figure 4.20). There are small percussion waves visible on the 'dorsal' surface of the piece (Figure 4.21). This piece is a flake.

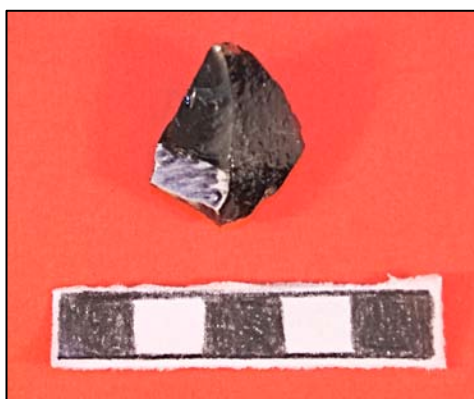


Figure 4.20: The ventral view of a small worked glass piece.



Figure 4.21: The dorsal view of a small worked glass piece

Two larger bottle bases were also identified as modified pieces. Both are dark green or black glass and have at least one clear negative flake scar and waves of percussion on

the surfaces (Figure 4.22 and Figure 4.23). A final dark green or black piece from the thicker vessel wall immediately above the vessel base has similar attributes. (Figure 4.24). These are placed in the glass core category.

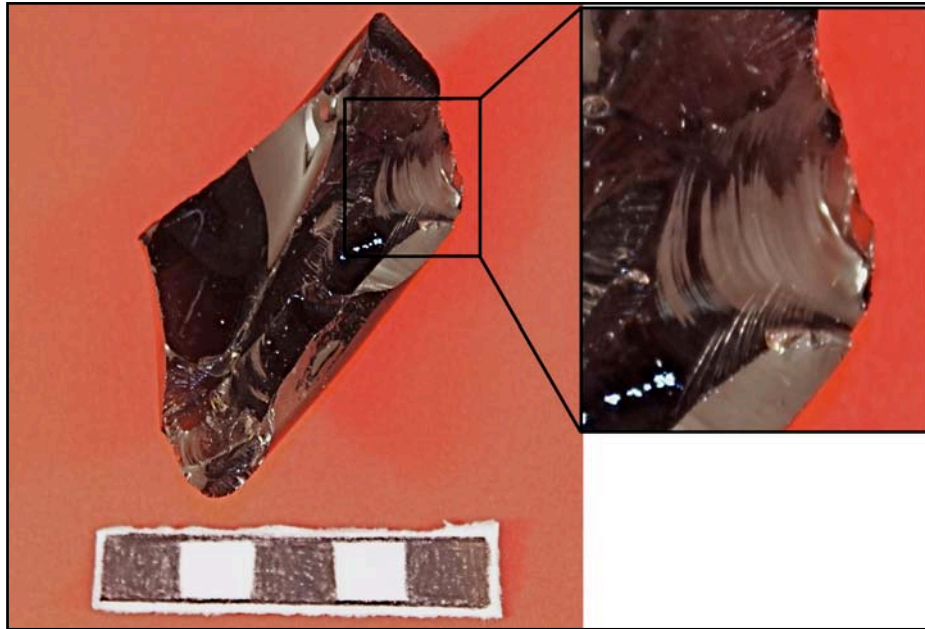


Figure 4.22: A glass core piece from a bottle base showing negative flake scars and clear percussion waves from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.



Figure 4.23: A glass core piece from a bottle base with negative flake scars from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.



Figure 4.24: A glass core piece from the bottle base wall with negative flake scars from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Midden 1 Red Horizon

In the red layer seven glass pieces were identified as intentionally modified (Table 4.12). There is a refit with the ground bottle base sherd from the grey layer, which was ground down above the heel or resting point (Figure 4.16). There is also a smaller (length < 2cm) dark green or black sherd that is morphologically similar to a lithic flake and has retouched edges (Figure 4.25).



Figure 4.25: A glass flake-like glass piece from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

A further patinated green glass piece is retouched along the distal margin (Figure 4.26). It has the same type of retouch as the modified green glass fragments from the grey horizon outlined above (Figure 4.17). None of the three green fragments are refits but the level of patination is the same along the broken edges as on the larger surfaces, suggesting modification did not occur post-deposition. This piece is also smaller than the corresponding fragments from the grey layer.

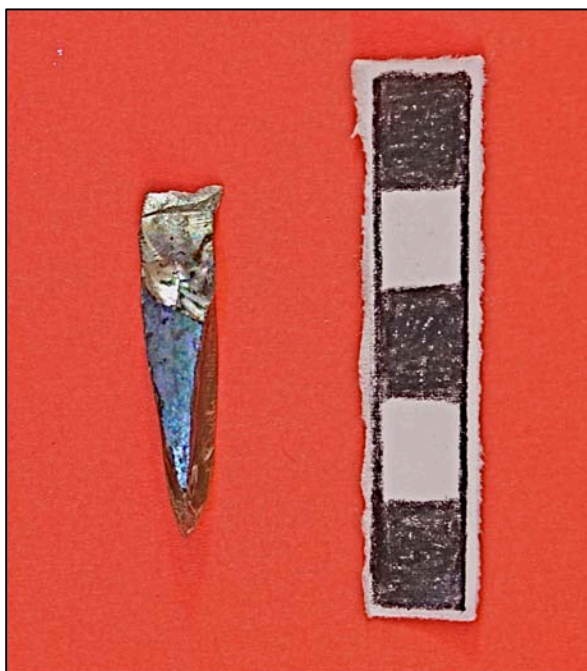


Figure 4.26: A worked glass piece from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Another two green glass pieces were separated for appearing intentionally modified. One is a larger piece of thick glass, is rectangular in shape and has a 'hook' like promontory at one end (Figure 4.27). The interior of the hook appears slightly ground and has stress fractures from the ground point along that edge. The second green sherd is of thinner glass and is triangular in shape (Figure 4.28). One of the longer margins is retouched to form an acute angle with the surface, and there is small concave chipping along the acute edge.



Figure 4.27: A worked glass piece with grind marks along the edge under the point, from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

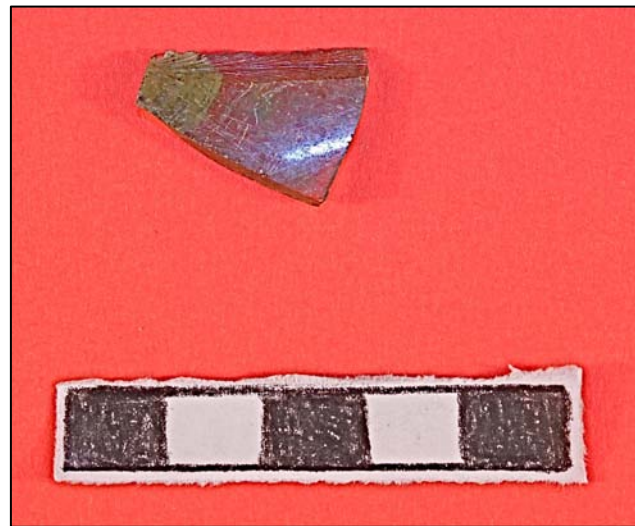


Figure 4.28: A worked glass piece with retouch from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Finally, there is a flake-like glass piece that has the resting point or heel of the bottle base as its termination (Figure 4.29). Both edges are retouched. This piece refits on its ventral side into a negative flake scar from a bottle base sherd in the grey layer (Figure 4.23) and on half its dorsal side to another base sherd in the red layer (Figure 4.30); the other half of the dorsal side being the surface of the underside of the bottle pushup (Figure 4.31). This is a significant refit, because it indicates the selection of the bottle base, as well as platform preparation and the *chaîne opératoire* sequence of glass knapping.



Figure 4.29: A flake-like glass piece that refits to two bottle base cores, from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.



Figure 4.30: The two base cores and the flake-like piece that refit. The glass core on the left is from the grey layer, while the flake-like piece and the second core are from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.



Figure 4.31: The refit of the two cores and flake-like piece.

Glass Density In Midden 1

In order to assess or possibly identify whether glass had been modified, glass density in Midden 1 was plotted. This was to determine whether the potentially worked glass was being knapped and used at the midden, or if it was being knapped and used elsewhere before being discarded at the midden. It would also indicate single or numerous activities of glass modification and highlight the patterns of glass disposal.

To do this, I plotted the weight of dark green or black glass by square and also the total weight of glass per square for the combined assemblage. This was done because of the high number of dark green or black sherds in the assemblage and because the majority of the modified fragments are of dark green or black glass. To provide a point of comparison, I also plotted the weight of excavated bone by square in both horizons.

Grey Layer Density

Figure 4.32 shows the density by weight of all the glass across the grey layer of Midden 1. Apart from two outliers in H8 and G8, possibly representing a separate cluster, much of the glass in the grey layer clusters towards the western end of the midden, that is a 3m by 4m area from C7 to A10. As outlined above, the grey horizon thinned out in this area.

Figure 4.33 shows the density by weight of the dark green or black glass in the grey layer. Again, the cluster is towards the western end of the midden with a concentration in squares C8 and C7. The squares that contained modified glass have also been marked. Modified glass pieces cluster specifically towards the northwestern end of the midden and are in squares with high glass weights.

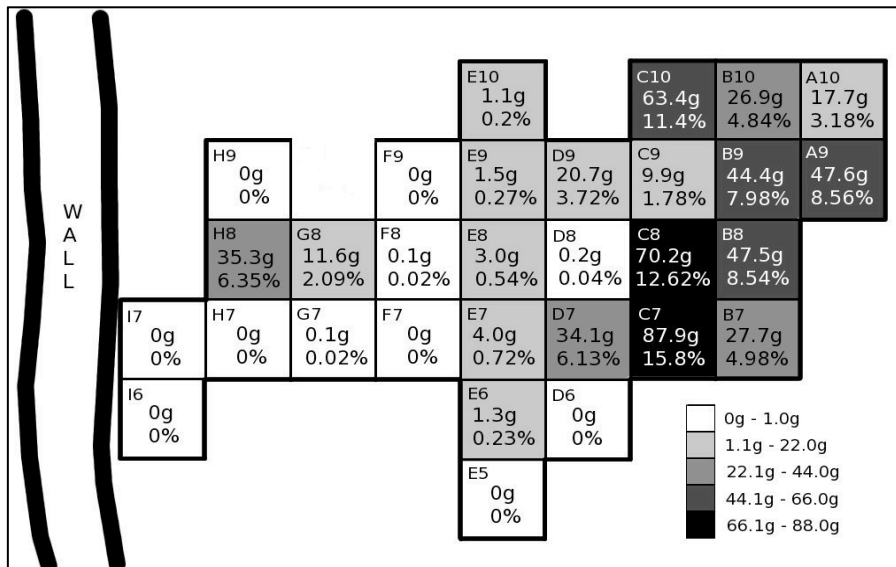


Figure 4.32: Density plot by weight of all excavated glass in the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5 (% = proportion of total weight).

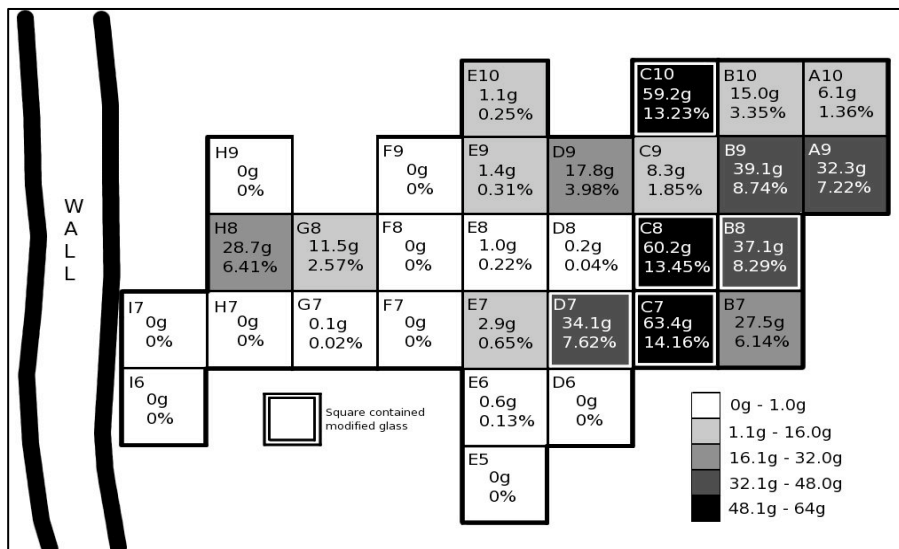


Figure 4.33: Density plot by weight of excavated dark green or black glass in the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5 (% = proportion of total weight).

As a point of comparison, Figure 4.34 shows the density by weight of all excavated bone from the grey horizon. The distribution is far more uniform and the squares with the highest weights are clustered against the wall at the eastern end of the midden.

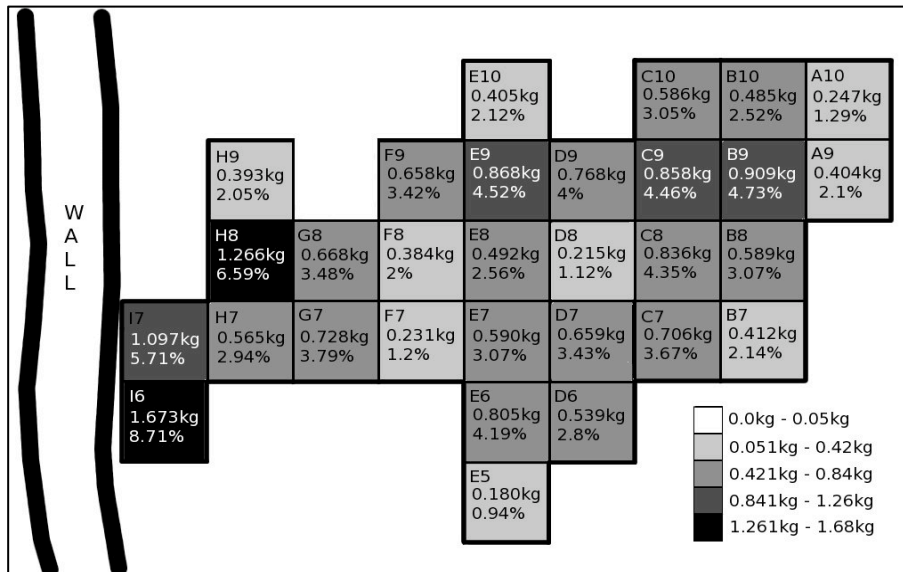


Figure 4.34: Density plot by weight of excavated bone in the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5 (% = proportion of total weight).

Red Layer Density

Figure 4.35 shows the density by weight of all the glass across the red layer. The density of glass is far more spread than in the grey. There is still clustering towards the southern edge of the midden, with those squares closer to the wall containing less, or at least lighter, glass fragments.

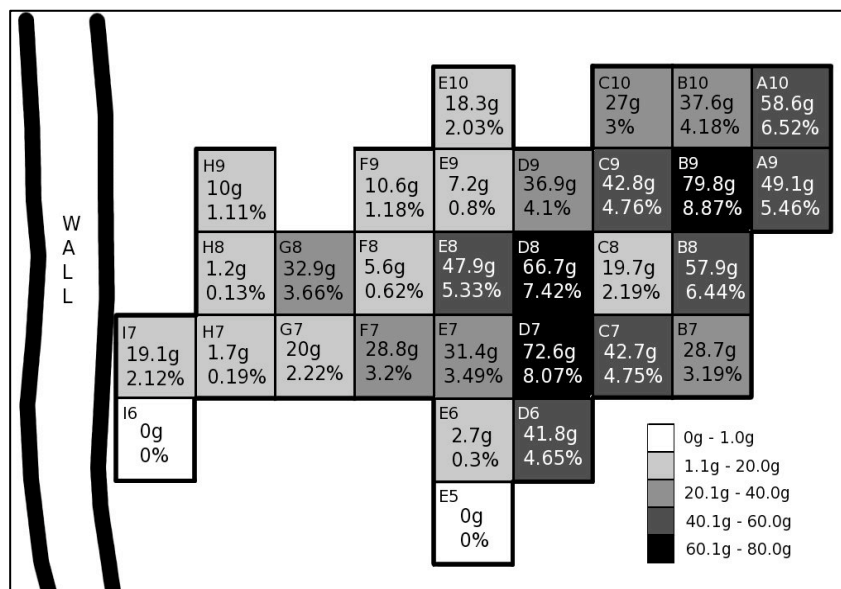


Figure 4.35: Density plot by weight of all excavated glass in the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5 (% = proportion of total weight).

Looking at the distribution of dark green or black glass across the red layer displays a similar pattern, as shown in Figure 4.36. This can be expected because of the prevalence of dark green or black glass within the entire glass assemblage. Modified pieces recovered in the red horizon are also marked. Again, it is useful to compare the glass distributions to the distribution by weight of all excavated bone in the red horizon (Figure 4.37). Unlike in the lower grey horizon, bone clusters towards the wall and is thinner towards the southern end of the midden.

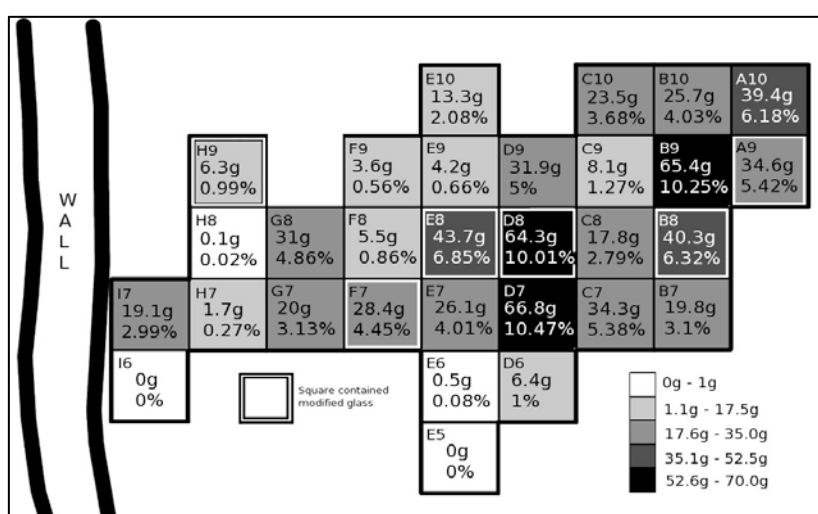


Figure 4.36: Density plot by weight of excavated dark green or black glass in the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5 (% = proportion of total weight).

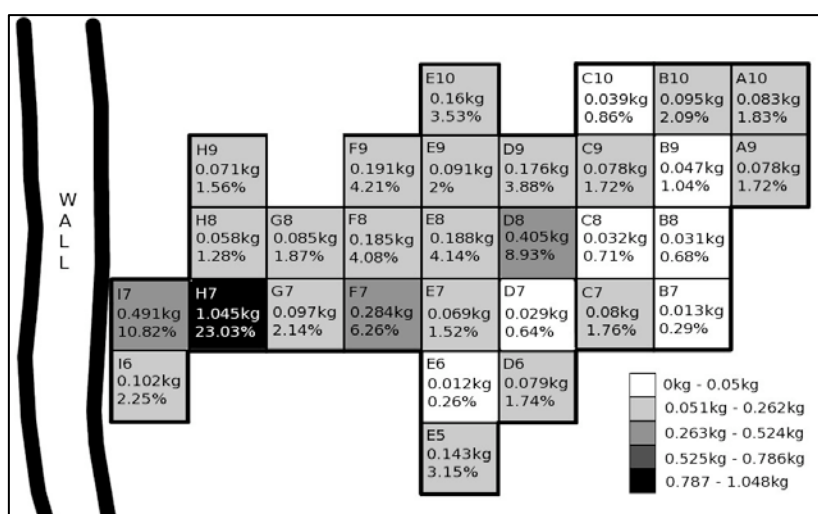


Figure 4.37: Density plot by weight of excavated bone in the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5 (% = proportion of total weight).

Discussion

It is significant here to introduce the importance of context when examining modified glass artifacts, both in terms of physical context, as in Midden 1's site and location, and cultural context.

Midden 1 is situated abutting a section of the Kraal 1 wall. The ground is soft and although there are larger rocks scattered around and on top of the midden, it is by no means rocky, hard ground. The vicinity of Libanon 5 today is used for sheep farming and it is likely that flocks of sheep have trampled over the midden since the sites abandonment, potentially damaging, chipping and fracturing glass artifacts.

As it is, no glass was collected from the midden's surface. The vast majority of the glass was sealed; excavated from the ground and not exposed to the outdoors. Only a small number of sherds exhibit signs of patination/oxidization and weathering. The glass in the midden may have suffered from wear and tear from discard and from the midden process, but it was not exposed to extended trampling and weathering. The modified glass pieces were all recovered from sealed deposits.

The combined glass and the dark green or black glass densities in both horizons cluster to the southern end of the midden, away from the wall. All the modified pieces recovered from the grey horizon were recovered from five squares at this southern end (Figure 4.33). These individual squares also had particularly high amounts of dark green or black glass recovered from them. The distribution of modified pieces from the red layer is more widely spread but still clusters to the south (Figure 4.36). This is probably because the red horizon is a wash and that the artifacts recovered from this layer were not disposed of as part of a midden process.

The density plots show that the glass disposal events in the grey, and possibly red, horizon are short, sharp, singular and infrequent. In contrast, the bone weight distribution plot shows prolonged, continuous and frequent disposal in the midden. It

is possible that the worked glass was knapped or modified at the southern end of Midden 1.

If the glass was being worked at the southern end of the midden, then the glass discards should be in the midden and complete vessels should be recovered. As it is, no complete glass vessels were recovered from Midden 1. It is possible then that the midden is not the primary site of disposal at Libanon 5, or that glass was being specially selected for modification and brought to Midden 1 from elsewhere.

Midden 1 is the only midden identified at Libanon 5 and no other disposal site was identified. Specialised glass selection, however, could be reflected in the disparity of glass bottle base to lip/rim/bore diagnostic fragments. Bottle base fragments were more common in Midden 1 in the grey and red horizons than bottle lips/rims/bores. Bottle bases are the preferred glass core pieces for knapping or modifying glass, and may have been selected from other areas and brought to Libanon 5 for this reason. If the bottle bases came from vessels that were consumed at Libanon 5 and then disposed at Midden 1, then we would expect to see the complete vessel reflected in the glass recovered.

If glass is being selected specifically for modification then questions regarding the availability of glass and the availability of metal are highlighted. The sample of metal recovered from Midden 1 is small. The metal recovered is smaller bits and pieces that are heavily corroded and undiagnostic. The small number and poor quality of recovered metal implies that frontier trade was not fully engaged. The Xhosa, therefore, had limited access to raw material for cutting and scraping implements. Glass would be an attractive substitute. There is no formalisation to the knapped and worked glass, and knapping was pragmatic. The use of glass for knapping and edge retouch does not necessarily imply prior LSA technological know-how. See, for example, the ground bottle base piece.

Worked glass, then, does not indicate interactions with hunter-gatherer communities and does not necessarily suggest loss of identity. Glass was used as a raw material for knapping and modification opportunistically.

DISCUSSION: SEQUENCE AND CHRONOLOGY AT LIBANON 5

Libanon 5 is unquestionably a Xhosa homestead and may be the Tschivika's Kraal identified by Anderson. It is east-facing, the back of the site is to the wind, and it is near a perennial fountain. The site has a front-back emphasis and is arranged around a large, central kraal. The structural aspects of the site have been discussed and a preliminary sequence has been summarized. I now discuss the implications of the excavations and recovered material to the Libanon 5 sequence.

Kraal 2 had the deepest deposit and was the first feature constructed at Libanon 5. The lower layers were culturally sterile but dung continued to bedrock. Kraal 2 was in use prior to the arrival of European goods and the lower layers of the Kraal 2 deposit are possibly associated with the earliest occupation of Libanon 5. However, use of Kraal 2 continued throughout the occupation of Libanon 5, and European material recovered from the kraal's surface bears the same signature as material collected from the two round hut features north of the main complex (see Zachariou 2011).

The grey horizon of Midden 1 is a midden or a formal dump. It may be associated with Enclosures 1, 2 and 3, but it is more likely linked to a residential zone west of Kraal 1. The significant amount of sheep bone recovered from the grey layer supports the domestic character of this deposit and is in sharp contrast to the fragmentary bone from the upper red horizon (see Leitenberger 2011).

The sample recovered from the grey is small and fragmentary. There is little European ceramic and glass, and metal, and this small sample suggests that the colonial frontier was not fully engaged during the time of Midden 1's use.

Chronological markers in the grey layer suggest a date in the 1830s. After 1830 the number of European-owned farms was increasing along the colony borders, south of the Pramberg, and, as discussed earlier, interaction between Xhosa and the colony increased. This would explain the presence of European material in the grey layer. However, the small amount of artifacts, and the absence of complete vessels, does not indicate that European goods replaced indigenous material culture. The absence of Nguni material in the grey layer means that the traditional Xhosa Anderson mentions as settling in the Pramberg must have been using organic material, such as wood and weave baskets.

The red horizon above the grey is a wash. The assemblage gathered from the red layer is small and fragmentary in nature, but contained a wider variety of artifacts than the grey horizon. Nguni material was again absent and the amount and size of bone recovered decreased. European ceramic, glass and metal in the red layer is more numerous. The ware type of European ceramic increased, as did the colour and variety of glass form.

The wider variety would suggest greater access to European goods, and, by extension, more involvement in the European/colonial economy. The material in the red layer could be associated to the two round stone structures north of the main Libanon 5 complex. The material gathered at these structures points to a post 1880 date (Zachariou 2011). Nonetheless, the lack of an absolute chronological marker in the red makes correlation speculative. It is also possible that red layer represents a phase between the deposition of the grey layer and the occupation of the two stone structures.

The stratigraphy of Midden 1 suggests a shift from a formal midden to a general and less formal scatter of material, and while the red horizon and associated material can still be associated with domestic debris, it does not have the same 'character' as the grey.

The breaking through of the Kraal 1 west wall near Midden 1 perhaps may have been to facilitate the removal of the dung from Kraal 1, or used for livestock. Either way, a significant shift in how Kraal 1 was used is indicated, as well as the meaning of the residential space in that area. The second entrance also potentially changes the conceptual position of Enclosures 1, 2 and 3, from 'back' to 'side'. The entrance created a new residential focus or 'character' for the site, perhaps underpinned by the small stone features at the back Enclosures 1, 2, and 3.

The excavations along the western side of the Kraal 1 wall and into the domestic area are similar in character to Midden 1. The sample gathered is tiny, but European ceramic, glass and metal, earthenware and LSA material were recovered. The finds in the red horizons of the excavations along the wall are consistent with the finds in the red horizon of Midden 1, albeit in smaller numbers, and are part of a wash process. The grey layers of the wall excavations were almost culturally sterile and did not extend far from the wall. Material culture finds were minimal in this horizon, suggesting the grey horizon is not part of Midden 1. Nonetheless, ash and animal bone were being disposed along the wall and the grey horizon shared the surface with the wall base.

Little material was recovered from the three squares in the domestic area west of the Kraal 1 wall. The LSA material recovered in these squares may represent a San camp present at Libanon 5 before its occupation, but this is unclear. The grey horizon was thinning out in E18, the square closest to Midden 1, and this is consistent with the character of the grey horizon in Midden 1. A grey layer was absent from the other two squares.

The change through time of the structure and occupation of Libanon 5 is somewhat correlated in the material recovered from Midden 1. However, it does not drastically alter the preliminary sequence of occupation outlined earlier. Phase 1 of Libanon 5 is still Kraal 2. Structurally, it pre-dates Kraal 1, as Kraal 1's walls abut Kraal 2. The Kraal 2 excavation exposed a large dung layer below the European material that

extended to bedrock and shared a base with the Kraal 2 walls. This dung was culturally sterile and it is this phase that is missing from the material record.

Phase 2 is Kraal 1 and represents the main occupation of Libanon 5. The grey horizon of Midden 1 shares a base with the Kraal 1 walling and was an active midden during this phase. The area west of the wall is the domestic zone.

Phase 3 is the cluster of enclosures. The enclosures' walls abut Kraal 1. The three enclosures were not built simultaneously, but were probably all used within a short time frame, and are contemporary with Kraal 1.

Phase 4 is the two cone-on-cylinder hut walls north of the main Libanon 5 complex. It is possible that this phase includes the material in the red wash horizon of Midden 1 and the break in the Kraal 1 wall south of the midden. The small hut features attached to the rear of the enclosures could also possibly be part of this phase. This phase post-dates Xhosa removal from the Pramberg.

Phase 5 remains Kraal 3, the square house foundation and associated midden. This phase represents European occupation of the site and of the Pramberg.

Phases 1, 2 and 3 represent Libanon 5 as an autonomous Xhosa homestead. Phase 4 sees a shift from homestead to household at Libanon 5 in the second half of the 19th century. The two round hut features, coupled with the break in the Kraal 1 wall, indicate the end of the homestead concept. Kraal 1 and Kraal 2, however, were still utilized in this phase.

Although it was present in the lower layers of Kraal 2, Phase 1 of Libanon 5 had no reflection in the material culture. The earliest part of the sequence was effectively missing. It was for the search for this phase that Libanon 1 was explored.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIBANON 1

SETTING

Libanon 1 is a complex of stone wall features and an isolated stone wall northeast of Libanon 5 (Figure 3.1). Libanon 1 is north of the Pramberg escarpment on flat, grassy land in the southeast corner of the Pramberg plateau. A complex of stone features and hut structures is situated on the gentle northwestern slopes of a small hill. The slopes are grassy with patches of exposed surface rock. Loose dolerite and sandstone rocks are scattered on the surface. There is a long stone wall on the flat land below and west of this main complex. The land here is generally flatter and grassy.

Libanon 1 was the first site identified in the initial survey of the Pramberg. The isolated stone wall was identified as a kraal, and given the chronological gap at Libanon 5 it was thought that it may represent an even earlier phase of Xhosa occupation in the Pramberg.

SITE DESCRIPTION

The largest feature at Libanon 1 is an extensive, low stone wall (Figure 5.1). The wall meanders for nearly 100m and faces northeast. A section of it sits atop a gentle slope of thick red soil. The wall is not thick or broad, and is large, single rocks lying alongside one another on the surface. There are several small breaks in the wall, and it is unclear whether they are intentional or natural. There is no collapse, suggesting that the wall was intentionally constructed at this low height.

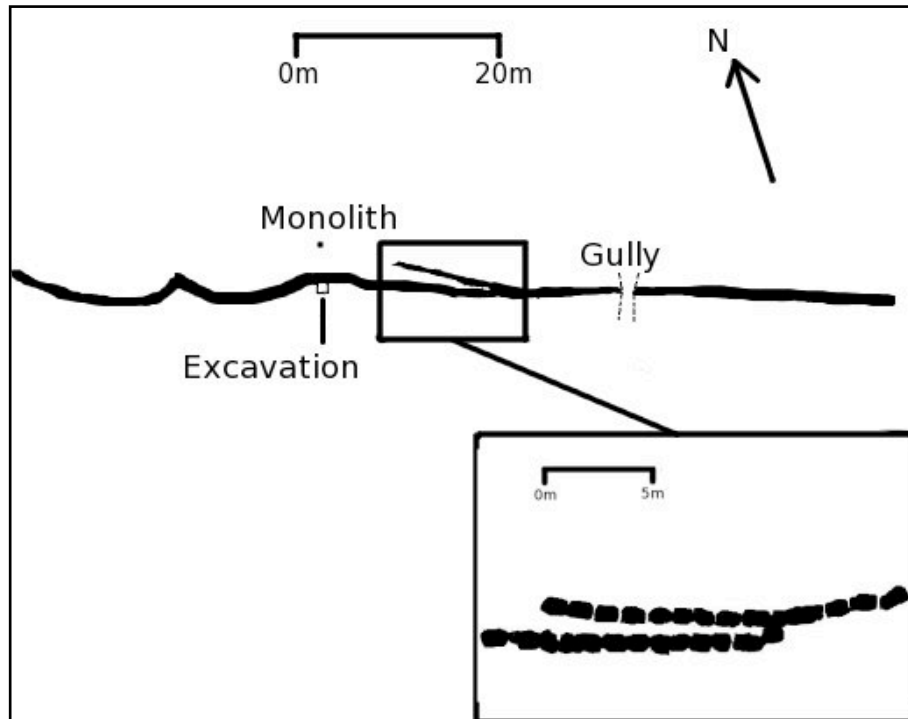


Figure 5.1: Plan of extended wall at Libanon 1, and wall juncture.

The eastern half of the wall is straight and has been bisected by an eroded gully (Figure 5.1). Wall rocks have spilled into the gully and are lying on the gully's surface. The western half of the wall is more complex and may possibly represent different phases of construction or use. The wall is thicker in this half but is still built of single rocks laid on the surface. For this reason it is unclear if the walls are abutting or joining at the juncture at the centre of the wall (Figure 5.1). There is a sandstone monolith standing on flat, grassy ground 3m north of the wall (Figure 5.1). No material culture was found on the surface in the vicinity of this wall.

A 1x1m test pit was excavated at a right angle on the southern side of the wall, just over 3m southwest of the monolith (Figure 5.1). This section of the wall is well preserved and runs along the top of the slope, and it was here that deposit was assumed deepest. The aim of this excavation was to establish the base of the wall and explore whether there was an associated dung horizon.

Excavation proceeded by 0.1m spits for the first 0.2m, and every second bucket was sieved in a 0.3cm sieve. Spit 1 was a dry, fine red soil and this horizon was culturally

sterile. Spit 2 was a damper, red soil and was also culturally sterile. Spit 3 to bedrock was treated as a single unit and was a dry, fine red soil. No material was found in any of the spits. This reflects that after several walkovers, no material was found on the surface on either side of the walling.

No dung layer was found in the excavation and the base of the wall stones was on the current surface and does not extend below ground.

The purpose of this wall is unclear. Its character is that of an animal enclosure or part of a stock-keeping system, particularly as sections of it back up against a small, gentle slope. There is no evidence of a homestead and no material culture present to indicate who constructed and/or used the wall.

The main Libanon 1 complex is a series of stone features on the gentle, southwest-facing slopes of a hill. Wall 1 is a rough, double-sided wall (Figure 5.2). The wall faces east, is low and there is no collapse. The surface is scattered with boulders and rubble and a single ostrich egg shell (OES) fragment and a dark green or black glass piece was found lying on the surface.

Around 10m northeast and upslope is Wall 2 (Figure 5.2). This wall is shorter than Wall 1 and is composed of single large rocks laid side-to-side. Wall 3 is 10m east and upslope of Wall 2 (Figure 5.2). This wall runs across a narrow drainage gully between two large rock outcrops. The walling is crude and haphazard, and joins a coarse round structure at the wall's northern end (Structure 4) (Figure 5.2). Structure 4 (S4) is a collapsed round stone feature sheltered by rock outcrops to the northeast and west. There is no visible entrance and it is unclear if it is attached to Wall 3 or if Wall 3 abuts it.

Structure 1 (S1) is around 7m southeast of Wall 1 (Figure 5.2). It is a U-shaped stone feature butting against the rock face. The walling is coarse and composed of large dolerite rocks piled atop and along one another. The walls are above waist-height but

sections are collapsed. The entrance faces upslope and northeast and the southern wall runs atop the scarp edge.

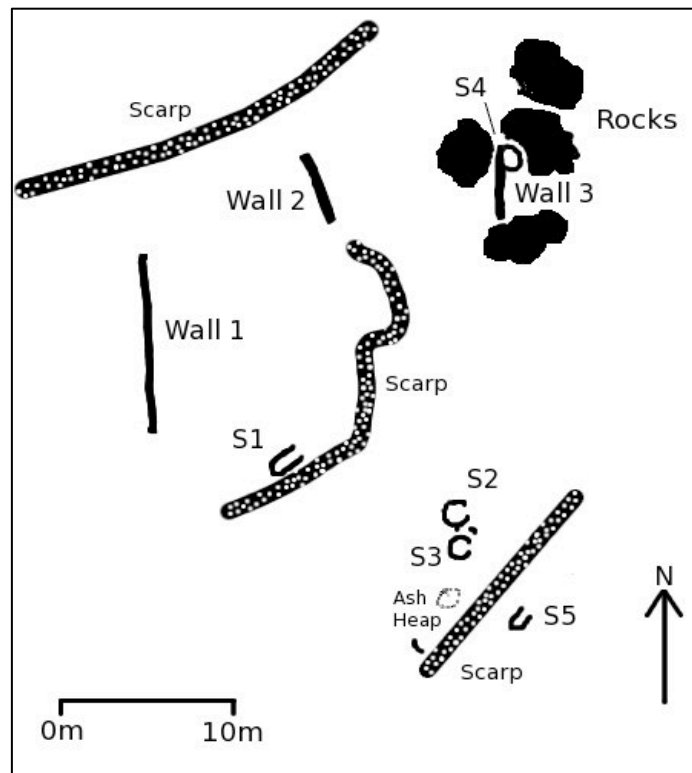


Figure 5.2: Plan of the main complex at Libanon 1.

East and above of Structure 1 is a round stone structure that is the lower cylinder walling of a cone-on-cylinder hut (Structure 2 (S2)) (Figure 5.2). Its walling is double-sided and well preserved, except for collapse in the southwest corner. Its maximum diameter is 2.65m and the entrance is clear and faces east and upslope. Two metres south of Structure 2 is a second well, preserved round walling of a cone-on-cylinder hut (Structure 3). Structure 3 (S3) is more collapsed than Structure 2 but has similar double-sided walling and is the same size. Structure 3's entrance is less clear but also faces east and upslope. Lying between Structure 2 and Structure 3 is a low, short cooking *skerm* and southwest and downslope is a small ash heap with an associated European ceramic and glass scatter (Figure 5.2). Below and southeast of the ash heap is a second, cruder *skerm*.

Structure 5 (S5) is a crude, ephemeral U-shaped stone feature southeast of Structures 2 and 3 (Figure 5.2). Structure 5 is on an exposed rock surface above Structures 2 and 3 and is similar in size and orientation to Structure 1. Its walls are single dolerite rocks laid alongside each other on the flat rock surface. Its entrance faces northeast and upslope. European ceramic and glass was found on the surface north of Structure 5 and is associated with the scatter from Structures 2 and 3.

Around 60m southwest of the main complex, on a flat rock outcrop on the slope, is a crude, low oval kraal. Its walls are large rocks and boulders laid side-to-side. The entrance is unclear and the kraal has a maximum diameter of just over 15m. There is no material culture or dung on the surface.

DISCUSSION

The wall on the flat land below the main Libanon 1 complex is almost impossible to assess. It possibly represents the earliest occupational phase by pastoralists in the Pramberg, based on the complete absence of any European material culture. The wall fits as an animal enclosure as the walling runs atop a slope in sections, and this and the lack of material culture suggests Khoe or early Xhosa settlers. However, there is no evidence of associated domestic space or a residential area, which suggests a Khoe kraal. On top of this, the style of the walling is different and indicates a different approach to keeping and managing stock. This, in turn, gives stronger evidence to the wall being a Khoe construction.

The structures on the hill slope are clearly a different phase from the wall on the basal contour below. Kraal 1 and possibly Walls 1, 2 and 3 and Structure 4 may possibly be contemporary, as all three are crude and similar in construction. The purposes of Walls 1 and 2 are unclear, but it is possible that Wall 3 may have acted as a weir as it runs across a small drainage gully between two large rock outcrops. Structure 4 may be a weaning pen associated with Kraal 1.

Structure 2 and Structure 3 are an individual household unit and represent the most modern phase of occupation at Libanon 1. Both structures are similar in size and construction and have entrances facing upslope and east. The two cooking *skerms*, the ash heap and the associated broadcast scatter of European material are associated with these structures. Structure 1's preservation and east facing entrance is similar to Structure 2 and Structure 3 and may be from the same phase of occupation. Structure 1 may possibly have been a small pen for one or two sheep or goats belonging to the inhabitants of Structures 2 and 3. Structure 5 has lower walls and less preservation than Structure 1, but it is similar in construction and its entrance faces in the same direction, implying that it is from the same phase as Structure 1.

As it were, the stone features on the slopes at Libanon 1 represent a late phase of the Pramberg sequence. They represent small individual household units not tied to a homestead. The wall on the flat plains is isolated, and obviously not associated with a homestead or domestic zone, and is either Khoe or early Xhosa in origin. The lack of material present near the wall also suggests an early phase for this structure, and perhaps mirrors the paucity of material in the bottom layers of Kraal 2 at Libanon 5.

Libanon 1 is a smaller site than Libanon 5 and it seemed reasonable that perhaps the visibility of an early phase would be clearer at a larger site. Soetwater is far larger and more dispersed than Libanon 1, and a large kraal, similar to Kraal 1 at Libanon 5, had been noted on an early walkover.

CHAPTER SIX

SOETWATER

Setting

Soetwater 1 is situated on the northeastern slopes of a large raised plateau on the highlands of the Pramberg (Figure 3.1). The elevation of the plateau extends over a large area, and is geologically distinct, as it is sandstone as opposed to the more common dolerite. The slopes are slight and covered with large sandstone outcrops and other loose rocks and debris. The vegetation is grassy and bushy, but there are many areas of exposed surface rock and there are a number of eroded drainage gullies running downslope.

Soetwater was selected because of its geological distinction, proximity to one of the three perennial water fountains on the plateau and for the wide range of structures in the area. It also appeared similar to Libanon 5. It is situated near a perennial water fountain and contains at least one kraal similar in size to Kraal 1 at Libanon 5. The initial site surveyed, outlined below, also had its rear to the westerly prevailing wind.

Seven separate sites were identified (Figure 6.1). Soetwater 1 is a large kraal with other stone structures and features. It is the furthest south of the seven sites, on the northeast facing slope of the plateau. Soetwater 2 is a complex of stone features on the plateau slopes around 60m northwest of Soetwater 1. Soetwater 3 is on the northwest facing side of the plateau and is a small kraal and associated stone features situated in a natural amphitheatre on the plateau's edge. Soetwater 4 is a collection of stone walls in a second natural amphitheatre facing to the north and east of Soetwater 3. East of Soetwater 4 is Soetwater 5, a square kraal and ephemeral hut floor on flat land down from the plateau slopes. Soetwater 6 is a collection of dolerite features on the top of the plateau and Soetwater 7 is situated north across the drainage sponge and is a complex of hut floors, kraals and other stone features.

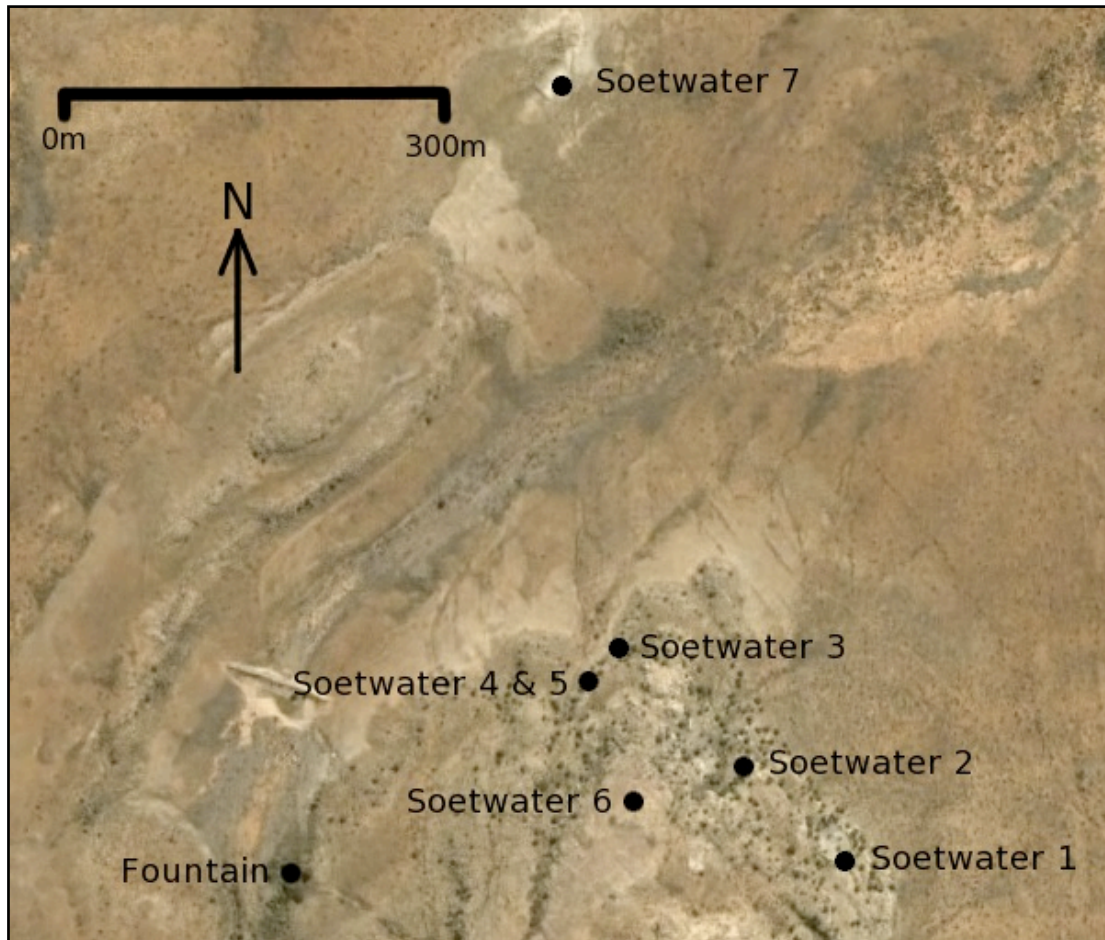


Figure 6.1: Image of Soetwater showing individual sites.

Site Organization

Soetwater 1

Soetwater 1 is situated on the northeast facing slopes of the plateau, sheltered from the prevailing northerly and westerly winds. The main structure at Soetwater 1 is a large kraal (Kraal 1) (Figure 6.2). Kraal 1's circumference is nearly 100m. Its maximum length is 34.3m and maximum width is 26.3m. The sandstone walling is substantial and well-preserved and double-sided. The kraal walling is immensely thick in parts, measuring nearly 2m across in certain sections. Otherwise the wall is remarkably uniform in width. Extremely large rocks have been laid together to form an inner and outer ring, corresponding to the inside and outside extent of the kraal. The space between these rings is then filled with rubble and smaller rocks. At points it

appears that flatter, slab like rocks have been placed across the rubble infill and the process started again. The southwestern length of the wall sits atop a rock face.

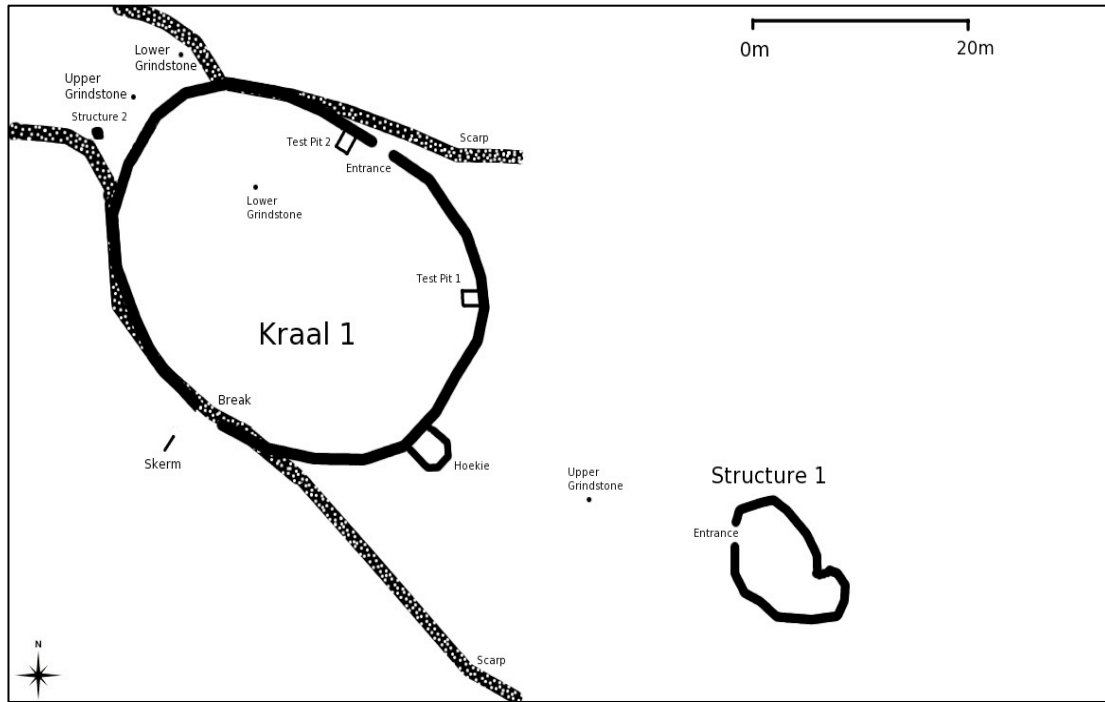


Figure 6.2: Plan of the northern half of Soetwater 1.

The entrance to Kraal 1 is facing downslope and to the northeast. The entrance measures approximately 1.4m across. The walling has large stone blocks at either side of the entrance acting as formal endstones. Northwest the wall is collapsed as it rises up the slope to a section where rocks have been robbed off the wall to construct an adjacent round structure. This occurred when the kraal was no longer in use.

From this robbed section the slope rises more sharply and the wall follows this slope, almost becoming a retaining wall built into and along the scarp edge (Figure 6.3). As it reaches the top of the edge, the wall flattens. The section of wall that runs atop the scarp is not as high as the walling around the rest of the kraal.

There is a break at the southwest edge of the kraal, almost directly opposite the entrance downslope. The break here is crude and it is unclear if it is deliberate or a collapse. To the southwest is a possible cooking *skerm* (Figure 6.2). This *skerm* is

about 1.5m from the kraal wall, and consists of single large rocks extending northeast and then curving to the southeast. The construction is coarse but the rocks are relatively large and would shelter the cooking/fire from the prevailing westerly/northerly wind.

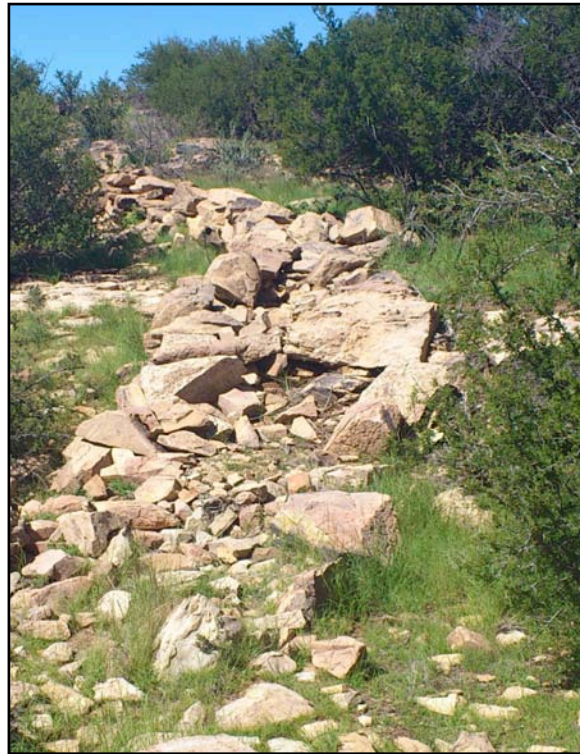


Figure 6.3: Photograph of Kraal 1 walling running up the slope at Soetwater 1.

Southeast the wall continues atop the scarp edge and then northwest downslope. The wall is thick and well preserved in this section as it meets a small, circular enclosure on the southeast side of the kraal (Figure 6.2). This enclosure is well constructed and well preserved. The enclosure's northwestern wall is shared with the kraal. The enclosure's walls are double-sided but thinner than the Kraal 1 walls. The base or foundation stones of the wall are upright slabs. The entrance is adjacent to the kraal wall and faces northeast and downslope. The shared wall is collapsed but the entrance is clearly defined.

It is difficult to discern whether the enclosure's wall abuts Kraal 1 or joins it, because of wall collapse. The kraal walls near the enclosure are well intact and do not appear

to have been robbed to construct the enclosure. For this reason it can be posited that the enclosure is contemporary with the use of Kraal 1.

The surface of Kraal 1 is gently sloped and bare, and there are a number of loose sandstone rocks lying on exposed sandstone slabs in areas. Some lighter dung patches were visible along the northwestern walls and there was a small scatter of European material in the western corner.

Northwest of Kraal 1 is a small, circular stone structure (Structure 2) that backs onto the rock face (Figure 6.2). This structure is on a grassy flat area adjacent and northwest of the kraal, and is the cylinder part of a cone-on-cylinder hut structure. The structure is not large (approximate interior dimensions of 2m by 2.29m) and the walls are not as thick as the kraal walls, nor are they double-sided. The walling is sandstone and is well preserved with some collapse towards the northern side. The wall foundations are flatter, slab-like rocks.

The entrance faces southeast and there are collapsed endstones blocking the walls on either side. It measures around 1m across and opens towards the kraal wall and the grassy flat area. North of the entrance and abutting the walls is a collapsed cooking *skerm*. The *skerm* extends eastward before curving south, sheltering the cooking area from the prevailing winds. The flat, grassy area in front of the entrance could be a domestic area. Around 3.6m northeast of this feature is a dolerite upper grindstone, with a dolerite lower grindstone sitting 5m further on (Figure 6.2). No other material culture lay in the vicinity.

The rear, western side of Structure 2 utilizes the rock face as part of the walling. A large section of the Kraal 1 wall was robbed to build this structure, indicating that this feature is from a later phase of Soetwater 1 habitation.

Around 30m southeast of Kraal 1 is Structure 1 (Figure 6.2). The land between is relatively flat sandstone, with exposed rock and stone scattering the surface. The surface contained European ceramic, glass and metal, and a dolerite upper grindstone.

Structure 1 is sub-circular in shape (Figure 6.2). The walls are double-sided but considerably less thick than the Kraal 1 walls. The base or foundation stones are large and there is wall collapse at the eastern and northern sides. The entrance is clearly defined by endstones, and is facing up slope and west toward Kraal 1. No material culture was found in or around the structure.

Approximately 17m south of Structure 1 is Wall 1 (Figure 6.4). Wall 1 is a crude, semi-circular, low wall. The wall backs a low scarp edge and faces northeast. The walling is large sandstone rocks placed alongside and atop one another. The distance between the ends of the wall is 12.87m and the interior surface is flat, rocky and contained no material culture.

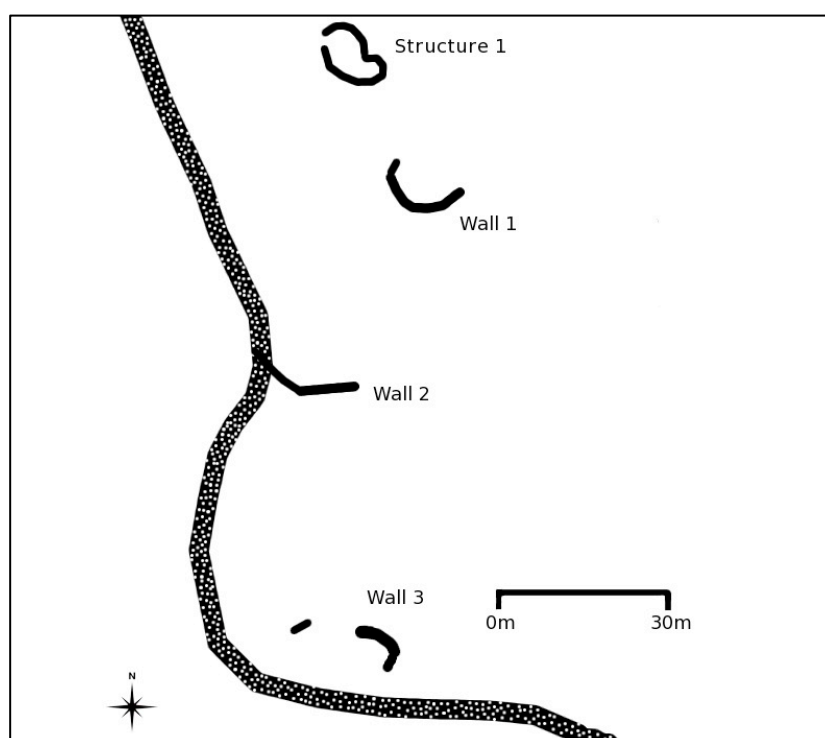


Figure 6.4: Plan of the southern half of Soetwater 1.

Around 38m southeast of Wall 1 is a second sandstone wall feature (Wall 2) (Figure 6.4). The surface gently slopes up and is grassier southeast of Wall 1. Wall 2 backs on to the steeper slopes of the plateau and faces north. It is thick and double-sided, except for a thinner section before the wall meets the rock face. The wall thickens as

it runs up the slope to the scarp and there is some collapse at its western end. This collapse includes larger rocks that would have acted as endstones at the western end of the wall. Wall 2 could be a boundary marker indicating the back end of a residential area between Wall 2 and Kraal 1

Around 45m south from Wall 2 is a very subtle, low, curved sandstone wall (Wall 3) (Figure 6.4). Wall 3 is thick and made of large rocks placed alongside one another. The wall is curved to the northeast and forms a flat terrace area behind it to the southwest. West is a smaller, flatter straight wall facing northwest (Figure 6.4). Both these walls lie in front of the steeper scarp, and could have acted as terrace or retaining walls.

Two 1x1m pits were excavated inside Kraal 1 (Figure 6.2). The kraal's size and preservation suggested long-term occupancy and the aim was to establish chronological occupation and use of the kraal and Soetwater 1. Another aim was to gain material culture, as little material had been found on the surface anywhere in Soetwater 1.

Both pits were placed downslope at the lowest points of the kraal, where it was assumed deposit would be deepest. Test Pit 1 was placed at a right angle against the wall at the eastern corner of the kraal, around halfway between the entrance and the enclosure (Figure 6.2). Test Pit 2 was also placed at a right angle against the kraal wall 1.5m northwest of the entrance. Material and dung would have run downslope and pinched along the northwest wall in both these sections. The surface is red soil with lighter, grey patches against the wall. Both pits shared similar stratigraphy and were both sterile of artifacts (Figure 6.5).

The stratigraphy is as follows. The top 0.15m was a red/orange wash. Rocks and stones collapsed from the wall were present in this horizon. Below this layer was a 0.1-0.15m tabular dung horizon. This horizon gently thickened away from the wall. A 0.05-0.10m thick stony red soil stratum occurred below the tabular dung layer. Below

this horizon and sitting on the bedrock was a thin, 0.03-0.05m, dung layer. This horizon lay on bedrock. The bedrock shared the same surface as the kraal wall base.

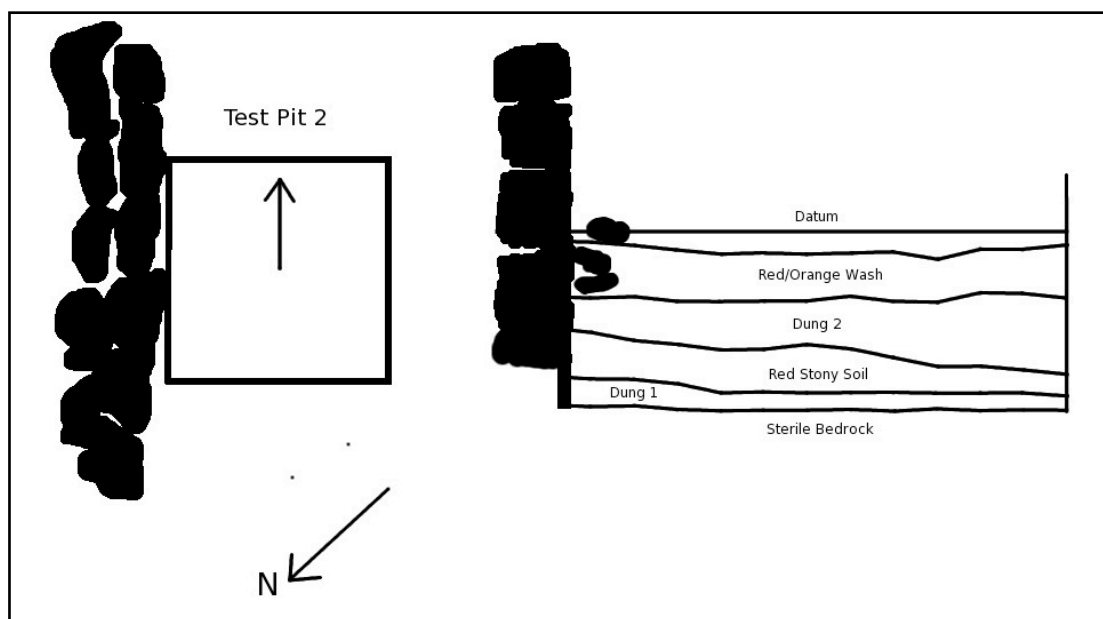


Figure 6.5: Cross section of the southeastern wall of Test Pit 2 in Kraal 1 at Soetwater 1.

The stratigraphy shows two periods of occupancy. The bottom dung layer would represent the first phase of occupation, contemporary with the kraal's construction. This bottom dung layer is thin and represents a short occupancy period. This horizon probably corresponds to the possible residential area south east of Kraal 1. The stony red soil horizon is a wash, and the kraal fell out of use during this stage. The thicker tabular dung layer would represent the second, most recent, occupation. This layer may correspond with the more permanent stone features southeast of the kraal, including the enclosure and Structure 1.

Three surface collections took place at Soetwater 1. No midden was identified at Soetwater 1 and the absence of material culture was striking. The first surface collection took place in Kraal 1 (Pick Up 1). The most common artifact recovered here was glass. Six glass sherds were recovered in total (Table 6.1). The glass fragments represent one dark green/black alcohol bottle and one slightly opaque drinking vessel. Two metal items were also recovered (Table 6.1). One piece was a thin, corroded undiagnostic strip and the other a corroded metal knife handle.

	Pick Up 1		Pick Up 2		Pick Up 3		Total	
	N	MNV	N	MNV	N	MNV	N	MNV
Ceramic	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1
Glass	7	2	4	1	7	4	18	7
Metal	2	2	2	1	0	0	4	3
Earthenware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	9	4	8	3	7	4	24	11

Table 6.1: All finds from Pick Ups 1, 2 and 3 at Soetwater 1.

The second surface collection was southeast of Kraal 1 in the area between Kraal 1 and Structure 2 (Pick Up 2). Glass was the most common item recovered (Table 6.1). Four green glass sherds were recovered, representing one alcohol bottle. The vertical and base seam is visible on the base, suggesting a chronological marker between 1850 and 1920 (Jones & Sullivan 1985:28). Two blue transfer-printed ceramic sherds were recovered, and two cast iron pieces of a three-legged pot. An upper grindstone was also present on the surface of this area (Figure 6.2).

The third surface collection took place west of Kraal 1 in the *skerm* of Structure 2 (Pick Up 3). Only seven glass sherds were recovered here (Table 6.1). Four of the pieces are of transparent glass from a bottle. One piece is a flat, thin, transparent sherd and there is one piece of undiagnostic dark green or black glass and one piece of undiagnostic frosted glass. The variety of glass colour is greater in this pick up and the glass was probably a broadcast scatter from the inhabitants of Structure 2.

The absence of artifacts at Soetwater 1 is notable. All surface collections yielded a small number of artifacts. All artifacts recovered indicate a late 19th, early 20th century signature and the dearth of artifacts suggests infrequent use of the site and ephemeral settlement during Soetwater 1's later occupational phases. There is no material culture representing the earliest phases of Soetwater 1's construction and occupation.

Soetwater 2

This site is 65m northwest of Soetwater 1 (Figure 6.1). The organization of Soetwater 2 is complex and suggests different chronological and construction phases. The slope here is moderate and lies on the edge of a soak cutting into the eastern slope of the plateau. The vegetation is thicker, with more shrubs and bushes and thicker grass.

The largest feature at Soetwater 2 is a complex of stone structures and walls. The first phase is a semi-circular sandstone kraal feature (Figure 6.6). The kraal has been substantially robbed to build later features, and the walling in its northern side is mainly low foundation stones. The southern half backs on to the scarp and substantial double-sided walling sits atop the rock face here. Its maximum circumference is 20.59m.

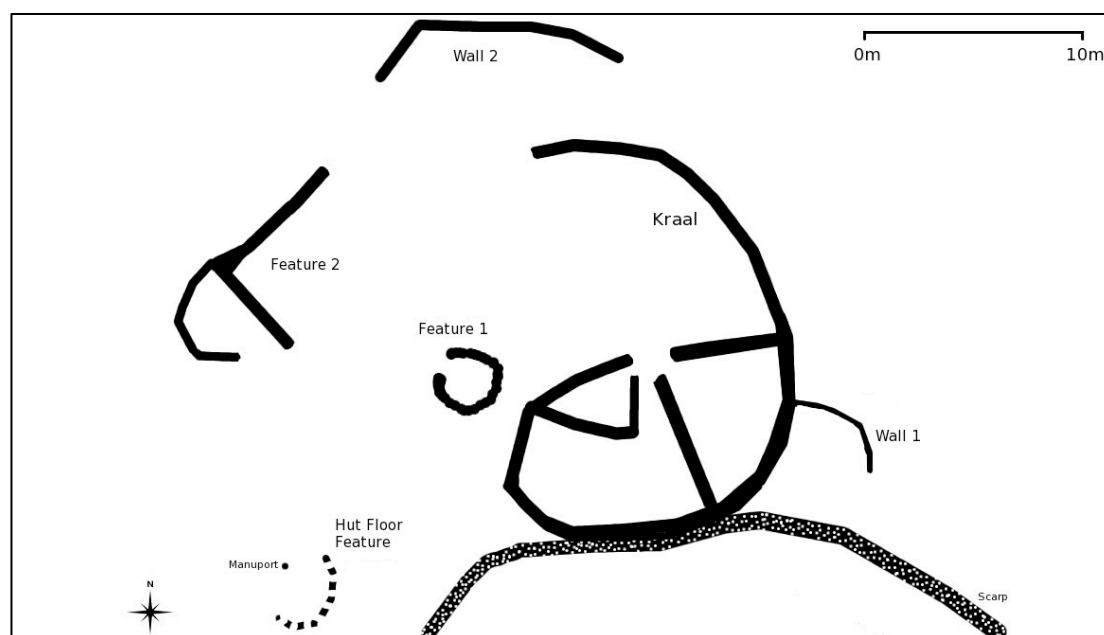


Figure 6.6: Plan of the main complex at Soetwater 2.

Two straight double-sided walls abut the kraal walls in the kraal's interior (Figure 6.6). One runs from the centre for 6.5m up the rock face to abut the southern kraal wall. The other wall also extends from the centre. This wall runs for 4m abutting the western wall of the kraal. Both walls are low, are well preserved and form a small

enclosure within the kraal (Figure 6.6). Since both walls about the kraal wall and are similar in construction they probably represent a second phase of occupancy at the site.

The western kraal walling curves towards the kraal's centre as it runs down the slope (Figure 6.6). Here the wall has been substantially robbed before it forms the northern wall of a wedge-shaped stone feature in the kraal interior (Figure 6.6). The feature's walls are thin but well preserved, and it was probably built of stones robbed from the kraal walls. There is some collapse in the northern corner of the feature and it is here that the entrance is situated, facing downslope and north. The structure is not large, measuring 2m from west to east. There is no material culture on the rocky surface around or within the kraal. The sharp angles in the walling and the use of robbed stones suggest this structure represents a later phase of occupation and construction.

West of the kraal is an insubstantial, crude wall curving south towards the scarp (Wall 1) (Figure 6.6). This wall is single large sandstone rocks laid side to side and abuts the kraal walls. This wall could be a cooking *skerm* providing shelter from the northerly winds.

Directly 1.3m east of the kraal is a round stone feature (Feature 1) (Figure 6.6). The feature has a diameter of 1.5m and its walls are single dolerite rocks piled atop and alongside one another. The entrance faces northwest and downslope. The feature is built on a flat sandstone slab and also may have been a cooking *skerm*.

Southwest and downslope of the kraal is a semi-circular hut floor feature (Figure 6.6). The feature is almost in the soak and is single sandstone foundation stones. Its maximum diameter is 3.37m and there is a manuport on the surface adjacent and west of it. Except for this, the surface is absent of material culture. This feature could be contemporary with the kraal's initial construction and occupancy.

Nearly 4m north and downslope of the kraal is a low lying, curved wall (Wall 2) (Figure 6.6). The wall is double-sided, only foundation stones and faces down slope

and north. It is straight for nearly 10m before curving sharply to the southwest (Figure 6.6). It then extends southwest for 3.2m. No material culture was visible.

Five metres southwest of Wall 2 is Feature 2 (Figure 6.6). The main walling in this feature is two thick, double-sided walls that form a right angle. The longer wall is 7.3m and faces northwest. The shorter wall is 6m long, faces southwest and joins at a right angle. There is some collapse at the right angle, but the walls do not abut each other and were constructed together. In front of the shorter wall is a smaller, thinner curved wall (Figure 6.6). This wall is only foundation stones in the surface and abuts the larger walls at their right angle. It faces west and there is an entrance facing south and upslope. No material culture was visible.

It is unclear what the functions of Wall 2 and Feature 2 are. They do not have holding or terrace functions as the surface in the vicinity is primarily flat. They are, however, later constructions and represent a later occupational phase at the Soetwater 2 complex.

West of this complex, and across the soak, the land rises gently to a small, even plateau of exposed sandstone. On the bare surface of the plateau, 23m west of the kraal, is a long, subtle curved wall (Wall 3) (Figure 6.7). Wall 3 is semi-circular and extends around a raised sandstone outcrop. It faces northeast and the walling is large sandstone rocks and is crude, vague and broken in sections. There is no clear entrance. It is possible that this feature was a temporary kraal backing onto the outcrop.

Southwest of Wall 3 is a round stone structure (Feature 3) (Figure 6.7). This structure lies in a passage, roughly east to west, between two higher areas. The structure is built under a rock overhang and its walling is flat sandstone slabs piled atop one another. The walls are crude and collapsed. The entrance faces northeast and downslope. Downslope and east of Feature 3 is a subtle deflated midden (Figure 6.7). European material culture was visible on the surface here and on exposed surface rocks further east and downslope. This midden could be associated with Wall 3 and Feature 3.

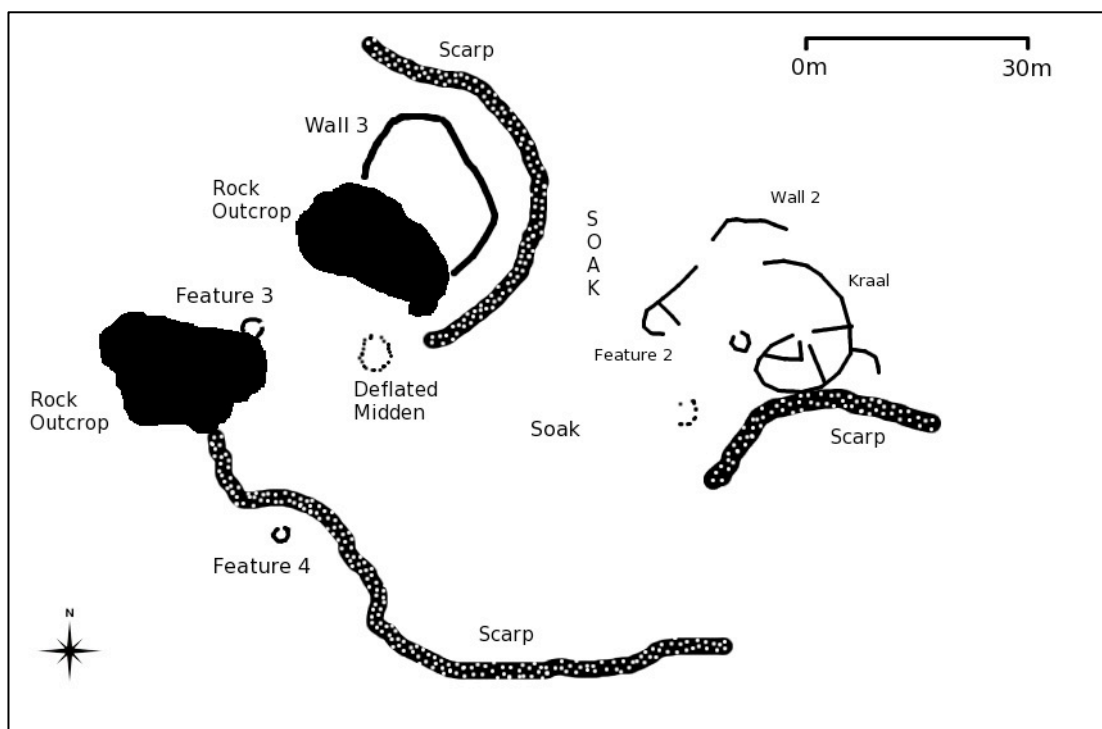


Figure 6.7: Plan of Soetwater 2.

It is possible that Feature 3 is a shepherd's croft associated with the ephemeral midden and Wall 3. These features would then form part of a different phase of occupation at SW2, distinct from the earliest kraal and features in and around the kraal to the west.

South of Feature 3 is a well preserved, circular stone structure (Feature 4) (Figure 6.7). Feature 4 is above and southwest of the soak and the kraal. This structure is the stone cylinder of a cone-on-cylinder hut. The walls are sandstone and double-sided, and the southeast wall has a window with lintels. The entrance faces northeast. No material culture was visible on the surface.

It is clear that a number of construction and occupation phases took place at Soetwater 2. The kraal represents the earliest phase and is probably associated with the semi-circular hut floor. The double-sided walls abutting the kraal interior were probably constructed next. The wedge-like structure inside the kraal is the next phase, as it is built from stones robbed from the kraal wall. Feature 1 and Wall 1 appear

contemporary with this structure, as is Wall 2 and Feature 2. However, the purpose of Wall 2 and Feature 2 is unclear.

Wall 3, Feature 3 and the deflated midden could be contemporary and represent a single household. Their occupancy and construction probably occurred in the same phase as the wedge-shaped feature in the kraal. Feature 4 represents the latest phase at Soetwater 2. As it is, the sequence outlined here is relative and based on abutments and feature construction. There is an absence of material, but three surface collections took place where material was visible.

The first took place northeast and downslope of Wall 2 (Pick Up 1). The surface here is flat, sandy and scattered with grass and shrubs above and east of the soak. Twelve sherds of ceramic were recovered (Table 6.2). Seven pieces belonged to a single slipware cup/bowl, one piece was flow blue painted ware and one piece was salt-glazed stoneware. Three sherds were undiagnostic whiteware. One piece of dark green or black glass was also recovered (Table 6.2). Three OES sherds and one weathered shotgun cartridge were also recovered (Table 6.2). This area was the only section at the lower complex that contained any artifacts.

	Pick Up 1		Pick Up 2		Pick Up 3		Total	
	N	MNV	N	MNV	N	MNV	N	MNV
Ceramic	12	3	10	6	1	1	23	10
Glass	1	1	16	5	6	5	23	11
Metal	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Earthenware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ostrich Egg Shell	3	0	2	0	1	0	6	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	5	28	11	8	6	53	22

Table 6.2: All finds from Pick Ups 1, 2 and 3 at Soetwater 2.

The two other surface collections took place at the deflated midden (Pick Up 2) and on exposed rock south of Wall 3 (Pick Up 3), southeast and downslope from the midden. Sixteen sherds of glass, ten sherds of European ceramic and three OES

sherds were picked up from the area of the midden (Table 6.2). Eight glass sherds were blue glass and part of a single castor oil bottle. Three pieces of green glass, three transparent glass pieces, one dark green or black glass piece and one frosted glass piece were also recovered. Eight of the ten ceramic sherds were of European refined industrial ware, with one sherd of Chinese export ginger jar and one stoneware piece. Four pieces of blue printed ware were recovered, representing two vessels, and there was one piece of blue slipware and one piece of green lined ware recovered. Two sherds of undecorated white ware were also recovered.

Six glass sherds, one OES fragment and one undecorated porcelain piece were recovered from Pick Up 3 (Table 6.2). Four glass sherds were diagnostic. These included a piece of a transparent bottle body, a green glass bottle rim, and a dark green or black piece of an alcohol bottle base. The fourth diagnostic piece was the incomplete body and base of a clear, embossed medicine bottle. The embossed print reads “ –NON & Co”, with “ –ABETH” below. B.G. Lennon & Co. Limited were a wholesale chemist business established in Port Elizabeth in 1850 (Edwards 1897: 143). They soon established premises in major centres such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Kimberley and East London and by the end of the 19th century they had branches in Beaufort West, Graaf-Reinet, Paarl and Aliwal North (Edwards 1897: 143). This vessel therefore provides a 19th to the early 20th century date for this collection.

Soetwater 3

Soetwater 3 is in a natural amphitheatre that cuts into the northwest facing slopes of the plateau (Figure 6.1). The surface in the amphitheatre is flat and strewn with small rocks and boulders. There is a drainage gully running down slope in the southwest corner.

Backed against the sheer scarp face at the rear of the bay is a crude circular kraal (Figure 6.8). The kraal's walls are single, large sandstone rocks piled upright and side-by-side. The wall thickens as it approaches the scarp. Around 3m of the rear of the

kraal is rock face along the scarp. The entrance is marked by larger rocks at either side and faces northwest. The kraal's interior is exposed rock and there is no dung or material culture.

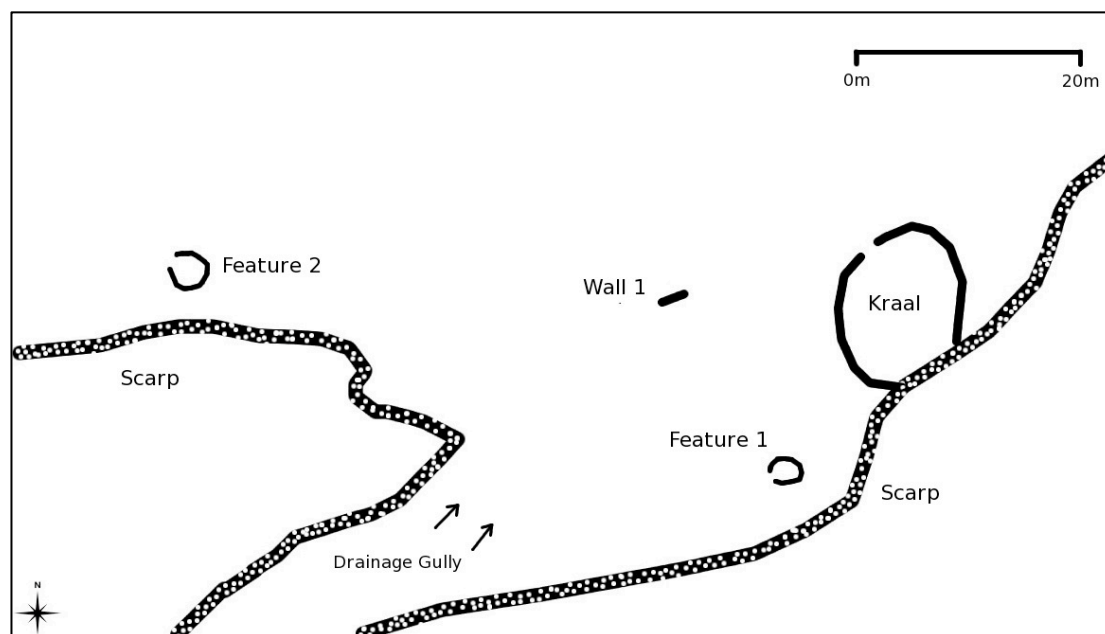


Figure 6.8: Plan of Soetwater 3.

West of the kraal is Wall 1 (Figure 6.8). The land slopes gently up west of the kraal and it is here that Wall 1 is found. The wall is short (2.35m), straight, double-sided and low. It is facing northwest and is possibly a simple cooking *skerm* providing protection from the northerly and westerly winds.

Southeast of the kraal is a crude round sandstone feature (Feature 1) (Figure 6.8). Feature 1 is on flat, raised ground above the drainage gully and in front of the scarp. It is collapsed and the size of the walling is hard to ascertain. Its diameter is 2.5m. There is no sign of an entrance but the collapse is less on the southwestern side.

West of the kraal, sitting outside the Soetwater 3 amphitheatre, is Feature 2 (Figure 6.8). Feature 2 is a crude, round sandstone structure on a grassy, flat platform below the scarp. Its diameter is 3m and its walling is double-sided and well-preserved. The entrance is marked by endstones, faces northwest and is 1.5m wide.

No material culture was visible at Soetwater 3.

Soetwater 4

West of Soetwater 3 is Soetwater 4 (Figure 6.1). Soetwater 4 sits within a natural amphitheatre that cuts into the northwest slopes of the plateau. North of Soetwater 4 is a dirt track and parallel fence running northeast to southwest (Figure 6.9). The largest feature at Soetwater 4 is a low, semicircular sandstone wall that follows the scarp edge around the bay (Wall 1) (Figure 6.9). Wall 1 is low and poorly preserved. Sections are double-sided but the majority of the wall is thin.

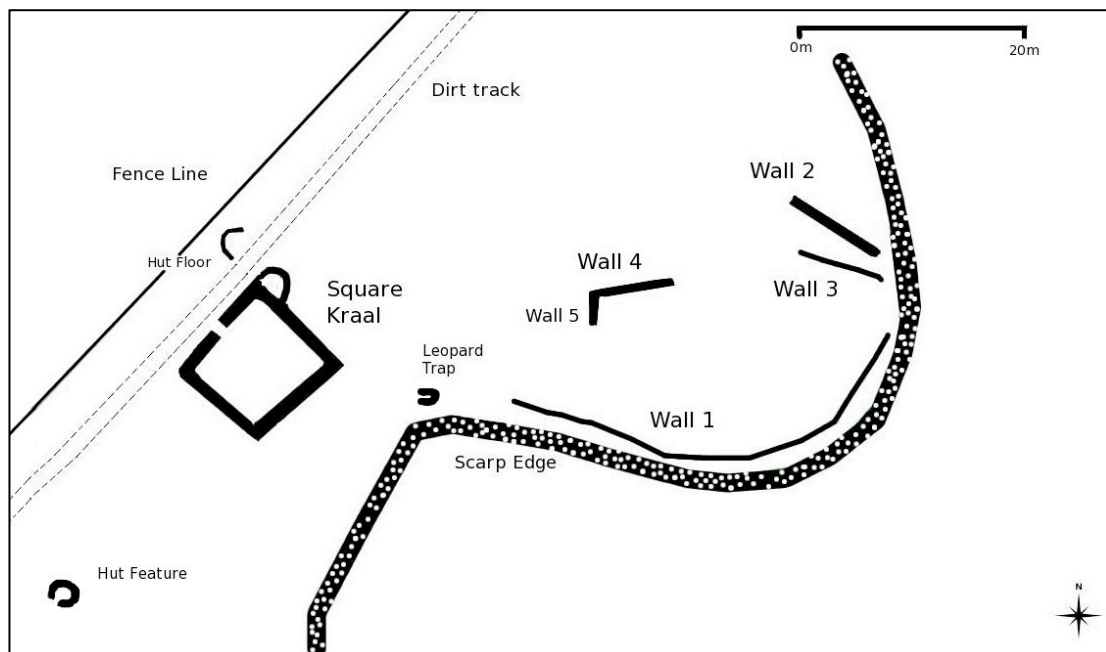


Figure 6.9: Plan of Soetwater 4 and Soetwater 5.

On the eastern side of Soetwater 4 is a straight, thick, low wall extending 8m up the gentle scarp (Wall 2) (Figure 6.9). This wall is double-sided and faces northwest. South of Wall 1 is a second, thinner wall (Wall 3) (Figure 6.9) Wall 3 is low, straight and less substantial than Wall 2. It is built of side-by-side single sandstone rocks and extends for 3.5m up the slope. It also faces northwest but is not parallel to Wall 2.

West of Wall 2 and 3, near the centre of the bay, is another wall (Wall 4) (Figure 6.9).

Wall 4 is low, double-sided, straight and extends for 2.5m, facing north. Abutting the western end of Wall 4 at a right angle is a smaller, less substantial wall (Wall 5) (Figure 6.9). This wall faces east and is built of single sandstone blocks laid side-to-side. Wall 5 abuts Wall 4 and was a later addition, forming an L-shape wall.

No material culture was visible at Soetwater 4.

Soetwater 5

Soetwater 5 is on flat land 10m west of the Soetwater 4 bay, on flat land northwest of the plateau slopes (Figure 6.1). It is a square kraal, a hut floor and a collapsed leopard trap (Figure 6.9). The largest feature is a European square kraal, adjacent to the dirt track. The kraal's sandstone walling is thick, well preserved and double-sided. The kraal's maximum length is 8.3m and maximum width is 6.6m. There are collapsed sections at the northern and eastern corners, and the entrance is marked by endstones, faces northwest and is 1.3m wide.

Attached to the exterior northern corner of the kraal is a semi-circular, small sandstone enclosure (Figure 6.9). The enclosure is collapsed and small (maximum diameter of 1.3m), and it is unclear if its thin walling attaches to the kraal wall or abuts it. Any entrance is not visible. It is too small to be weaning pen and may be a sheltering cooking *skerm*.

Around 20m southwest of the square kraal is a crude, small, circular hut feature (Figure 6.9) Its sandstone walls are thick and well preserved. The entrance is facing southeast and away from the square kraal. There is a short line of smaller sandstone rocks attached to the wall north of the entrance. This could have possibly been a *skerm* as it provides shelter from prevailing winds.

Northwest of the square kraal is a subtle, semi-circular hut floor (Figure 6.9). This feature is between the dirt track and the fence line. It consists of five sandstone rocks set in a semi-circle in the ground, measuring 2.7m in diameter. The feature may have

been disturbed by the adjacent dirt track. Southeast of the square kraal is a collapsed sandstone leopard trap that sits south of the scarp edge (Figure 6.9).

A surface collection took place at Soetwater 5 northeast of the square kraal, and south of the dirt track. The surface is flat and muddy. Ten sherds of European refined industrial ware were recovered (Table 6.3). Seven are painted ware sherds and three are undecorated white ware, and they form part of a minimum of three vessels. Seven glass pieces representing three vessels were also recovered (Table 6.3). There are five dark green or black glass pieces of an alcohol bottle. One sherd is blue glass from a castor oil bottle, and one frosted sherd is from tableware. This material is probably a broadcast scatter associated with the square kraal.

	N	MNV
Ceramic	10	3
Glass	7	3
Metal	0	0
Earthenware	0	0
Ostrich Egg Shell	0	0
Other	0	0
Total	17	6

Table 6.3: All finds from the surface collection at Soetwater 5.

Soetwater 6

Soetwater 6 is on the flat sandstone plateau above the described Soetwater sites (Figure 6.1). The plateau is flat, rocky and sparsely vegetated. There are shallow erosion depressions and deeper channels crossing the plateau surface, and scatters of sandstone stones and chips throughout.

Feature 1 at Soetwater 6 is a 32m long line of 72 dolerite rocks on the sandstone surface (Figure 6.10) The dolerite rocks are all similar in size and shape. The line is not a natural process, as the surface is flat and the feature does not lie in a depression

or channel. The nature of the feature and its length also suggests an intended construction.

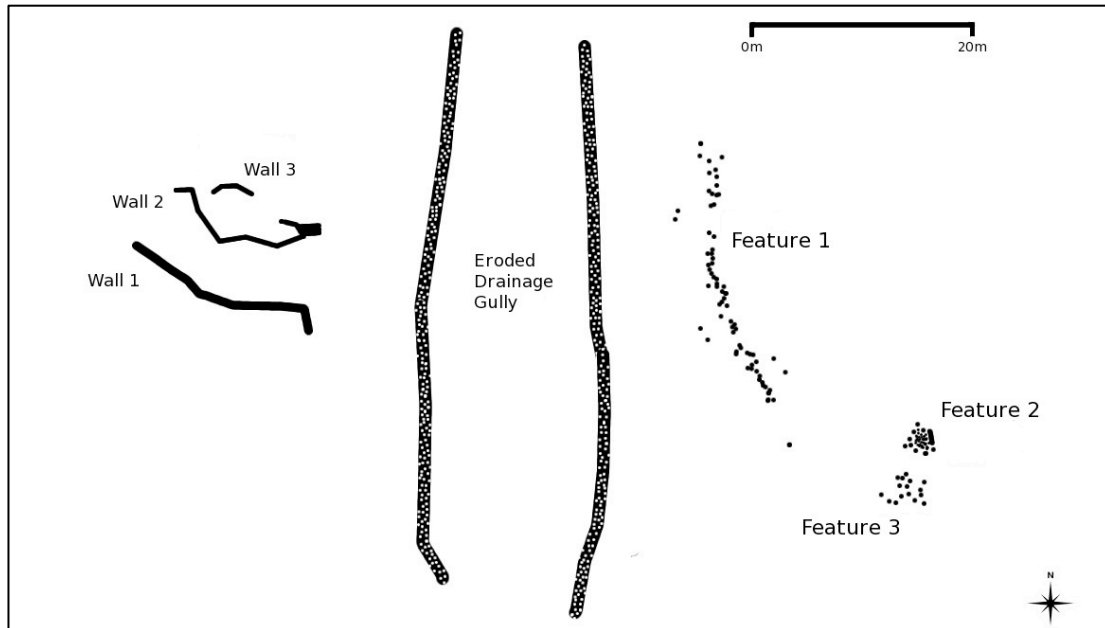


Figure 6.10: Plan of the northern section of Soetwater 6.

Ten metres southeast of Feature 1 is a dolerite and sandstone feature (Feature 2) (Figure 6.10). Feature 2 is a thin circle of single dolerite boulders enclosing a small mound of sandstone rocks. The feature has a maximum diameter of 3m. On the eastern side of the feature is a large, flat sandstone slab lying on the surface, pushed against the dolerite boulders. The dolerite boulders are uniform and size in shape, and the interior sandstone rocks are smaller and similar to other sandstone rocks dotting the plateau's surface. Feature 2 is on a flat rocky, sandstone surface covered by <0.05m of topsoil.

South of Feature 2 is Feature 3 (Figure 6.10). Feature 3 is a dolerite formation on flat, exposed sandstone. Single dolerite boulders are arranged in a specific shape that is not a natural feature. The surface is flat and the dolerite boulders would not have rolled there as part of a natural process. Feature 3 may be associated with Feature 2, but this is unclear.

West of Feature 1 are three crude sandstone walls (Walls 1, 2, and 3) (Figure 6.10). The walls are on a raised sandstone platform, strewn with small sandstone rocks and boulders, and are west of an eroded drainage gully. Wall 1 is the most substantial wall. It extends for 12.5m and is large sandstone rocks arranged side-by-side with large endstones marking the ends. There is a separate large sandstone boulder resting against the wall at the middle on the southern side.

Wall 2 is 3m north of Wall 1 (Figure 6.10). It is less substantial than Wall 1 and is crude and collapsed. It is constructed of single, large sandstone slabs stood upright and side-by-side. The wall thickens at the eastern end and there is a short section extending back west from here (Figure 6.10). Like in Wall 1, there is a larger sandstone boulder on the southern side of the middle of Wall 2.

Wall 3 is the shortest sandstone wall in this series (Figure 6.10). It is very crude in construction and there is significant collapse. Wall 3 is built of single sandstone rocks haphazardly placed next to one another. It is curved slightly to the north, and could have extended west to join the end of Wall 2, but this is unclear.

Around 120m south of Feature 3 are two dolerite features on flat sandstone (Figure 6.11). Feature 4 is a collection of ten dolerite boulders arranged in an irregular shape (Figure 6.11). Feature 5 is south of Feature 4 and is a circle of 97 dolerite boulders (Figure 6.11). Its maximum diameter is 6.3m and the boulders lie thicker on the western side. There are gaps between boulders but no sign of an entrance. The interior surface is flat and contains no dolerite boulders.

No material culture was visible at Soetwater 6.

The only dolerite boulders on the surface of Soetwater 6 are those of the features. There is a dolerite outcrop south of the Soetwater 6 plateau where the boulders would have been collected to construct the features. None of the dolerite features formed naturally and their purpose is unclear. Feature 2 may be a burial mound, but the surface soil is too shallow and the central sandstone mound is not large or high

enough. Feature 2 being a collapsed leopard trap can also be discounted, as the leopard trap at Soetwater 5 is constructed only of sandstone. If it were made of dolerite then there are too few dolerite boulders in the feature to construct a trap. Feature 5 may be the base of a corbelled or cone-on-cylinder hut, but this is purely conjecture.

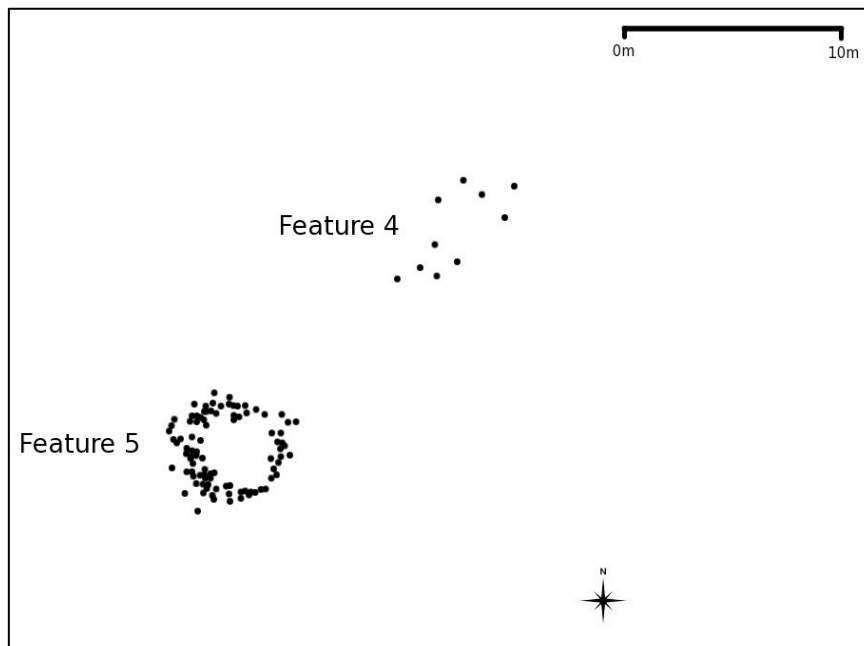


Figure 6.11: Plan of Feature 4 and Feature 5 in the southern section of Soetwater 6,

The purpose of the sandstone walls is also unclear. They are not in a sheltered part of the plateau and are too crude and insubstantial to act as any type of shelter or to form any type of enclosure. It is possible that these are boundary walls of a kind, but their position is unusual.

Soetwater 7

North of the Soetwater plateau is a large drainage area or soak that drains from the perennial fountain further west (Figure 6.1). Soetwater 7 is a collection of stone features, walls and kraals around 200m north of the soak, on a flat plain and on the sandstone edge of a raised plateau (Figure 6.12).

The largest feature at Soetwater 7 is a large, semi-circular sandstone kraal (Kraal 1). (Figure 6.12). It is backed up against the scarp and its western wall is built atop the scarp edge. The kraal's walling is thick and well preserved. The southern and western walls are double-sided, while the northern wall is very large sandstone boulders placed side-by-side. The wall ends are marked by large endstones and the kraal's maximum diameter is 30m. The interior surface is exposed rock and no dung or material culture was visible. The surface gently slopes to the west and any dung or material would have been rinsed east to the flat plain.

There is a second kraal (Kraal 2) at Soetwater 7, north of Kraal 1 (Figure 6.12). This kraal is smaller and less substantial than Kraal 1, and is oval in shape. It is on flatter, rocky land and backs against the slope. Its walls are crude, single sandstone blocks stood upright and the entrance faces west to the flat plains and measures 2m. No dung or material culture was present on the surface.

South of Kraal 1 is a straight, double-sided sandstone wall (Wall 1) (Figure 6.12). Wall 1 extends for 7.4m up the scarp slope, is well preserved and faces northeast. There is a second, subtler and smaller wall 30m east of Wall 1 (Wall 2) (Figure 6.12). This wall is 3m long, is single sandstone boulders set in the surface and faces northwest.

There are six circular features at Soetwater 7 (Figure 6.12). Structure 1 is over 100m south of Kraal 1 and is a small, crude *skerm* feature backing on to the scarp edge (Figure 6.12). Its maximum diameter is 2m and its walls are large, upright single slabs of sandstone placed side-by-side. There is no entrance visible. A short line of small sandstone rocks extends from the northern side of the feature. No material culture was present on the surface.

Structure 2 is a subtle, circular hut outline on flat, grassy land over 60m northeast of Structure 1 (Figure 6.12). Structure 2 measures 2.5m in diameter and its walls are subtle and depleted with no collapse. The walling is composed of single, large sandstone foundation stones laid side-by-side on the surface. The entrance faces

southwest. A single dolerite lower grindstone was found on the grassy, depressed surface inside Structure 2, but no other material culture was visible. The lower grindstone situated within Structure 2 suggests that this feature was possibly used as a granary or kitchen.

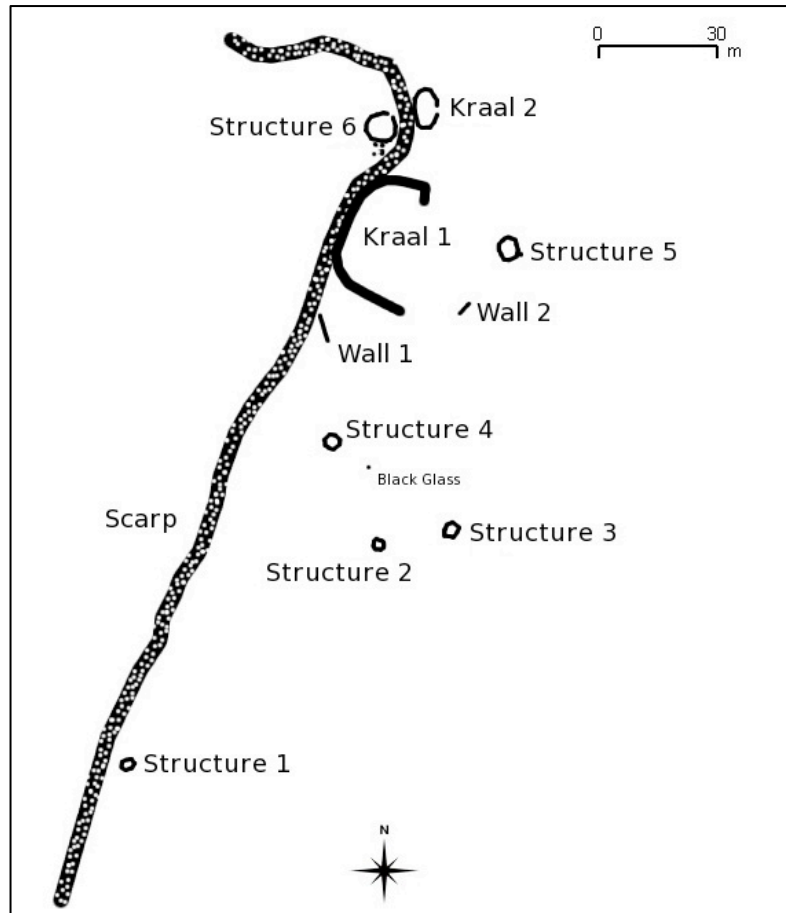


Figure 6.12: Plan of Soetwater 7.

Northeast of Structure 2 is Structure 3 (Figure 6.12). Structure 3 is a larger and more substantial circular hut outline on the grassy plains. It measures 3.7m in diameter and its sandstone walls are well preserved. The entrance faces west towards Structure 2. No material culture was visible in or around Structure 3.

Structure 4 is over 30m northwest of Structure 3 (Figure 6.12). It is another circular hut feature on the flat, grassy plain south of Kraal 1. The walling is low and well-preserved sandstone blocks and the structure measures 3.5m in diameter. Its entrance faces northeast. No material culture was visible around Structure 4, but a single piece

of dark green or black glass was recovered on the surface between Structure 4 and Structure 3 (Figure 6.12).

Northwest of Structure 3 is a third circular hut feature (Structure 4) (Figure 6.12). The walling is low and subtle, but well preserved. It is similar in diameter to Structure 3, measuring 3.5m across. The entrance is clearly visible and faces northeast.

Structure 5 is nearly 70m northeast of Structure 4, on flat, grassy land east of Kraal 1 (Figure 6.12). It is a circular hut feature and is the largest hut feature at Soetwater 7, and has a maximum diameter of 5.2m. Its walling is composed of small sandstone foundation stones set in the surface. The entrance is unclear, and there is a small pile of sandstone rocks at the southern end of the feature. This collapsed pile could be a *skerm*. Adjacent to the *skerm*, within the structure, a single piece of thin-walled coarse earthenware was recovered from the surface (Figure 6.13).



Figure 6.13: Thin-walled coarse earthenware fragment from Structure 5 at Soetwater 7.

North of Kraal 1 is Structure 6 (Figure 6.12). This structure is on the plateau above Kraal 1 and Kraal 2. Structure 6 is a well preserved, circular structure. It is large (maximum diameter of 7.2m) and its sandstone walls are high and double-sided. A 2m section of the western walling has been robbed leaving only foundation stones on the surface. The entrance is marked by endstones, measures 1m across and faces northeast

and downslope (Figure 6.12). European material culture was visible on the flat, grassy interior surface.

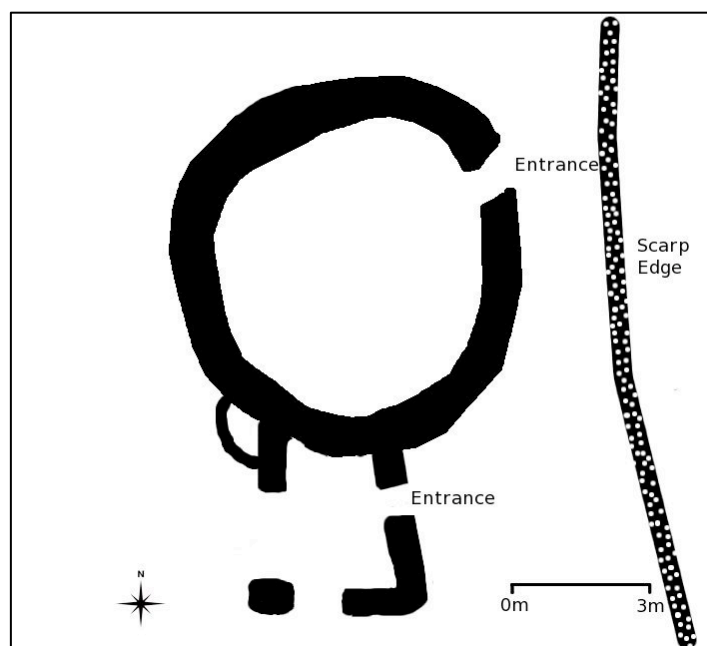


Figure 6.14: Plan of Structure 6 at Soetwater 7.

At the southern end of Structure 6 is series of sandstone walls (Figure 6.14). These walls form a square shape and are a later addition to the structure as they abut Structure 6's wall. This feature could have been built using stones from the robbed section of the walling of Structure 6, and their purpose is unclear. There is an entrance facing east marked by endstones (Figure 6.14). The breaks facing south and west may be entrances but are not marked by endstones and the southwestern corner is collapsed. There was no material culture within and around these series of walls.

Two surface collections took place at Soetwater 7. Pick Up 1 occurred in the interior of Structure 6. Fifteen glass pieces and four European refined industrial ware sherds were recovered here (Table 6.4). Seven are frosted green pieces and four pieces are patinated green glass. Three pieces are green glass fragments from an alcohol bottle, and there is one sherd of dark green or black glass. All four ceramic sherds are blue printed ware. Three sherds are decorated with the Willow pattern and are of the same vessel.

	Pick Up 1		Pick Up 2		Total	
	N	MNV	N	MNV	N	MNV
Ceramic	4	2	2	1	6	3
Glass	15	4	0	0	15	4
Metal	0	0	1	1	1	1
Earthenware	0	0	22	4	22	4
Ostrich Egg Shell	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	1	0	1	0
Total	19	6	26	6	45	12

Table 6.4: All finds from Pick Ups 1 and 2 at Soetwater 7.

A second surface collection took place at a deflated midden west of Kraal 2 (Pick Up 2). Two pieces of ceramic, one fragment of *Ovis* tooth and one flat, corroded metal strip were recovered (Table 6.4). Twenty-two pieces of coarse earthenware were also recovered (Figure 6.15). All the pieces are undecorated and grit-tempered. Four of the pieces are rims and there are four vessels represented.



Figure 6.15: Coarse earthenware fragments from Pick Up 2 at Soetwater 7.

Discussion

This discussion aims to establish a sequence for the range of structures in Soetwater. First, the chronology of each individual site will be explored, drawing primarily from feature structure and site layout. Any links between sites will be made and then placed in a broader chronological sequence. The recovered material sample will then be discussed and any assistance it offers in terms of chronology and sequence drawn out.

Soetwater 1's main feature is Kraal 1 and this represents the earliest phase of Soetwater 1 occupancy. A thin dung layer was exposed at the bottom of the excavation inside the kraal and is from this earliest use of the kraal, as it shares the same surface as the kraal wall. The direction of Kraal 1's entrance is similar to that of Kraal 1 and Kraal 2 at Libanon 5. It faces downslope towards flat land and easy access to the fountain further north. The kraal also backs against the slope and is large, like Kraal 1 at Libanon 5. It is then reasonable to state that Soetwater 1 was a homestead in its earliest phase.

Structure 1, the enclosure at the southern end of Kraal 1, and Walls 1, 2 and 3 from Soetwater 1 are from a second phase that correlates to the thicker dung layer in the kraal excavation. Structure 1 is situated in the assumed residential area and the isolated walls could have possibly marked the rear of the domestic zone. This, however, is speculative and their purpose is unclear.

Structure 2 at Soetwater 1 represents a separate occupational phase at the site. The variety of glass colour, like in the red horizon of Midden 1 at Libanon 5, is a result of increasing access to European goods and engaged frontier trade towards the end of the 19th century. Structure 2 is a household and it is built of stones robbed from the walling of Kraal 1. This suggests that Kraal 1 was no longer in use as a cattle or stock enclosure during this phase.

The walling at Soetwater 2 is difficult to interpret as a singular unit and indicates modification through time. The early, circular kraal feature represents the earliest

phase of occupancy. The kraal backs onto the rock face, like Kraal 1 at Soetwater 1 and Kraal 2 at Libanon 5. The hut floor feature is possibly contemporary with the occupancy of the kraal and is situated in the assumed associated domestic zone. The early phase of Soetwater 2, then, is that of a homestead.

The two double-sided straight walls inside the kraal represent a second phase at the complex, as they abut the kraal walls. Wall 1 and Feature 2 further north are also possibly from this second phase, as the walling in both is also double-sided. The wedge-shaped feature is from a third phase as it is built from rocks robbed from the kraal walls. Its walls are thin, as are the walls of Feature 1 and Wall 1, and these two structures are also possibly linked to this phase. In this occupational phase the kraal is recycled into a household.

The features across the soak and west of the main complex help elaborate the sequence of Soetwater 2 described so far. Wall 2 forms a kraal that also backs against the rock face. This kraal, however, is not part of a homestead and is associated with Feature 3 and the deflated midden. These three features are a household and were occupied after the end of the use of the kraal in the main complex. The ceramic and glass found here gives a late 19th century signature and is representative of the recycling phase of the kraal in the main complex. This places them in the second occupational phase. Feature 4 is isolated from the main Soetwater 2 complex and is also an individual household. Its walls are well constructed and it represents the latest occupational phase at Soetwater 2.

At Soetwater 3 the kraal and Feature 1 are probably contemporary and represent a very small homestead. They are from the first occupational phase at Soetwater 3. Feature 2 sits outside the protection offered by the bay and its entrance faces away from the kraal and towards the wind. It may be related to Wall 1 inside the bay, but this is unclear. It is, however, unrelated to the kraal and Feature 1 and is a later phase of occupancy.

Interpretation of Soetwater 4 is difficult. There are possibly three occupational phases. Wall 1 could have possibly marked the rear of a domestic area or it may have been the rear half of a large kraal in the earliest phase. The kraals at Soetwater 1, 2 and 3 are also backed up against natural rock faces or scarps. Sections of this kraal could have been robbed for construction of the straight walls within the amphitheatre, or for the construction of the square kraal at Soetwater 5. Walls 2, 3 and 4, represent the second phase of occupation. Wall 5 abuts Wall 4 at a right angle and is from the latest phase of occupation at Soetwater 4 and may be related to the square kraal at Soetwater 5. This, however, is speculative and Soetwater 4's sequence is unclear.

At Soetwater 5, the hut outline across from the square kraal is the earliest phase. It could be a domestic unit associated with Soetwater 4. The square kraal is European, and it and the leopard trap are from a later phase of occupation.

The formations at Soetwater 6 bear no relation to the other structures on the slopes of the plateau or on the flats surrounding it. There is a possibility that they are linked to a hunter-gatherer population that predates the other structures at Soetwater, but this is tentative.

At Soetwater 7, there are a minimum of two occupational phases. The main complex, including both kraals and all the stone structures is the earliest phase when the site was a homestead. The coarse earthenware collected at Pick Up 2 is also from this phase. Structure 6 is an individual household and from the second phase of occupation at the site.

A thin-walled Khoe earthenware fragment was recovered at Structure 5, and a Nguni coarse earthenware fragment was found at Structure 5. Structure 5 may not be contemporary with Structure 1, 2, 3, and 4, but the presence of a different coarse earthenware type hints at a multicultural mix at Soetwater 7 in its first phase of occupation.

At a broader level, the sequence of occupation at Soetwater can be divided into three key phases. The first, earliest phase is the kraals and associated homestead aspects at Soetwater 1, 2, 3 and 7. The second occupational phase involves the recycling and reuse of the kraal structures and the transformation of the sites from homestead to household. The final phase is European occupation and associated structures and material.

The large kraals at Soetwater 1 and 7, the recycled kraal at Soetwater 2 and the first phase at Soetwater 3 all represent the earliest phases of occupation in the Soetwater region. Soetwater 4 may also be in this phase. These kraals are part of individual homesteads. The kraals are all similar in that they back against or run atop a rock or scarp face, and their entrances, where visible, face downslope towards flat ground. Kraal 7 has a clearly associated domestic area containing the stone structures east and south of the kraal. The domestic areas at Soetwater 1, Soetwater 2, and Soetwater 3 are subtler and do not contain contemporary stone structures.

Over time, the nature of these sites changed from homestead to household. Structure 6 at Soetwater 7 was built after the disuse of the kraals. The kraal at Soetwater 2 was recycled into the wedge-shaped feature, and sections of the Kraal 1 wall at Soetwater 1 were robbed to build the small, circular hut walling of Structure 2. These three features are contemporary and indicate a later phase of occupation.

The last occupational phase is the square kraal at Soetwater 5 and Feature 4 at Soetwater 2, and is represented by the ephemeral European material collected at the pick ups at Soetwater 1, 2, 5 and Pick Up 1 at Soetwater 7.

The absence of material culture at all the sites is striking. No material was recovered that reflects the early homestead phases of Soetwater. The artifacts recovered from all the surface collections, except for Pick Up 2 at Soetwater 7, show modern characteristics. Glass was the most common artifact recovered (Appendix 5). The prevalence of green and clear glass gives the material sample a modern signature. The embossed clear pharmaceutical bottle fragment suggests a late 19th century date, as do

the blue castor oil bottle sherds. The vessel counts are not high for glass or ceramic at every collection, suggesting single disposal events of individual ceramic vessels and glass bottles. With this in mind the European material recovered offers a later date and could possibly be the waste of farm workers. Pick Up 2 from Soetwater 7 is the only surface collection that does not fit this characteristic.

Pick Up 2 at Soetwater 7 took place at an ephemeral, deflated midden and the prevalence of coarse earthenware suggests that the midden is from an early occupational phase. The fragment of coarse earthenware recovered from the Structure 5 of Soetwater 7 is a different type, and was recovered from differently styled hut feature. The two styles of hut foundation and associated material may or may not be contemporary, but do allude to a multicultural mix at Soetwater 7. We have already seen the spectre of other identities on the Pramberg landscape in the long wall at Libanon 1 and the LSA lithics and earthenware recovered at Libanon 5. The following chapter explores this further in examining rock engravings found in the southern escarpment of the Pramberg plateau.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ROCK ART

The rock art in this chapter speaks of a San presence in the Pramberg landscape. There are hints of this in the material culture at Libanon 5 but, as discussed, the chronological association with early 19th century Xhosa occupation of the Pramberg is not secure. This association, however, is historically attested with references in both Anderson (1985) and Kallaway (1980) to Xhosa and San interaction. The engravings described below are discussed against this historical background to first assess evidence for the chronological links to the 19th century Xhosa occupation, and, second, to suggest what they may express, if associated.

Setting

Four kilometres to the southeast of Libanon 5 is a cluster of engraved rock art panels (Figure 3.1). All the engravings are on dolerite boulders immediately above a small south-flowing gully that has cut through the dolerite scarp. This occurs west of the horseshoe-shaped valley that pushes into the Pramberg plateau from the south (Figure 3.1). The gully is the main drainage in this area for water draining downslope from the south and the west. There may have been a spring or fountain in the upper reaches, but the only standing water is now available after rain as small pools of water.

The terrain on the west and east sides contrasts markedly. On the east there is a steep-sided hill strewn with dolerite boulders, and, in contrast, the west of the gully is a grassy, gentle slope. Still, further west dolerite outcrops dot the landscape before it flattens into the plains of the plateau and stretches towards Libanon 5.

All the rock engravings are located on the steeper, eastern side of the gully. The main cluster of engravings occurs immediately above the gully (Figure 7.1). The engravings extend across a west-facing dolerite outcrop of two large boulders and a

third smaller boulder, 15m east of the gully. East of this outcrop are a further two small dolerite outcrops and east of these is the steep, rocky slope that forms the scarp edge of the Pramberg (Figure 7.2). A large, northwest-facing dolerite boulder situated nearly half way up this steep, rocky slope has also been engraved. A final engraved panel is on a vertical, northwest-facing dolerite boulder also on the steep, rocky slope. Survey north, down the gully, only recorded a solitary engraving of a riderless horse. The horse panel is northwest of the main cluster and in a different style and technique to the other engravings. It has not been considered in this study.



Figure 7.1: The dolerite outcrop immediately above the gully that contains the main cluster of rock engravings.

The engravings are all extremely crude in their execution and are all rubbed and scraped to expose the lighter unoxidised sub-surface of the dolerite. The crudeness of the engravings is not helped by the coarse and granular texture of dolerite surfaces, which would have made it difficult to engrave with precision.

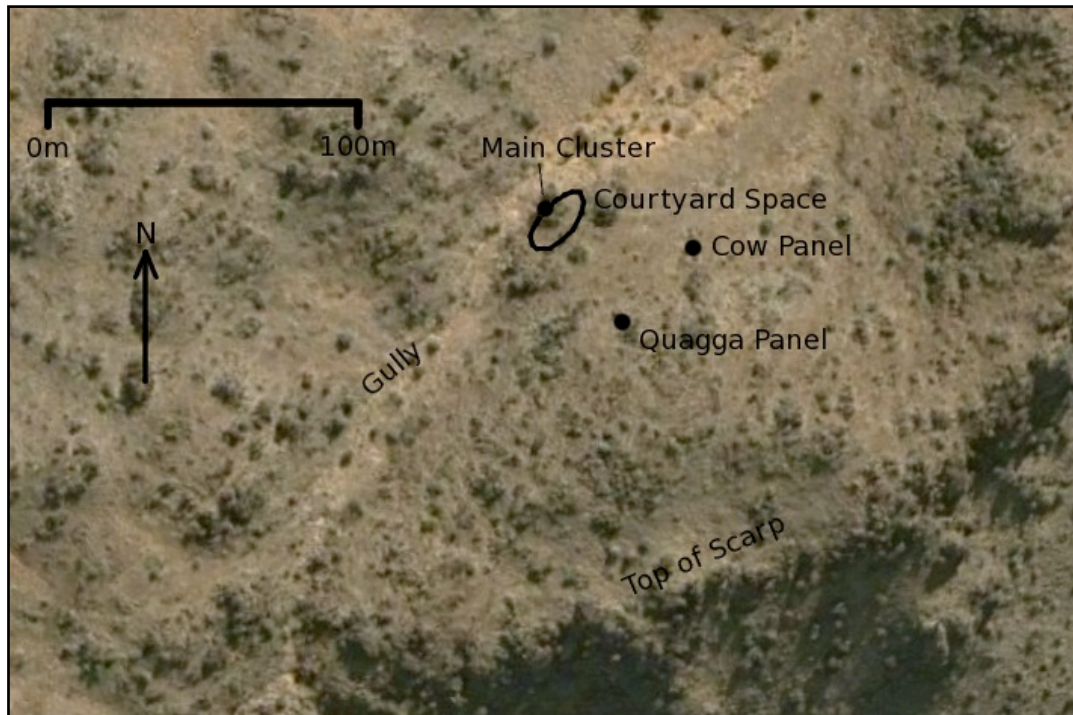


Figure 7.2: Image of rock art area showing the main engraving cluster, other panels and associated features,

Description

The main cluster of engravings stretches across a 10m length of the dolerite outcrop (Figure 7.1). The rock surface is perpendicular to the ground and relatively flat along the face, apart from a split between the two larger dolerite boulders. At the southern edge of this face a short, crudely built ‘terrace’ wall has been built that effectively defines the southern end of a small flat courtyard space behind the engraved boulders (Figure 7.2). This courtyard may also have been closed off at the northern edge. The engravings and this courtyard may be contemporary, and a sparse LSA lithic scatter in front of the outcrop on the sandy banks of the gully may indicate an LSA camp.

The engravings are exposed on the vertical face of the outcrop and there is no shelter from the elements. As a result, stains make some engravings faint and indistinct where rainwater has run down the rock face, and in certain areas the engravings have faded completely. Distinct panels of engravings are identifiable, but the technique is

consistent throughout and none of the engravings appear markedly newer or fresher than others. The engravings are described below by panel (Figure 7.3).

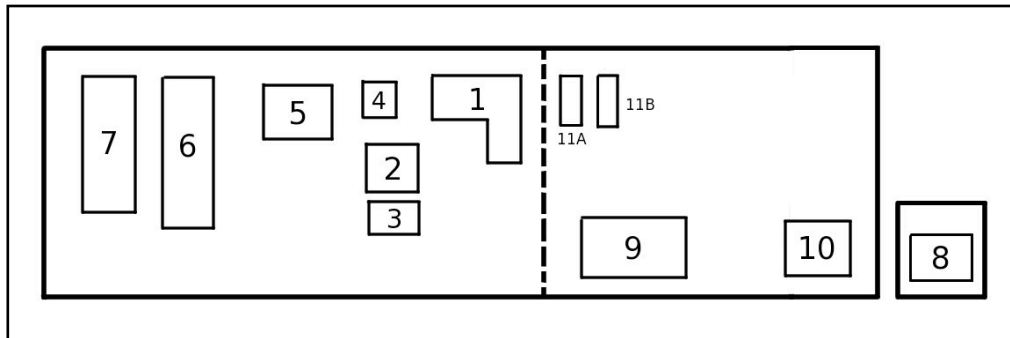


Figure 7.3: Image showing the size and relationship of engraved panels in the main cluster (not to scale).

Panel 1: shows seven separate engravings (Figure 7.4). All are quadrupeds but weathering and technique make specific identification difficult. Animal A is large and bovid-like, with horns and a marked dewlap and may be an eland bull. Animals C to G are large incomplete quadrupeds and it is unclear what animals they depict. Animal B is diminutive and impossible to identify and Animal D may be the rear half of an eland. Animals E and F stand out because of their long necks. The extended neck of F may be a result of weathering that has obscured the neck and head of the original engraving. Animal G is perhaps notable for depicting ears rather than horns. Animals A to F are all facing left as you face the panel.

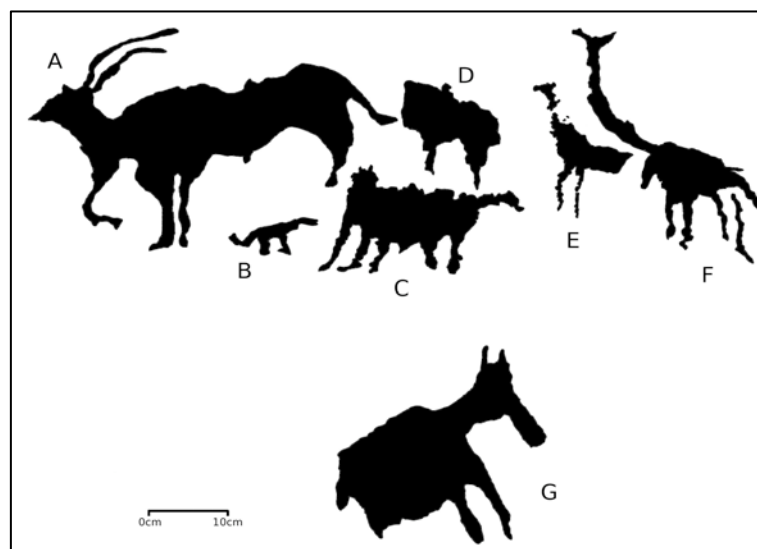


Figure 7.4: Sketch of Panel 1.

Panel 2: There is an indistinct, animal-like engraving of a body, two legs and a tail (Figure 7.5). Below is a filled circular shape.

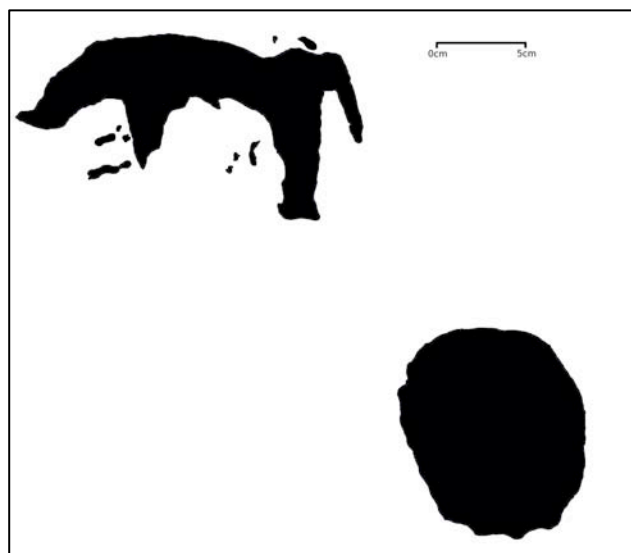


Figure 7.5: Sketch of Panel 2.

Panel 3: The engraving is crude and imprecise (Figure 7.6). There is what appears to be one solitary human figure, based upon a possible erect penis.

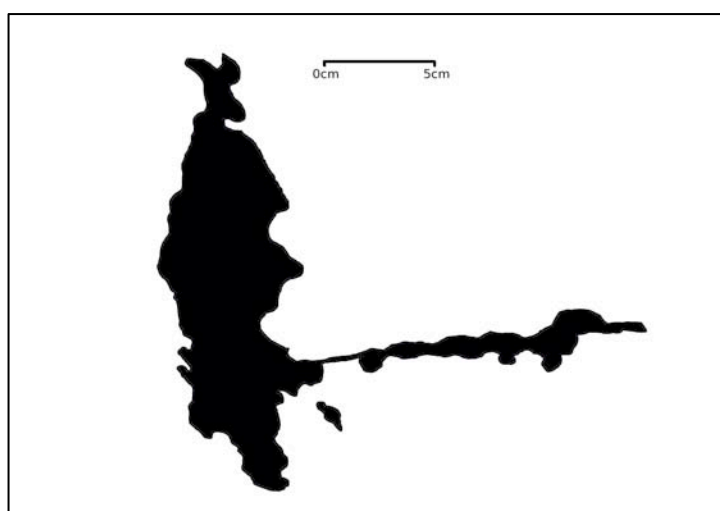


Figure 7.6: Sketch of Panel 3.

Panel 4: A crude, vague area was sketched but discarded, as it was impossible to identify its shape and form and it was considered a result of natural weathering.

Panel 5: The engravings on Panel 5 are badly weathered and indistinct (Figure 7.7). Figures A and B may be a human. Human A has an erect penis and is similar in style to the figure in Panel 3 (Figure 7.6). Engraving C is a large quadruped. Its head may have been obscured by weathering.

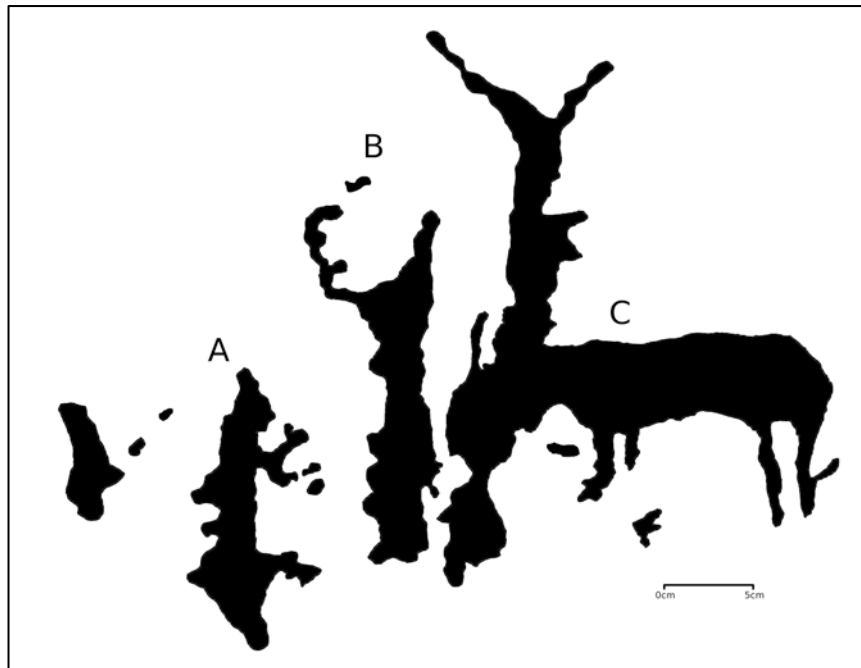


Figure 7.7: Sketch of Panel 5

Panel 6: There are five indistinct, elongated human figures on Panel 6 (Figure 7.8). All are facing in the same direction, to the right, have either extended arms and it appears that all are male on the basis of what appears to be erect penises.

Panel 7: There are four engravings on Panel 7 (Figure 7.9). The topmost Engraving A is human-like with what seems to be extended forearms and an erect penis. Engraving B below and to the left is an ostrich, and its elongated neck and two legs are clearly visible. The large, central engraving (C) appears to be a large, but indistinct, quadruped with a tail in a circular shape. The bottom engraving (D) is also quadruped-like.

Panel 8: This panel shows an elongated, human-like figure facing a large quadruped (Figure 7.10). The quadruped's size suggests it may be an eland, but there are no horns or dewlap visible.

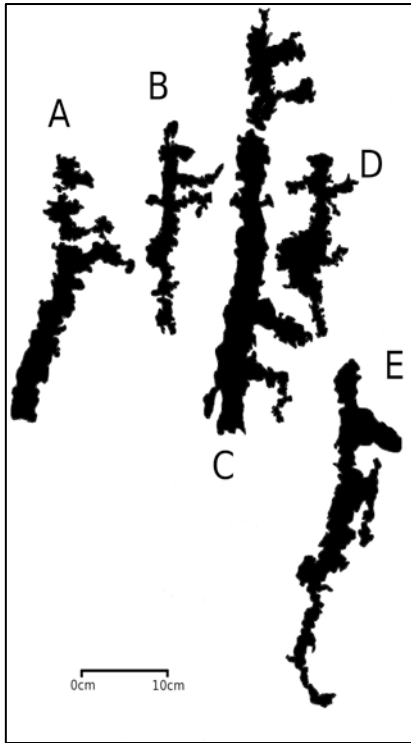


Figure 7.8: Sketch of Panel 6.

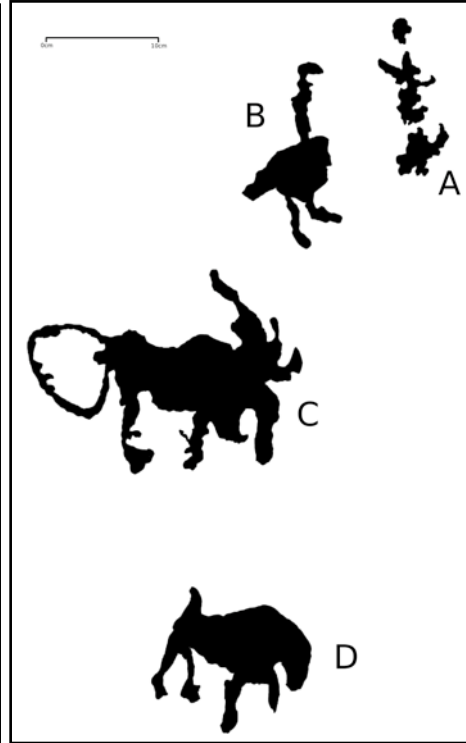


Figure 7.9: Sketch of Panel 7.

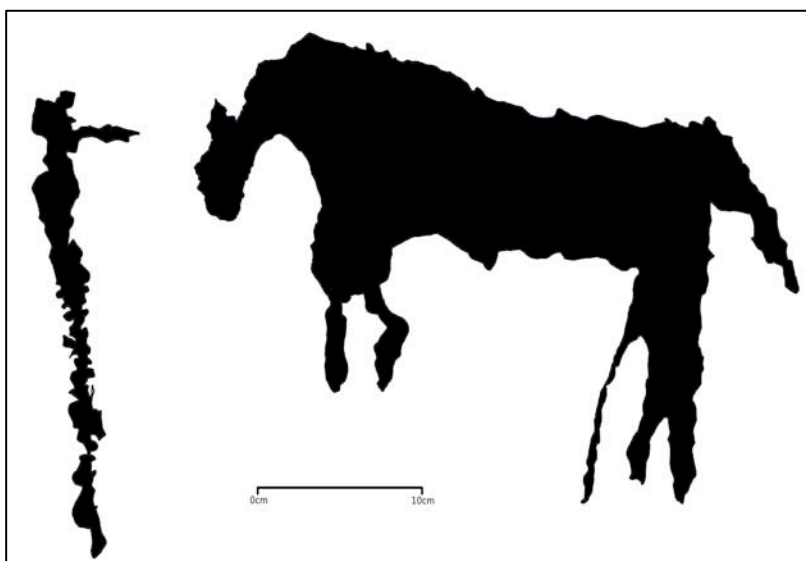


Figure 7.10: Sketch of Panel 8.

Panel 9: Two large, horned animals are engraved on Panel 9 (Figure 7.11). They are both crude and indistinct, but the horns and limbs are clearly visible and both face to the right.

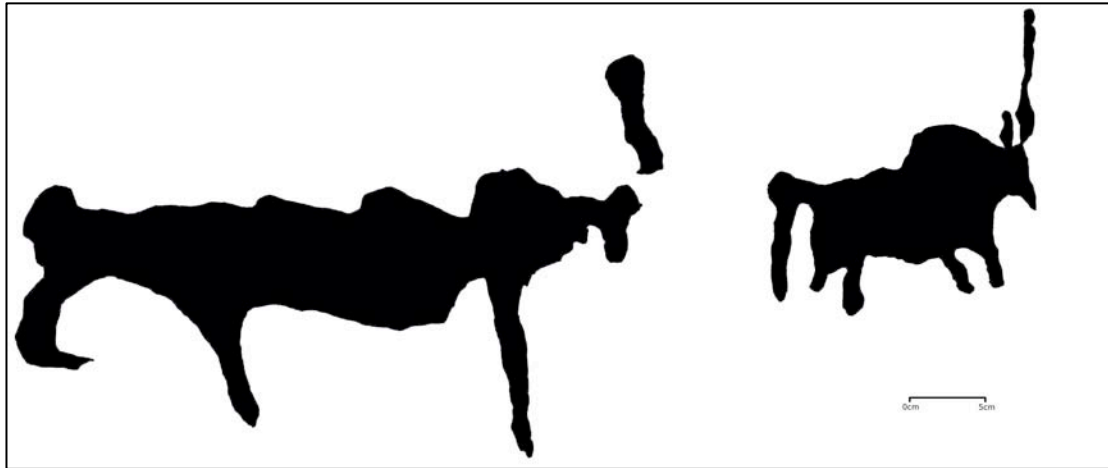


Figure 7.11: Sketch of Panel 9.

Panel 10: This engraving shows a large, rhino-like animal (Figure 7.12).

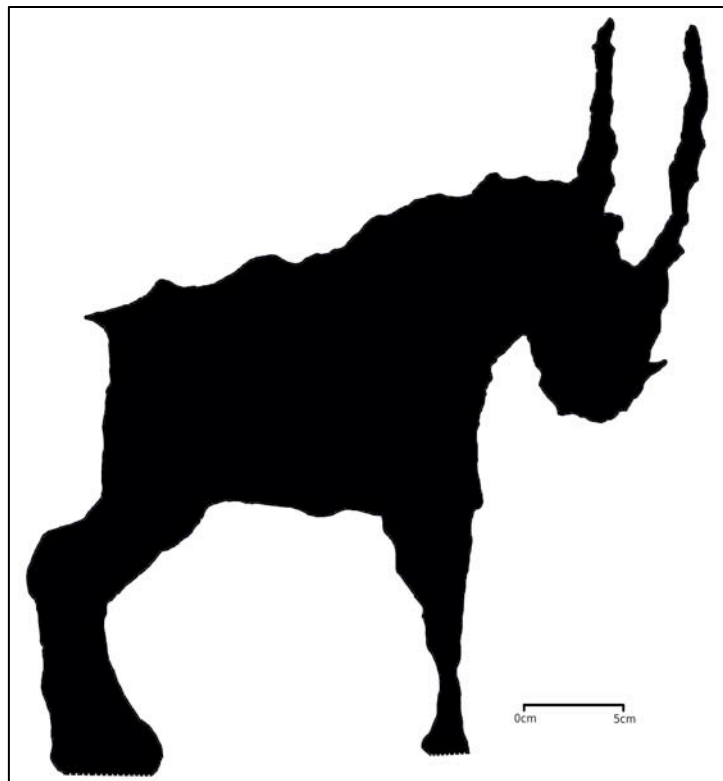


Figure 7.12: Sketch of Panel 10.

Panels 11A and 11B are single elongated male human figures with erect penises and extended limbs (Figure 7.13 and Figure 7.14).



Figure 7.13: Sketch of
Panel 11A.



Figure 7.14: Sketch of
Panel 11B.

As mentioned, there are two isolated engravings on the slope above the main gully cluster of engravings (Figure 7.2). One is on a large dolerite rock and slopes steeply, making the engraving difficult to view. This panel is a detailed engraving of a quagga and a faint, blurred outline of the head and horns of an unidentified antelope (Figure 7.15 and Figure 7.16).

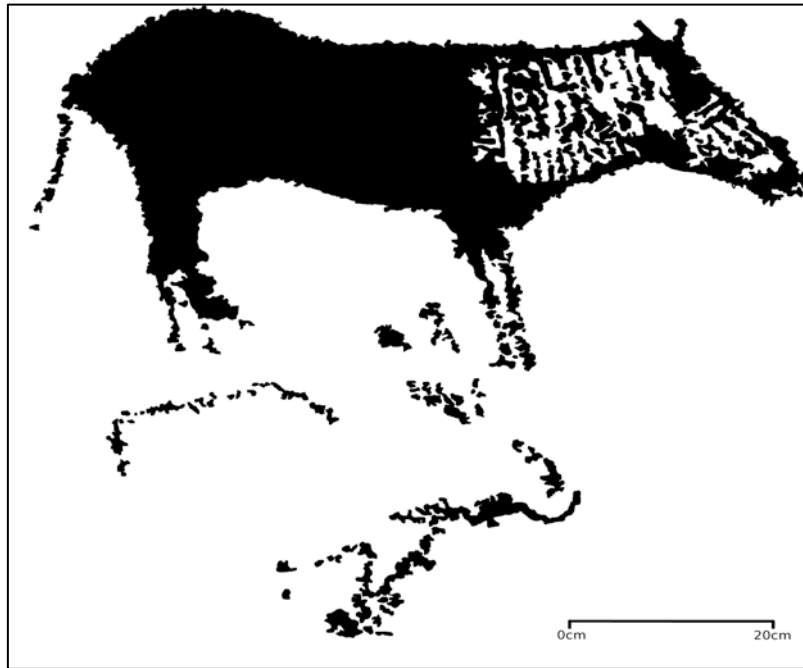


Figure 7.15: Sketch of the rock engraving of quagga and unidentified antelope.



Figure 7.16: Photograph of engraved quagga.

The final engraving is to the east and above the main cluster (Figure 7.2). This engraving is on a vertical northwest facing dolerite boulder and is of a quadruped and two elongated human figures (Figure 7.17). The quadruped is a cow, based on the hump and curved horn, and is facing the elongated human figures. Both human figures have extended erect penises and are exactly the same in form as as those in the

main engraved cluster at the gully. The clarity of the figures in this panel helps dispel uncertainty about the gully human figures, and, additionally, emphasises that the humans depicted are all males. The figure on the right is clearly holding a bow and arrow that is pointing at the cow.



Figure 7.17: Sketch of the engraving of the cow and two human figures.

Discussion

In the 18th and 19th century Northern Cape frontier, new economic and social relations occurred between forager and more settled pastoral groups. Khoesan pastoralists were present in the Karoo well before the arrival of the Xhosa (Smith 1992; Sadr 2008).

But in the flux, hybridity and adaptability of a frontier landscape even numerically small numbers of newcomers can be disruptive. This is particularly so in a dry, marginal inhospitable area such as the Karoo, where competition is not necessarily for space, but for scarce resources, such as water, game and adequate grazing land.

The Xhosa migrants would have been active participants in this competition and would have placed additional pressure on existing forager communities already present on the landscape. Initially, and as outlined in chapter 2, the Xhosa contributed to friction with hunter-gatherers and their displacement. Relations between the two were hostile enough to provoke colonial attention. The basic focus of hostility was that both Khoe and Xhosa possessed livestock and competed for adequate grazing land and access to water. Later, the colonial reaction to the Xhosa settlements in the Pramberg was approval because they were seen as buffers, shielding the colony from hunter-gatherer groups further north.

However, forager groups were clearly still active on the landscape whilst pastoral groups were settled in the Karoo (Sadr & Sampson 1999; Mitchell 2002). To what extent, however, do the rock engravings described above 'speak' to an active San presence on the landscape, that was coeval with the friction and animosity so clearly outlined in the written sources (see Wright 1971; Challis 2012). This possibility, however, requires an assessment of the chronology of the engravings.

As mentioned, all the engravings are scraped and/or rubbed. Scraped engravings initially appeared around 2500BP, but seem to increase in proportion over time. Radiocarbon dates associated with lightly patinated scraped engravings in the Karoo fit into a tight cluster of between c. 500BP and 200BP (Beaumont & Vogel 1989: 73). On the basis of technique, an absolute date for the engravings described here is difficult to ascertain, but it is reasonable to assert that the crude technique emphasised is late in the sequence and significantly post-dates fine-line engravings.

The eleven engravings in the gully cluster are all contemporary, although they may not be part of a single, isolated engraving event. The engravings are all scraped or

rubbed and display similar levels of weathering and exposure. The engravings of humans display elongated, extended bodies with erect penises and/or extended arms. Large quadrupeds dominate in terms of engraved fauna. These similarities in exposure, technique and subject matter, as well as their shared 'canvas', places these engravings within the same time frame. The lithic scatter below the outcrop and the possible domestic area east of the outcrop further associate the engravings with San groups, and not with Khoe.

The quagga engraving above the gully cluster is potentially earlier. This engraving is much larger, more detailed, and is pecked and scraped. The faint outline below the quagga is possibly earlier still.

The chronological key for the majority of the engravings must be the engraving of the cow and two human figures with bow and arrow. Its rate of weathering, style and technique are consistent with the engravings in the cluster, particularly the long, extended bodies, outstretched arms and erect penises of the human figures. The depiction of a domestic animal clearly associates the engraving with the presence of pastoralists on the landscape, and suggests an absolute date. At face value, a San figure pointing a bow and arrow at a domesticated cow suggests raiding and conflict between forager and pastoral groups at an early stage of pastoral settlement in the Karoo. However, up until the Xhosa settlement of the Pramberg, pastoralism focused on sheep, and therefore it is reasonable to suggest that the cow and the other stylistically similar engravings date to the period of Nguni diaspora into the region. Again, at face value the cow and San engraving may literally depict the friction between Xhosa on the Pramberg and spatially marginalised San (Kallaway 1980: 2-4). But there are engravings that allude to the belief system of the San, such as the eland in Panel 1 (Figure 7.4).

At a broader, ethnographic level the engravings of domestic animals indicate a point of ideological empathy between hunter-gatherer and pastoralist. Domestic animals present in the rock art reflect a shared cognitive system between the two (Manhire *et al.* 1986: 22). It is also reasonable to assume that depictions of Nguni cattle were

engraved or painted for Nguni to view, and that the Nguni would have understood the engravings significance (Jolly 1996: 284; Dowson 1994). To this end, the engraving's meaning could be associated with rainmaking.

Rainmaking was important for the Xhosa and other pastoral groups in the Eastern Cape. San shamans were valued for their rainmaking abilities, and farming groups 'employed' shamans to make rain, particularly late in the sequence and associated with Mfecane (Dowson 1994). The shamans would be 'paid' with cattle, and crops if they were available. Through their skill in rainmaking, shamans became mediators between foragers and farmers. Nguni and Xhosa moving to the Pramberg would have been well aware of this ritual exchange from a long history of interaction with San in the Eastern Cape.

Rain animals are often depicted in rock art. Shamans entered trance to access the spirit world and to capture a rain animal. The animal would be led across the landscape where their blood and milk would become precipitation. The depiction of rain animals is common in areas of intensive interaction between San and agropastoralists (Dowson 1994: 334). In the rock art rain animals are predominantly large, fat and male (Deacon & Foster 2005: 93). They are often depicted alongside men with hunting equipment or in a trance state (Deacon 1997: 22). These entranced figures often have elongated bodies and extended, erect penises, symbolizing the experiences of shamans in a trance state. Panels containing rain animals are more commonly concentrated on the northern end of dolerite hilltops, facing in the direction of rain-bearing winds (Deacon 1997: 22).

The cow engraving exhibits traits that suggest rain animal depiction in the rock art. The main cluster of engravings at the gully may be associated with the gully-water, and the higher quagga panel reflects the Karoo pattern of engravings on high slopes of dolerite hills. The cow engraving panel is highly visible compared to the clustered engravings and the quagga panel, and if it was intended for the eyes of Xhosa pastoralists bringing their stock to water at the nearby gully then it is in an effective position.

Regardless of the meaning of the cow engraving, its depiction potentially links the engravings to the 19th century, and indicates that the interaction reflected in the written sources is materialised on the Pramberg landscape. All the engravings, bar the quagga, are similar in style and technique and are within close proximity to one another. This suggests that they are contemporary.

If this is the case, then I suggest that the engravings were done by San groups occupying the Pramberg at the same time as the Xhosa. They reflect co-residence but also hint at the spiritual beliefs of the San and the possibility that they are expressed and articulated with the Xhosa on the Pramberg, as expressions possibly of antipathy, accommodation and interaction. If so, the written records of 19th century aggression that continued the brutal treatment of San by colonial expansion may rather reflect more the colonial position. It would perhaps be wise to be less adamant that Xhosa agropastoralists on the Pramberg are lumped within the colonial mindset articulated by their records. This brief examination of the rock engravings holds out the premise of assessing the many identities San had to cope with through the 19th century and that independent evidence can assess whether Xhosa held and they exercised the same contempt evident in the colonial records.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this study is to examine the identity changes of Xhosa communities settling in the Pramberg region of the Northern Cape in the first half of the 19th century. Ethnographic and historical accounts were studied to this end, both to establish a baseline Nguni identity, to provide historical context for the migration of Xhosa into the Northern Cape, and to examine inherent Xhosa lifestyle and social and cultural models. This last point was focused on settlement and cultural interaction.

The archaeology is to compare and contrast to these ethnographic and historical accounts, and to establish a sequence for occupation at the Pramberg. The archaeology discussed thus far, and the chronological sequences identified, has been focused on the sites as individual entities. Here, the linkage between the sites is investigated and the material culture recovered from each site examined and compared as a whole. A broader chronological sequence can then be posited.

The combined archaeology is then compared in terms of the ethnography outlined in chapters 2 and 4. To this end, it is examined with a baseline of Xhosa identity and Xhosa predisposition to mobility and interaction. Existing Xhosa cultural and social models were already inclined to shifting and remodeling themselves, and the archaeology is used to assess this possibility. On a narrower scale, the archaeology can also be compared to statements from historical accounts that, on one hand, stress the conservative nature of the Pramberg Xhosa, and on the other indicate that Xhosa traditions and identity were irrevocably altered by settlement in the frontier and in the Karoo.

CHRONOLOGY AND SEQUENCE

I first assess the settlement stratigraphy and then add the material culture to the discussion.

Several phases of occupation exist at each site examined in the Pramberg. Neither Libanon 1, Libanon 5 nor the individual areas at Soetwater are single component sites. Distinct phases of construction and occupation occurred and those within each site have been identified and examined. At least four phases can be identified when Libanon 1, Libanon 5 and Soetwater are considered together.

The extended wall at Libanon 1 possibly represents the earliest occupational phase in the Pramberg, although this is unclear. The wall may be Khoe or was constructed by the earliest Xhosa arrivals in the Pramberg. There are no associated homestead features and no material culture was present on the surface or was recovered from the excavation. It is also at some distance from a fountain. Unlike Libanon 5 and Soetwater. The wall is of a unique style and character and suggests a different system of stock management than that of the kraals at the other sites. It does, however, share a characteristic with some kraal systems in that a section of the wall runs atop a shallow hill. The wall at Libanon 1 could be an early expression of Xhosa kraal construction in the Pramberg.

This characteristic could link the Libanon 1 wall to the earliest occupational phases that are not clearly evident at the other sites. At Libanon 5, Kraal 2 represents the earliest phase. Kraal 2 is situated in a natural amphitheatre that also makes use of the natural rock face. Kraal 1 at Soetwater 1, the recycled kraal at Soetwater 2, the kraal at Soetwater 3 and Kraal 1 at Soetwater 7 are similar, and this characteristic may represent the earliest phase of Xhosa occupation on the Pramberg. All these kraals back against a slope or scarp edge, and four of the five have entrances that faces downslope towards flat land. These similarities suggest that the earliest occupational phases at Libanon 5 and Soetwater are contemporary.

It also suggests that Libanon 5, Soetwater 1, Soetwater 2, Soetwater 3, and Soetwater 7 were all homesteads in their earliest phases. Kraal 2 at Libanon 5 may have had an associated domestic area that was distorted by the construction of Kraal 1. The kraals at Soetwater 1, Soetwater 2, Soetwater 3 and Soetwater 7 all have stone features that suggest an associated domestic area. At Soetwater 1 the isolated walls could be acting as boundary markers at the back end of the homestead. At Soetwater 2 there is the subtle hut floor feature to the west of the kraal. At Soetwater 3 it is the depleted circular hut foundation of Feature 1, and at Soetwater 7 it is the five hut circles on the flat land east and south of the kraal.

The construction of Kraal 1 at Libanon 5 occurred not long after the completion of Kraal 2 and represents the second phase of occupation at Libanon 5. Kraal 1 shares a surface with Midden 1 and is associated with the domestic area to the west, and the cluster of enclosures at its northern end. This extended phase represents the main occupation of Libanon 5 and may be contemporary with the second phase of Soetwater 1. The second phase at Soetwater 1 includes the thicker dung layer exposed in the kraal excavation and the sub-circular stone feature southeast of the kraal.

The third structural feature that signifies the next phase involves the cone-on-cylinder hut features, structural recycling and reuse of earlier walls, and the termination of the settlements as homesteads. The stone hut cylinders are present at Libanon 1, Libanon 5, Soetwater 1 and Soetwater 2. These features are from later occupational phases at each of these sites and are discussed further below in relation to the dates provided by the associated European material culture.

At Libanon 5 and Soetwater 1 they indicate the end of the main kraal as the central focus of the homestead and the introduction of a few individual households as replacements. At Soetwater 1 the cone-on-cylinder hut is constructed of stones robbed from the kraal walls. Although the cone-on-cylinder feature at Soetwater 2 itself is at some distance from the kraal, the wedge-shaped structure inside the kraal has also been built out of recycled stones from the original kraal walls. This links the wedge-shaped structure at Soetwater 2 to the cone-on-cylinder feature at Soetwater 1 and, by

extension, also indicates the end of the homestead at Soetwater 2. Structure 6 at Soetwater 7 is not a cone-on-cylinder feature nor constructed of recycled stones, but it also indicates the end of Soetwater 7 as a homestead and the presence of an individual household at the site, that may very well represent people still using, in part, the original kraals, but possibly managing stock rather than owning it.

The final phase that may be common between sites is the last occupational phase at Libanon 5 and Soetwater. At Libanon 5 the square kraal south of Kraal 1 and the associated midden and rectangular house foundation represents this phase. At Soetwater, it is represented by the square European kraal at Soetwater 5.

The correlation of phases between each site suggests a broad preliminary overview of construction and occupational sequence of Xhosa in the Pramberg. The wall at Libanon 1 may be the earliest phase in the sequence. Next in the sequence are the early phases of Libanon 5 and Soetwater 1, 2, 3 and 7. The household and recycling phases associated with the cone-on-cylinder features at Libanon 1, Libanon 5 and Soetwater 1 and 2 represent the next broad phase. The European signature of the square features at Libanon 5 and the square kraal at Soetwater are the last phases of the sequence and the most recent occupational stages at the sites. I suggest, at a broad level, that between Phases 2 and 3 the concept of homestead breaks down.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The sequence described thus far has been relative. The addition of European material adds some absolute chronology to the phases. Material was gathered at Libanon 5 and Soetwater to elaborate on sequence and to establish absolute chronology. However, the recovered sample from all the sites is small.

At Libanon 5, the primary aims of the excavations were to expand the artifact assemblage and to find artifacts that either represented the earliest phase of occupation and elaborated an understanding of site sequence. The 2010 excavations suggested that the earliest phase of Libanon 5 was missing. Midden 1 was cleared out

and excavations extended along the western edge of Kraal 1's walls and into the domestic area to explore the possibility of an earlier phase and to gather more material. The excavation at Kraal 2 showed that it had the deepest deposit at Libanon 5, albeit dung. Excavations were continued in 2011 to gather more material and to contribute to a further understanding of site sequence.

As it is, the 2011 excavations and associated assemblages did not significantly add to the establishment of an earlier phase, and earlier material was not recovered from Midden 1, the wall and domestic area, or Kraal 2. However, the Kraal 2 excavation confirmed that the early phase itself is present in the culturally sterile bottom 0.3m of the kraals deposit.

The wall and domestic area excavations yielded little material but did indicate that Midden 1 did not extend along the wall. The LSA lithics and OES fragments recovered in these squares also hinted at the presence of other cultural groups on the landscape.

Excavation at Midden 1 expanded the assemblage but did not alter its signature and did not offer any more absolute chronological markers. Nguni artifacts were still elusive and European glass and refined industrial ware dominated the assemblage.

Chronological markers in the comparatively large refined industrial ware ceramic sample indicated a date in the late 1830s or early 1840s. This is correlated with the increase in European contact during this time period. Other artifacts, however, suggested a later date: moulded pipe stems and percussion caps were only widespread in the latter half of the 19th century. No complete vessels were recovered from the grey, which indicates that the Xhosa at Libanon 5 had not replaced wholesale their more traditional material with European goods, and one has to accept that this observance reflects the Xhosa tendency to use organic material.

The red horizon of Midden 1 was confirmed as a wash and its material sample retained the same characteristics. Its excavation expanded the sample size but still did

not offer any further absolute chronological markers. The variety and number of European ceramic ware type and glass colour in the red horizon is higher than in the grey below and suggests increased engagement in frontier trade, probably in the second half of the 19th century. In 2011 it was posited that the material in the red layer is contemporary with the cone-on-cylinder stone features north of the main Libanon 5 complex, and the new sample gives no reason to change this (Zachariou 2011).

The material culture from Soetwaters 1 to 7 is striking in its absence, and again may reflect the extensive use of organic material by early Xhosa. The collected sample is small. The majority of the material at Soetwater cannot be clearly associated with the structures and features in the area. Only the coarse earthenware from the second pick up at Soetwater 7 could possibly represent an early phase at Soetwater. European ceramic and glass dominate in all the other surface collections. The glass is predominantly green or clear glass pieces. A clear embossed pharmaceutical bottle gives a late 19th century date. The glass pieces are large and the vessel counts are high, suggesting short, sharp disposals consistent with an ephemeral, transient presence on the landscape, such as that of farm workers and shepherds. All the material correlates with the later Phases 4 and 5 of the Pramberg Xhosa occupational sequence, and the stone walls, as at Libanon 5, are early 19th century in date.

Examining the recovered material from all the Soetwater sites and Libanon 5 adds to the chronological sequence. Although the sample is small, glass fragments are common at Soetwater and the glass sample from Soetwater provides good control for the material from the grey horizon of Midden 1. Dark green or black glass makes up over 80% of the glass assemblage from the grey layer, while green and clear glass together make up only 16.6%. If the grey layer glass sample is contemporary with the glass from Soetwater then the percentage of green and clear glass from the grey would be a lot higher. This confirms that the signature of the grey layer is distinctive and that it does not post date 1850.

In terms of sequence, early phases are represented by material at both Libanon 5 and Soetwater (Table 8.1). The earliest phase associated with Kraal 2 may not be

represented by any material, but the grey horizon is contemporary to Kraal 1 and the homestead phase of Libanon 5. The coarse earthenware from Soetwater 7 possibly represents the early homestead phase of the site, and the lack of European material from the same surface collection suggests that Soetwater 7 could be earlier than Kraal 1.

Phase	Components	Date of primary occupation?
1	Wall at Libanon 1	1810-1830
	Kraal 2 at Libanon 5	
	Soetwater 7	
2	Kraal 1 at Libanon 5 + Enclosures	1830-1855
	Kraal 1 at Soetwater 1	
	Kraal at Soetwater 2	
	Kraal at Soetwater 3	
	Grey horizon of Midden 1 at Libanon 5	
3	Wedge feature at Soetwater 2	1855-1900
	Cone-on-cylinder huts at Libanon 1	
	Cone-on-cylinder huts at Libanon 5	
	Cone-on-cylinder hut at Soetwater 1	
	Cone-on-cylinder hut at Soetwater 2	
	Break in Kraal 1 western wall	
	Red horizon of Midden 1 at Libanon 5	
	Structure 6 at Soetwater 7	
4	Square Kraal at Soetwater 5	1890-1920
	Square features at Libanon 5	

Table 8.1: Xhosa occupational phases on the Pramberg.

IDENTITY AND FRONTIER

In Chapters 2 and 3 the Xhosa predisposition for movement, assimilation and expansion was discussed, and the existence of a baseline Nguni identity was examined. It was outlined that the migration of Xhosa groups into the Karoo was not a dramatic move that was peculiar to Xhosa social and cultural models, despite the fact that the Xhosa crossed an ecological boundary that could fundamentally alter their resource management and their ways of living.

In terms of identity, pre-colonial Nguni groups were fluid, dynamic and opportunistic, and their identity shifted often and easily. Khoe and Xhosa in particular shared social and cultural similarities, and movement and merging between the two groups was common. In this sense, the Xhosa were suited to the frontier zone, as the frontier zone is unstable, and fluid, and identity is inconsistent and unpredictable. The frontier zone is also dynamic and encourages interaction, whereby culturally different groups mix and merge into new communities.

The Pramberg Xhosa were settled in an area that was not only ecologically harsh, but culturally unstable. They adapted by moulding their cultural and social models to suit their new environment. Transhumance patterns were altered, kinship and clan relations were changed, and agricultural practices were modified.

Finding adequate water for stock and cattle appears to have forced the Pramberg Xhosa from a settled agro-pastoral lifestyle to a near nomadic one, more akin to Khoe settlement than traditional Xhosa (Beinart 2010: 26). Pressure for water brought a political dimension to transhumance. As has been illustrated, movement and management of livestock inevitably brought disparate groups into conflict. The Pramberg Xhosa, particularly in drier months, brought their cattle off the plateau to the plains below in search of strong perennial springs. There they inevitably clashed with newly arrived European farmers who were conducting their own search for water or had claimed the active springs as their own.

Settlement and homestead concepts altered too. Unlike in the Eastern Cape, the Xhosa settled in the Pramberg owed no allegiance to a chief or subchief. The early occupational phase homestead continued as a self-contained political unit, but it was not a subject of a central authority. Loyalty and allegiance now stayed within the family in the homestead. For example, the Right Hand House system appears to not have been continued by migrating Xhosa groups, as it would need a level of political scale that went beyond the small family and homestead units that constituted the Pramberg Xhosa diaspora. Secondly, it was a system that needed suitable, unoccupied

territory and land. Land was prevalent in the Karoo, for example, but its suitability was dictated by other population groups and by access to water.

Additionally, many of the Xhosa settled in the Pramberg came from disparate backgrounds, therefore relationships were cemented by need and practicality instead of kinship and clan. This factor also changed a homestead's relationships to its neighbours. The Pramberg Xhosa did not consider themselves a united community, bound by a common loyalty or a common ancestor. Indeed, it was not above one Pramberg community to collaborate against another.

The Pramberg Xhosa did not see themselves as a single unit and neither did the white farmers. One homestead could be hostile to white farmers and another peaceable. Only in times of drought and social tension, such as when the frontier wars were at their peak in the Eastern Cape or when missionaries first arrived, did the white farmers see the Xhosa in the Pramberg as one unit. The Xhosa were viewed as a united entity when it suited the European community to see them as such. The communities in the Pramberg also were not exclusively Xhosa. According to Anderson (1985), intermarriage and other transactions with San were common.

The hostile and arid environment was one reason for these changes, but it was the nature of settling in the frontier zone that affected this most strongly. The Pramberg communities were geographically isolated and were quite small in number compared to the larger, more active, Xhosa communities at the Karreebergen and Prieska. Legitimate authorities, such as the colony, focused first on Schietfontein and the activities taking place there. The nature of trade through the Northern Cape encouraged the formation of small, fluid groups. Most of the trade passing through the Pramberg and Karreebergen regions was illegitimate, and thus required mobility and movement. It also made for shifting allegiances and opportunism, so groups were naturally fissiparous and fluid.

Nonetheless, Xhosa identity remained. Kallaway (1980: 26) highlights the abundance of place names in the region that indicate original identification as Xhosa settlements

by the Dutch. This would indicate that the Xhosa settlements in the Karreebergen and Pramberg regions were distinguishable in ethnicity and culture from other groups living in the area, and that the Xhosa did not lose their identity at an early date. On the Pramberg specifically plot names such as Booy's Kraal, Tschivika's Kraal, and Jacob's Kraal are still present on maps today and local farmers, both on the plateau and on the plains below recognize an area called 'Kafferskloof' in the escarpment when asked about the Xhosa.

Prior to the 1830s, the Pramberg Xhosa had little contact with Europeans, other than the illegitimate trade in arms and ammunition. Anderson (1985: 43) stresses that the Xhosa of the Pramberg were viewed as almost fiercely traditional. They did not speak Dutch, they practiced polygamy and traditional dance, and removed the last joint of their pinky fingers. They wore karosses, carried assegais, and hunted game. Milk continued as a dietary staple, supplemented by oxen and other stock. She attributes these tendencies to the "benign" conditions in the Pramberg that allowed the Xhosa the opportunity to retain their customs and traditions (1985: 43). Legassick's theory that the absence of authority in the frontier encourages the pursuit of a traditional lifestyle is also pertinent here (2010: 7). The Pramberg community was seen as prosperous, independent and isolated,

Burchell came across a group of Xhosa near the Karee River, west of the Pramberg, in 1811. He was warned of the savagery of the Northern Cape Xhosa, and described the group as wearing nothing but leather karosses and "reddened all over with ochre made up with grease" (Burchell 1953: 189 in Kallaway 1982: 157). The Xhosa he encountered were en route to the colony to trade in tobacco and possibly gunpowder. To this end, they could speak some Dutch, and they had firearms, and Burchell noticed that they understood the nature and use of Cape money.

Indeed, trade was one of the facets that accompanied increasing contact with the colony after the 1830s. The expansion of the colony to the southern margins of the Pramberg region introduced a different scale of interaction. Pramberg Xhosa sold their labour to white farmers. Cis-Orange trade had always passed through the

Pramberg and brandy, tobacco and arms were already features of the Xhosa frontiersmen's life, but it was in the 1830s that Western goods most likely entered the Pramberg on a larger scale. As has been illustrated, increased colonial contact also meant increased water and land competition with the settlers, and therefore more frequent hostilities.

Increased hostilities with the settlers over land ultimately saw for the demise of the Pramberg Xhosa communities. Their removal to Schietfontein and to the watchful eyes of the missions and colony, however, offers further clues as to how the Pramberg Xhosa saw themselves. A colonial report on the community at Schietfontein in 1858 recognised the self-perpetuated distinction between the Pramberg Xhosa and the original Schietfontein Xhosa. The report also noted that the Xhosa themselves retained their individual group identities (Kallaway 1980: 27). The social and geographical pressure of leaving the Pramberg and settling at Schietfontein had forced the Pramberg Xhosa to now identify themselves as a single unit.

The report also noted that both sets of Xhosa measured stock in communal terms as opposed to individual (Kallaway 1980: 27). Kraal 1 at Libanon 5 is a large kraal for cattle, not for small stock, yet there is a distinct lack of cattle bone in the grey layer, which is instead dominated by sheep and goat (Leitenberger 2011). The cattle were obviously not being consumed at Libanon 5, but they were being kept there and Kraal 1 may reflect pooling of Xhosa cattle at post-1830s date. This, in turn, can suggest protection from raiding, or, judging from the Xhosa at Schietfontein in 1858, it can suggest the change of cattle from a traditional, ritual value to an economic one. It is possible that cattle were kept at Kraal 1 at Libanon 5 and, because of the similarity in size, Kraal 1 at Soetwater 1. This suggests not only an increased degree of integration into the capitalist economy but also the beginning of the end of the traditional homestead concept and its attendant loyalties and ties.

Despite the increased contact with the colony and missionaries from the 1830s onwards, there were still sections of the Pramberg Xhosa at Schietfontein that retained their traditional way of life. Upon their settlement, the Pramberg Xhosa split between

those who attended the mission church and those who did not. Those who did frequently attend appeared amenable to village life, and, presumably, Western culture. Those Xhosa who did not attend settled away from the Schietfontein village in the veld, wary of the influence of missionaries on their more traditional Xhosa customs (Kallaway 1980: 33). This split between church-going Xhosa and more traditional ones is indicative of the fluidity and permeability of identity and lifestyle that life in the frontier zone entailed.

The Pramberg community was able to maintain a relatively traditional lifestyle through the early part of the Pramberg's settlement, presumably through organic material culture that is not reflected in the archaeology. This traditional lifestyle was manifest in customs and practices, but was outside of concepts such as tribute, and trade and custom networks with neighbours. The concepts of homestead, loyalty, transhumance and farming were forced to adapt and change to suit the new social and ecological environment. On top of that, the Pramberg Xhosa could choose to take or adapt what they so desired from the colony, in the early phases guns and brandy, but European ceramic in the later phases. They were aware of the concepts of money and trade and appeared to be able to speak enough Dutch to complete these transactions. Only with increased contact with Europeans and the colony in the 1830s did the erosion of traditional practices appear to take place. Western goods accompanied this post 1830 increased contact period, as the archaeology has suggested.

The written historical evidence suggests that transhumance and the nature of the frontier makes for smaller political and social groups, but the early occupational phases of the Pramberg were still homesteads. The shift to household-sized occupational units occurred in Phases 3 and the associated material culture places this at a post-1850 date.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The aim of this project is to examine the archaeology and identity of the Xhosa in the Pramberg. The archaeology reveals a relative chronological sequence, but struggles to comment on identity, lifestyle, and conceptual changes to the Xhosa.

The conservative and traditional Xhosa stressed by Anderson are not obviously identifiable in the material culture. Very little Nguni material was recovered and it must be assumed that the material culture of the early settlers at the Pramberg was organic and has not preserved in the archaeological record. But to what extent did the European material present in the sample replace Xhosa material culture? The dominance of European material reflects increased interaction with Europeans after the 1830s, when the scale of interaction between the Pramberg Xhosa and Europeans was changed through increasing contact brought about by the extension of the colony borders. Recycling, reuse and re-appropriation of the European material, other than the modified glass, is unclear.

The modified glass is significant here as it indicates limited access to raw material over and above any changes to identity and culture. The modification of glass fragments was an intentional, yet pragmatic and a non-formalised, attempt to plug a gap in the availability of raw materials. Anderson mentions interaction through marriage between San and Xhosa in the Pramberg, but the modification and knapping is informal, and not influenced by San interaction.

The modified glass also raises questions regarding the availability of raw material. Documentary evidence states that the Pramberg Xhosa took advantage of the cis-Orange trade route that passed through the region. They were active participants and

managed to gain a measure of wealth and prestige from it. Indeed, trade was one of the instigators of Xhosa migration into the Northern Cape. Yet, the material sample in the Pramberg does not reflect this. As mentioned, no complete European glass or ceramic vessels were present at Midden 1 or anywhere else. Recovered metal in particular is small, undiagnostic and fragmentary, and glass vessels or pieces had to be selected and modified as a replacement. The low density of European material culture in the early phases argues that traditional technology was about, but did not preserve.

Europeans were not the only cultural group present on the landscape in this period. The OES fragments, OES beads and LSA lithics present at Libanon 5 suggest a San presence and the rock engravings east of the site support this. The engraving of the cow suggests contemporaneity with Xhosa settlement and possible economic interaction between groups. The interaction of San with Xhosa groups in the Pramberg, as illustrated in the historical documents, was not necessarily a result of specific frontier processes. The frontier may have facilitated it, but Xhosa had been mixing and interacting with hunter-gatherer groups in the Eastern Cape for decades. The San entering Xhosa society in the Pramberg were doing so as part of ingrained Xhosa cultural models that allowed for inclusion and assimilation, but relationships were still erratic and may have been friendly and based on rainmaking, or hostile and predicated on raiding and reiving. More work is needed to explore this aspect.

Intimations of a Khoe presence in the landscape are more subtle. The long wall at Libanon 1 may have been an early Khoe construction. Similarly, the thin-walled coarse earthenware and variable style of wall foundation at Soetwater 7 also suggests a Khoe presence, and that the early phase of Soetwater 7 was possibly a mixed Xhosa/Khoe group. The Xhosa would have had prior interaction with both these groups prior to settling at the Pramberg. The Khoe or San, then, did not influence the Xhosa in terms of material, identity or lifestyle.

Yet, the Xhosa were already in possession of inherited cultural models that predisposed them to interaction. Their existing cultural and social structures were also already inclined to shifting and remodeling. The Xhosa had been operating along a

frontier in the Eastern Cape when they traded and moved across the summer rainfall boundary and into Khoesan territory, and were well suited to settling in the northern frontier zone.

However, if they were prone to shift and remodel existing cultural and social structures, including identity, there is little evidence of it in the archaeology. Indeed, no material indicates a change in Xhosa identity.

Identity change only occurred post-1855 and after the removal of the Xhosa from the Pramberg. In this period the Xhosa were swallowed by the colony as the frontier closed in on them. The colony forced the spread of westernised lifestyles and increased contact between Xhosa and white colonists. The transformation of sites from homesteads to households occurred in a contemporary cluster that post dates 1855 and is related to the identity change that took place with increased direct colonial contact. Xhosa identity only changed when they fell under the direct authority of the colony and only once they had been removed from the Pramberg, and even then, as Kallaway (1980: 33) points out, not all were willing to change their ways. This is another avenue worth exploring.

As it is, the archaeology of the Pramberg can be sequenced primarily through its features and structures. Baseline Xhosa identity and Xhosa predilection for mobility and movement is not reflected in the archaeology. Movement to the Karoo must have caused selective changes to Xhosa identity and lifestyle, but this is not clearly evident in the archaeology.

For future studies, an immediate focus should be on identifying the earliest occupation phase in the archaeology. The early 19th century Xhosa are elusive in the archaeological record and their identification would aid in understanding identity change further. Identifying Nguni material would be a primary aim, but there has been no recovery of European material in a Xhosa context. The Kafferskloof site is an anomaly in this regard, being emphasised by current farmers on the Pramberg and by

Anderson, as well as being near a fountain. It is perhaps worth exploring the site further to possibly identify a stronger Xhosa signature on the landscape.

Future work should also focus on the Karreeberg. A study of the Karreeberg would offer opportunities to examine cultural shifts in spatial organisation, as missionaries increased their presence on the landscape and the colony pushed its border further and further north. The Schietfontein settlement was larger and more active than the Pramberg, according to the sources, and a study of post-1850s Xhosa identity change at Schietfontein would provide a good comparison to studies of earlier Xhosa phases in the Northern Cape.

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APPENDIX

			Form										Total	
			N	MNV	Bowl	Plate	Saucer	Large Plate/ Serving Dish	Large Serving Dish	Flatwar e	Othe r	Unidentifie d		
Asian Porcelain	Ginger Jars		6	2									2	2
European Porcelain	Undecorate d		0	0										
	Decorated	Gilded & Enameled	0	0										
		Printed	0	0										
		Yellow Glaze	1	1								1	1	
	Moulded	0	0											
Stoneware	Salt-Glazed		1	1								1	1	
European Refined Industrial Ware	Undecorate d		31	0										
	Decorated	Painted	7	1									1	1
		Cut Sponge	0	0										
		Normal Slipware	9	2	2									2
		Lined (Red)	0	0										
		Lined (Blue)	0	0										
		Flow Blue Printed	3	1							1			1
		Flow Blue Painted	1	1									1	1
		Blue Printed	60	10		2	1	1	1	1			5	10
		Pink Printed	2	1			1							1
		Green Printed	3	3		1	1						1	3
Brown Printed	0	0												
Black/Grey Printed	1	1									1	1		
	Pipes		11	3							3		3	
Total			136	27	2	3	3	1	1	1	3	13	27	

Appendix 1: Ceramic by ware type, decoration, N, MNV and form from the grey layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

			Form										
			N	MNV	Cup	Cup/ Bowl	Plate	Side Plate/ Saucer	Flatware	Other	Unidentified	Total	
Asian Porcelain	Ginger Jars		7	2								2	2
European Porcelain	Undecorated		4	0									
	Decorated	Gilded & Enameled	4	1	1								1
		Printed	3	1								1	1
		Yellow Glaze	1	1								1	1
	Moulded	1	1								1	1	
Stoneware	Salt-Glazed		6	3								3	3
European Refined Industrial Ware	Undecorated		58	0									
	Decorated	Painted	12	2								2	2
		Cut Sponge	4	2			1					1	2
		Normal Slipware	11	2		1						1	2
		Lined (Red)	3	3								3	3
		Lined (Blue)	1	1								1	1
		Flow Blue Printed	20	4			1	1	1			1	4
		Flow Blue Painted	5	1								1	1
		Blue Printed	51	9			4	3				2	9
		Pink Printed	2	1								1	1
		Green Printed	13	4				1	1			2	4
		Brown Printed	4	2		1						1	2
Black/Grey Printed	1	1						1			1		
	Pipes		11	2						2		2	
Unidentified			8	0									
Total			230	43	1	2	6	5	3	2	24	43	

Appendix 2: Ceramic by ware type, decoration, N, MNV and form from the red layer of Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Layer	Square	Bore diameter (mm)
Red	C8	1.7
	D6	2.02
	D6	2.02
	D6	1.53
	E6	1.61
	E7	1.68
	E8	1.77
	E8	1.72
	F8	1.62
Grey	C7	1.52
	C7	1.66
	C8	1.79
	C8	1.79
	C8	1.68
	C9	1.66
	E10	1.95
	E7	1.63

Appendix 3: Bore diameters of pipe stems by layer and square from Midden 1 at Libanon 5.

Unit	Method of Manufacture	Colour	Shape	Diaphaneity	Interior Diameter (mm)	Exterior Diameter (mm)	Width (mm)
Grey	Wound	Peach	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	0.99	2.93	1.56
	Wound	Peach	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	0.89	3.23	2.22
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	0.89	2.58	1.37
	Wound	Oyster	Medium Cylinder	Opaque	1.19	4.2	3.42
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	0.89	3.39	1.93
	Wound	White on Brown	Large Barrel	Opaque	1.59	6.91	7.5
Red	Wound	Black	Small Cylinder	Opaque	1.07	3.37	1.9
	Wound	White	Small Cylinder	Opaque	0.86	2.64	1.69
	Wound	Peach	Small Cylinder	Opaque	0.88	3.3	1.98
	Wound	Black	Small Cylinder	Opaque	0.86	2.94	1.8
	Wound	Peach	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	0.83	2.76	1.65
	Wound	White	Small Cylinder	Opaque	NA	2.66	2.37
	Wound	White on Brown	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	1.04	2.81	2.06
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	0.77	2.61	1.88
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	0.79	2.69	1.98
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	0.83	2.11	1.35
	Wound	Peach	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Transparent	0.94	2.87	1.56
	Wound	White on Brown	Small Cylinder	Opaque	NA	3.16	2.52
	Wound	Black	Minute Tube	Opaque	0.76	2.21	1.7
	Wound	Black	Small Cylinder	Opaque	1.03	2.74	1.99
	Wound	Black	Small Cylinder	Opaque	0.87	2.79	1.74
	Wound	Black	Small Cylinder	Opaque	1.01	3.19	2.07
	Wound	Black	Medium Cylinder	Opaque	1.08	3.69	2.47
	Wound	White	Small Tube	Opaque	0.82	2.73	2.01
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	0.95	2.74	1.61
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	NA	na	1.88
	Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Translucent-Opaque	NA	na	1.82
	Wound	Blue on White	Small Cylinder	Opaque	0.83	2.46	1.5
	Wound	White on Brown	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	1.11	2.74	2.23
Wound	White Heart	Small Cylinder	Opaque-Translucent	1.1	3.19	2.08	

Appendix 4: Table of glass bead manufacturing method, colour, shape, diaphaneity, and measurement of excavated glass beads from Midden 1 at Libanon 5,

	Soetwater 1			Soetwater 2			Soetwater 5	Soetwater 7		Total:
	Pick Up 1	Pick Up 2	Pick Up 3	Pick Up 1	Pick Up 2	Pick Up 3	Pick Up	Pick Up 1	Pick Up 2	
European Ceramic	0	2	2	12	10	1	10	2	4	43
Coarse Earthenware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	0	22
Glass	7	4	4	1	16	6	7	0	15	60
Metal	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	8
Ostrich egg shell	0	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	6
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	9	8	8	17	28	8	17	26	19	140

Appendix 5: All finds at the surface collections at Soetwater (N).