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INTERACTION BETWEEN HUNTER-GATHERERS AND AGRICULTURISTS IN THE EASTERN FREE STATE

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

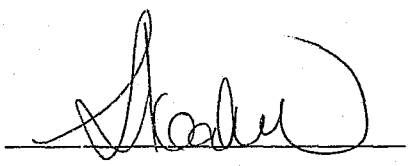
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Abstract

This thesis investigates the last 3600 years at two sites in the eastern Free State, and more particularly, possible interaction between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists at Roosfontein Rock Shelter and De Hoop Cave. Both of these sites have a pre-ceramic and a ceramic assemblage which indicates that they were occupied in both pre contact and contact periods. The historical and ethnographic accounts suggest that San hunter-gatherers used many different strategies, such as retreat, warfare and co-operation in the form of trade and client relationships, as and when the situation demanded in dealing with the arrival of agriculturists. A comparison of these two sites shows differences between the time period in which they were occupied as well as different occupiers of the sites over time. Roosfontein does not show evidence of co-operative interaction in that few Iron Age items were recovered, therefore, retreat or possible abandonment of the site, in the face of Iron Age expansion into the Free State, has been proposed. The origins of the early adiagnostic pottery are not known, but certain features suggest a pastoralist origin. This pottery could have been obtained through long distance trade. De Hoop shows evidence of possible cooperative interaction with agriculturists during the nineteenth century. It appears that De Hoop was unoccupied during the time period that Roosfontein was inhabited. Roosfontein yielded dates of 1920±60BP - 1290±50BP whilst the De Hoop dates show a hiatus in occupation 3620±60BP, 2850±60BP, 180±40BP. This would explain some of the differences between the two sites.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.



Shelona Klatzow

27 Day of March 2000.

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INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study was twofold. The first was to look at a possible contact situation between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists at Roosfontein Rock Shelter in the eastern Free State. The second was to look at a definite contact situation between hunter-gatherers and Iron Age farmers at De Hoop Cave which is also in the eastern Free State. Both of these sites displayed typical hunter-gatherer LSA objects.

The aim of the research was to investigate the effects that contact and interaction with pastoralists and agriculturists, prior to the arrival of the white pastoralists in the 1830s, may have had on the indigenous hunter-gatherer populations in this area and how they may have reacted to the new people on the landscape. Of interest was to look at interaction with regard to social relations, economic strategies, stone tool technology and band movement, as well as the form that the interaction may have taken over time.

Both sites were excavated to a depth which allowed a comparison of artefacts in both the pre-pottery and pottery levels. Until recently (the late 1980s and 1990s), archaeological evidence for interaction from the hunter-gatherer point of view was not investigated in any depth in the eastern Free State. During this time, important historical (Jolly 1994) and archaeological (Wadley 1992, 1995, Thorp 1998 and Loubser & Laurens 1994, Mitchell 1994,1996, to name a few) investigations have been carried out in the eastern Free State and Lesotho. Prior to this, Maggs extensively surveyed and excavated Iron Age sites on the southern Highveld, the results of which were published in 1976. This has proved to be invaluable in looking at the demographics of the eastern Free State. The earliest Iron Age site in eastern Free State, close to Ladybrand is OND2 which was

occupied from AD 1510 onwards.

Wadley's excavations at Rose Cottage Cave have shown that occupation of the cave stretches back over more than 50 000 years. The more recent occupations of this cave are 1100±30BP, 680BP to 500±50BP (Wadley:1995, 1997). Dates from excavations in caves and rock shelters in this area show that hunter-gatherers were present in the eastern Free State throughout the Holocene to approximately 100BP.

I will be examining interaction between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists, using theoretical models of frontier situations as well as a combination of ethnographic studies, historical accounts and archaeological work on interaction to assist the interpretation of hunter-gatherer responses to new people on the landscape. One must not view hunter-gatherers as a purely passive people who were subjugated wholesale by the agriculturists and/or pastoralists. Rather the situation can be seen as a mosaic of intergroup relationships of various forms, where different strategies were put into operation by both agriculturists and hunter-gatherers in order to deal with different and ever changing circumstances and social relationships in this area.

CHAPTER ONE

Frontier Theory and Ethnographic evidence for interaction

Frontier models can give us an idea of the options and strategies that hunter-gatherers may put into practice during initial (moving) frontiers and the later interaction phase. Alexander (1984) refers to the initial frontier as a moving frontier where small groups of settlers first move into an area. The second phase of this is characterised by a denser settlement of the new population which may disrupt hunter-gatherer patterns. Hunter-gatherer responses are seen to vary from warfare, retreat into areas which are unfavourable to farmers and/or pastoralists, and semi- permanent relationships of exchange between hunter-gatherers and farmers/pastoralists (Alexander:1984). Finally, as a result of these various factors, a static frontier develops where long-term relationships develop. These relationships take the form of either isolation or complete assimilation (Alexander:1984).

The frontier area is seen to be an area of social transition which is flexible in nature (Leggassick:1992). Another feature of the frontier zone is interaction and change and therefore none of the groups within the area can be seen as being completely isolated (Penn:1986). Giliomee says that one of the major characteristics of a frontier zone is that it is an area over which different groups of people living there claim ownership and thus is a disputed area (Giliomee:1992). It is also an area over which no single power (be it government or chief) is recognised by all as an authority. Giliomee (1992) sees the closed frontier (also referred to as a static frontier by Alexander) occurring when one of the groups is able to exert authority over all the others.

Hall disagrees with applying the model of a moving and static frontier to every frontier situation in that it "imposes a typological straightjacket on interaction processes" (Hall:1990:244) and may mask the different processes which occurred at different times (Hall:1990). These processes are departures from the hunter-gatherers' traditional economic and demographic patterns (Hall:1990:244). Mazel criticises Alexander's frontier model in that interaction is seen in predominantly economic and ecological terms. Mazel suggests that each situation should be investigated without imposing a set interaction scheme (Mazel:1989:134). Looking at ethnographic examples, historical records and archaeological evidence, hunter-gatherer responses to agriculturists differ through time and in place. The reactions of both groups to each other and the relevant historical events occurring at a particular time are complex and changing.

Ethnographic studies have provided us with a variety of recorded responses by hunter-gatherers faced with an influx of agriculturists/pastoralists into their territories. The ethnographies and historical accounts record warfare, retreat, assimilation, domination and also co-operation, where mutually beneficial exchange may take place. Therefore, the contact area cannot be interpreted only as a conflict zone, but also as an area where racial alliances are held together by the exchange of goods and services (Gilliomee:1992). The arrival of farmers and pastoralists into an area traditionally occupied by hunter-gatherers does not necessarily mean that the hunter-gatherers are displaced, although the sedentary people may change the social landscape of the hunter-gatherer groups (Moore:1985) and place various limitations on them. When this occurs, easy access to domestic carbohydrates is an advantage for the hunter-gatherers (Petersen:1978).

The new farming settlements also create new economic, social, political and religious opportunities (Moore:1985:95). The exchange of hunted meat and ivory or other gathered goods, such as honey and pelts, for domestic carbohydrates and trade items, such as metal, salt and beads, is common between hunter-gatherers and farming communities (Petersen:1978). Aka hunter-gatherers, for example, have been in contact with farmers for centuries. They are involved in a complex exchange system whereby they work in the farmers' fields and exchange hunted meat for metal tools, salt and starch. Although they still return to the forest at different times of the year, they have started to live closer to the farmer villages (Bauchuchet & Guillaume:1982).

A landscape devoid of hunter-gatherers need not only mean that they were displaced, but they may have chosen to move closer to farmer settlements because these may have supplied them with new social and economic strategies: "In other words, food producers also attract hunter-gatherers" (Hall:1990:250). This is a situation that van der Ryst (1998) has documented in the Waterberg. In addition to the exchange of goods, hunter-gatherers often perform services for the pastoralists or farmers in the form of herding. In some cases, they fill the role of shamans or rainmakers to the farming community.

The social and exchange relations between hunter-gatherers and farmers are dynamic, variable and generally quite complex. Farmers usually see themselves as being superior to the hunter-gatherers, usually because hunter-gatherers do not own livestock, or live in villages, but the farmers also fear the hunter-gatherers because of their skill in hunting and their ability to contact spirits (Petersen:1978, Bahuchet & Guillaume:1982). This contradiction in the feelings of the farmers at times leads to violence

against the hunter-gatherers. Thus interaction should not be seen as a one-way flow of ideas, goods and technology from the farmers to the hunter-gatherers. Both communities are influenced by each other and the situation, in ways that are sometimes beneficial and at other times are detrimental.

The different forms that the contact situations display, vary not only as a result of the different groups involved, but also as a result of the different groups position in history at the time of the interaction and therefore these forms may change over time and vary in different areas. Thus we cannot impose hard and fast models on archaeological interaction situations. A further point to be mentioned here is that the form that an interaction situation may take is premised to a large extent on the hunter-gatherer social and economic systems that were in place prior to contact (Hall:1990:250). Hunter-gatherer and farmers' responses also have to be seen in the context of hundreds of years of interaction as has been highlighted in the Kalahari Debate (Wilmsen & Denbow:1990). The revisionists (Denbow, Wilmsen,) allege that the traditionalists (Lee & Solway 1990) have portrayed the Kalahari !Kung as an isolated, pristine group of hunter-gatherers, the study of whom can allow us to see how hunter-gatherers lived and behaved prior to contact with Bantu speaking farmers and white colonists (Denbow:1984). The revisionists argue that the !Kung have in fact been in contact through trade networks and with Bantu speaking farmers themselves for many centuries. Thus they can only be seen in the light of a post-contact group. Both revisionists and traditionalists now agree that most hunter-gatherers have had contact with each other over a few centuries, but they do not always agree on the degree of contact or the effects that it may have had on the hunter-gatherers.

This in a nutshell is the basis of the argument, although there are many more nuances in the debate from both sides that are beyond the scope of this thesis. The importance of this debate to archaeologists is the warning it sounds, when using ethnographic studies to assist in explaining hunter-gatherer behaviour in the past. Ethnographic work can assist archaeologists in their efforts to understand hunter-gatherer reactions to stress, interaction and contact as well as kinship alliances and trade networks, but none of these can be applied wholesale to explaining a hunter-gatherer presence in the archaeological record: "the accumulated ethnographic record cannot be treated as an archive of the distant past" (Shott:1992:857). Shott warns of the dangers of depending on the ethnographic record to the extent where it is merely reproduced in the archaeological one (Shott:1992) which results in the silencing of aspects in the archaeological record which fall outside of the scope of the ethnographic record (Hall:1990:17). Certainly the !Kung hunter-gatherers as we now know them have been in contact with farmers for a few centuries. As Kent (1992) points out, there is great variability in the belief structures within Basarwa groups. Certain Basarwa groups practise *hxaro,* others in the central Kalahari do not. Economic, social and political dependence on Bantu speakers ranges from complete dependence to partial dependence (Kent:1992:50). Some groups keep domestic stock, others live primarily by hunting and gathering, others are clients or employees. Kent feels that one of the reasons that has given rise to the debate is the lack of understanding of the amount of diversity in Basarwa groups. Oversimplification and generalisations of the similarities amongst different Basarwa groups allow the differences to be hidden. She feels that both positions in the debate can be criticised as being partial and simplistic (Kent:1992:54). Thus, as long as archaeologists appreciate the variability in hunter-gatherer groups, (the variability in responses to farmers and

pastoralists) and use the ethnographic record critically, ethnographic studies can enrich our explanations of the archaeological past.

Historical and Archaeological background to interaction

Pottery reached the Cape approximately 2000 years ago (Sadr:1998) and there is evidence of domestic sheep at 1600BP (Sealy & Yates:1996). Two hypotheses as to whether pottery and sheep arrived together or separately and as to whether they arrived via diffusion or with a migration of people are currently being researched and debated. The most popular hypothesis suggests that the Khoe migrated southwards with pottery and sheep. Other researchers suggest that livestock diffused from one hunter-gatherer group to another (Sadr:1998). The available evidence suggests that sheep and pottery diffused at different rates (Sadr:1998). Sadr believes that, given the diversity of modern hunter-gatherer groups, some hunter-gatherer groups in the past may have made the transition to herding without becoming incorporated into the hierarchical herder society (Sadr:1998:124).

Archaeological work has illustrated how hunter-gatherers chose options in an interaction situation as best suited themselves. Sometimes hunter-gatherers retreated into areas, which, because of the geography, were out of reach of the pastoralists or farmers. This option appears to have occurred in some areas of the western Cape where low population densities allowed hunter-gatherers to move away from pastoralists to the mountainous areas (Hall:1990). The hunter-gatherers of the south-western Cape appear to have interacted with pastoralists in a hierarchical relationship, with the herder employing the hunter-gatherers in various capacities (Smith *et al.*1991:89). Hall found that hunter-gatherers in an area of the eastern Cape settled close to the agriculturists in order to

exchange goods and services (Hall:1990). Van der Ryst (1998) investigated contact between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists from the Waterberg in the Northern Province and found that a similar situation pertained. Hunter-gatherers started to settle the Waterberg Plateau intensively at the same time that the Iron Age farmers settled there. Van der Ryst concludes that the hunter-gatherers actively sought contact with the farmers and settled on the plateau in order to be near to the farming settlement. The relationship appears to have initially been an amicable one, which changed to hostility only in the historic period (Van der Ryst:1998:54).

Sampson has found archaeological evidence for two different scenarios in the Seacow Valley. Here the San became client-herders for pastoralists, for which service they may have been paid in pots (Sampson: 1984). This also occurred later in the Seacow Valley, where, after the arrival of the Trekboers, the San moved into close proximity to the farmsteads, enticed by gifts and food (Sampson:1995). Sampson suggests that the hunter-gatherers may also have become stock thieves and in this way have acquired their own livestock. The hunter-gatherers in the north of the Seacow Valley appear to have rejected both of these options in favour of avoidance of the new arrivals (Sampson:1986).

Mazel (1986) has investigated hunter-gatherer/farmer relations from several caves and rock shelters in the Thukela Basin. The archaeological evidence from these sites suggests that the central Thukela Basin was unoccupied by hunter-gatherers before the arrival of the farmers. When the farmers settled in this area, Mazel sees an intensification of hunter-gatherer occupation of the central Thukela Basin (Mazel:1989). Thus it appears that the hunter-gatherers moved from the Drakensberg to the central Thukela

Basin in order to be close to the farming settlements (Mazel:1997). The hunter-gatherers later returned to the Drakensberg when the farmers started to settle in the area below the Drakensberg foothills (Mazel:1997:98). Based on the material culture, he feels that hunter-gatherer/farmer relations were close and harmonious up until 1000AD. Hunter-gatherer items such as worked bone, stone artefacts, and ostrich eggshell and ostrich eggshell beads have been found at farming sites, whilst pottery and iron, associated with farmers, have been found on hunter-gatherer sites. He suggests that interaction in this area was based partly on economic symbiosis (Mazel:1986:448). Hunter-gatherer technology and subsistence patterns that were in place prior to the interaction continued during the interaction period. Although these relationships may initially have been close, he feels that hunter-gatherers may have strengthened and perhaps extended alliance networks with other hunter-gatherers within and beyond the Thukela Basin (Mazel:1986:450). From 1000AD to 1800AD Mazel sees the contact continuing but lessening in intensity (Mazel:1989:150).

Iron Age sites can also add to our knowledge of interaction. In the same way that Iron Age items in hunter-gatherer contexts signal interaction, items normally attributed to hunter-gatherers found in Iron Age settlements can do the same. 001, an Iron Age site excavated by Maggs in the north central Free State, yielded 174 ostrich eggshell beads, but very few unworked ostrich eggshell fragments were found. Maggs suggests that the San may have been supplying these beads to the farmers as late as the early nineteenth century (Maggs:1976:126). Evidence from Jubilee Shelter and the early Iron Age site of Broederstroom in the Magaliesberg suggests that a symbiotic relationship existed between hunter-gatherers and early Iron Age farmers. Small endstruck scrapers and an adze were found at

Broederstroom. The absence of cores suggests that they were brought to the site as finished tools (Wadley:1996:211). Wadley suggests that the hunter-gatherers brought these tools to Broederstroom in order to process hides for the farmers. It appears that hunter-gatherer mobility patterns had changed from those in the past. Wadley feels that the hunter-gatherers may have changed their mobility patterns in order to stay near the Iron Age village. Since this would have disrupted their aggregation and dispersal patterns, she concludes that the village may have become a substitute for the hunter-gatherer aggregation camp (Wadley:1996:215). A further option that hunter-gatherers used was a combination of seasonal interaction and retreat.

These archaeological examples highlight the variability in hunter-gatherer responses to an influx of new people on the landscape, be they herder or agriculturist, and the dangers of imposing generalised ethnographic studies, historical records or archaeological work onto a geographically and historically specific site. Each site needs to be looked at in terms of its own specific geographical and historical placement as well as the wider historical and archaeological picture of interaction.

Historical accounts are useful in giving us an idea of interaction between groups, the movement of people across the landscape as well as intergroup movement for the 19th century in the area of the Orange and Caledon Rivers. However, these accounts cannot be used uncritically. We know that some of these accounts are biased in their portrayal of the indigenous people, especially the San. For example, Casalis writes, "the Bushman offers...the most hideous caricature of the human race" (Casalis:1971:155). He was certainly not the only missionary or white colonist to express such a view. Not only are there biases but also gaps

and inconsistencies. Parkington warns against using the observations of early travellers and visitors to the Cape as reflecting a pattern that has not changed from pre-contact times. He suggests a critical use of the historical accounts rather than using them as a model of the past (Parkington:1984:172).

There is another important point that needs to be mentioned here and that is the lack of clarity in many of the historical accounts in distinguishing between the Khoe and the San. As the 18th century progressed, the distinctions between the two became more and more blurred (Elphick & Malherbe:1992). Therefore it is not possible to make neat distinctions between Khoe and San. Schrire points out that the term San used by early observers and travellers was a flexible category to refer to people who were hunter-gatherers, cattle thieves, stock breeders on a small scale and Khoekhoe and non-Khoekhoe speakers (Schrire:1980:19).

Another example of the dangers in uncritically reading historical accounts is evident when one looks at early records of the composition of the Korana. From a superficial look at the historical accounts, one may assume that the Korana group had its own distinctive culture. The Korana can be seen as being predominantly Khoe, who moved away from the Cape colony. As they moved further north, they collected the remains of other groups (Penn:1995). By the mid-nineteenth century, the composition of a Korana group, besides the predominant Khoe, would have included San, Sotho, Nguni, runaway European convicts from the Cape colony, as well as people of mixed blood.

There is currently a debate about the identity and origin of the pastoralists. Parkington believes that, although some hunter-gatherers may have been

assimilated into pastoralist society, the early appearance of pottery and sheep remains is the result of an immigration of pastoralists who can be distinguished from hunter-gatherers in the archaeological record (Parkington *et al.*1986). Herder lifestyle involves an accumulation of stock, inheritance and political leadership (Parkington *et al.*1986:317). In contrast, hunter-gatherers have a philosophy of sharing and delayed reciprocity. These differences would, he argues, seriously hamper the transition from a hunter-gatherer to a herder way of life. Smith argues that the herder lifestyle was exclusive and that hunter-gatherers were denied status by herders who blocked their access to domestic stock (Smith:1991:90). Smith *et al.* assert that hunter-gatherers of the Cape were largely independent socio-economic groups who were separate from herders, some of whom may have maintained their hunter-gatherer identity until well after the European colonists had settled (Smith *et al.*1991:81).

Like Parkington, Yates & Smith (1993) maintain that hunters and herders can be distinguished archaeologically. Hunter-gatherer sites are categorised by a high frequency of formal tools, the frequent use of silcrete, small ostrich eggshell beads, the infrequent use of pottery and small numbers of domestic remains. Herder sites would exhibit the reverse of this (Yates & Smith:1993:97). Webley excavated two open- air sites in the northern Cape and applied Yates and Smith's criteria for recognising herder and hunter-gatherer sites from the material culture in the archaeological deposit. She found that certain aspects conformed to their criteria of recognising herder sites: sheep remains dominated the faunal assemblage and both sites displayed a low frequency of retouched tools which accounts for only 0.05per cent of the lithic assemblage (Webley:1997:5). Both sites depart from the criteria with regard to the size of ostrich eggshell beads and the pottery index is low. On the basis of the material culture remains, Webley

believes that both sites are pastoralist sites, but she argues that it should be recognised that herder sites, like hunter-gatherer sites, may display variability with regard to their material culture remains.

Parkington suggests that hunter-gatherers in the Cape maintained their identity and way of life by using a combination of economic and distributional responses whilst living in the "interstices of pastoralist society" (Parkington:1984:164). Although Parkington (1984) and Yates and Smith (1993) argue that some hunter-gatherers maintained their way of life after the arrival of the pastoralists, they do not believe that the hunter-gatherers were immune to the newcomers. Certain aspects of settlement and material culture would have undergone changes due to the arrival of the herders (Yates & Smith:1993). They argue that although some hunter-gatherers may have adopted pastoralism, it would not have been the general practice amongst hunter-gatherers to do so.

Schrire disagrees with both Parkington and Smith. Basing her argument on historical records, she suggests that there have been no pure hunter-gatherers in southern Africa in the last 2000 years. She argues that the San/Khoe division is unclear because at times the Khoe had no cattle, while hunter-gatherers had herds of cattle and sheep (Schrire:1980:19). She feels that hunter-gatherer behaviour and concerns are part of a wider system in which a range of environmental factors, including climatic changes, political alliances, differential inheritance of goods and the relationship with other groups in a wide area, appear to have influenced their socio-economic status over time (Schrire:1980:10). Schrire sees a fluid cycle of wealth and impoverishment amongst the Khoe at the Cape. An abundance of cattle which equals wealth would have been part of the upward cycle. Conversely Khoe without cattle would be impoverished and

thus on the downward cycle and would be forced to revert to a foraging way of life (Yates & Smith:1993). Parkington disagrees with this view, because Khoe who had lost their stock could rely on political alliances which existed between herder groups to regain stock, and therefore would not have been forced to revert to a foraging lifestyle (Parkington:1984:88). Schrire alleges that hunter-gatherers can move from a hunting and gathering lifestyle to pastoralism and back again as their situation requires. She disagrees with the notion that hunter-gatherer sites can be differentiated from herder sites as aspects that may be absent at one site could be present at another site in the vicinity because of people using different sites for different purposes (Schrire:1980:17). Smith argues that San or hunter-gatherer ideology would make this type of change very difficult.

If one accepts that hunter-gatherers and herders are two separate entities, one of the ways in which to distinguish hunter-gatherers from pastoralists in historical literature and in the archaeological record focuses on those who have cattle/ domestic stock amongst other items already mentioned, and those who have none. This becomes more problematic through time as more and more hunter-gatherers obtained domestic stock. A few traveller accounts mention "Bushmen" owning cattle. Burchell (1953) mentions two incidences of livestock theft, of large herds, by people he calls "Bushmen." Burchell relates visiting a Bushman Kraal, the kraal of Kaabi in 1811. This group had about one hundred goats, about six sheep and six oxen. When he visited them again maybe two months later at a new kraal, their herd had increased, from six cattle to what Burchell refers to as large herds of cattle. The reasons for the relocation of the kraal and the increase in wealth of cattle appear to have been linked. They had stolen these cattle and had moved in order to avoid a reprisal raid

(Burchell:1953:143).

Mr Janz, a missionary, recounted visiting a" Bushman" kraal on the bank of the River Maap in 1811. They also possessed sheep, goats and cows, which the "Bushmen" confessed were obtained in a raid on people they called "Naked Caffres". Burchell says that these people were goodlooking for "Bushmen". One of these men said that his father was a Bachapin (Burchell:1953:302). This information may be about either a group of people of mixed blood, San, who had obtained stock or they were Khoekhoe.

Another traveller, Thompson, recalled meeting a party of Hantam Bushmen in the 1820s who had a few cattle and approximately 200 sheep. The Chief of another Bushmen group was known as the "Bushman Boer" because he owned a small flock. These Bushmen were seen, by white settlers as being more civilised than other Bushmen groups because they owned cattle. (Forbes:1967:21).

Stow writes that the Bushmen in the Free State obtained cattle from the Bachuoana tribes who first crossed the Vaal and entered the southern Highveld. By the early 1800s these Bushmen had built up small herds of cattle and had passed from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to that of pastoralism.

Footnote: The use of the term "Bushman" or " Bushmen" is not used in a derogatory sense in this dissertation, but it is used when discussing historical documents which make use of this term. Early missionaries and travellers used this terms to describe both the physical appearence of the people they labelled "Bushmen" as well as an economy, i.e. hunting and gathering , as opposed to pastoralism.

He goes on to say that, by the time the first missionaries arrived in 1836, these Bushmen had already became destitute (Stow:1905:47).

This was possibly due to the aggressive raiding policy of the Korana, who were busy in the late 1700s and 1800s. Thus an early traveller or missionary, on viewing a group of people without cattle or livestock of any description, may have erroneously assumed that these people were Bushmen, and as such they would be recorded. On reading Thompson's descriptions on the Korana and Bushmen that he met on his travels in the mid 1820s, it is quite clear that there was a vast difference in the fortunes at any one time of these two groups. For example, one group of Bushmen owned cattle, another existed on ants while waiting for the next kill. At the same time, he saw Korana who were so destitute that they were emaciated and others who lived by hunting and gathering because they had lost their cattle to a raiding party. These raiding parties were often other Korana groups (Forbes:1967:29). It must be remembered that Thompson is writing of his travels undertaken in the mid 1820s, when some of the people that he met north of the Orange River may have been affected socially and economically to various degrees by the Mfecane. These wars left many people starving and homeless over a wide area of the country.

Over time and under the influence of farming and herding, some hunter gatherers had by the nineteenth century made a shift in their subsistence strategies. Not only did they acquire livestock but they may have acquired some of the customs and ideas from these communities. So, although they may have looked like San, their subsistence strategies and culture had changed (Jolly:1996). Stanford mentions a case where a San family lived under the protection of a Transkei chief for many years. They were his

official rainmakers (Macquarrie:1962). In return for their services they received cattle and protection. Prins investigated a rainmaker with San blood amongst the Mpondomise. This man managed to manipulate the Mpondomise system in order to obtain economic resources and a higher status. Thus, although the San were economically dependent on the farmers, they were able to exercise some power over their patron by ideologically and economically withholding rain (Prins:1994:182). This does not mean that all San were or wanted to be assimilated into the farmer lifestyle. There are many reports of San who worked as labourers for farmers. These San labourers disappeared at intervals, in order to hunt and to visit their family who still lived in the mountains away from the farming and herding communities. Ritual services were not only sought after by certain Bantu-speaking farmers. San men and women were in demand as healers by the Korana who are said to have had great faith in their magical and healing abilities (Engelbrecht:1936). Conflict and warfare were also recorded, as land and resources were placed under more and more stress (Ellenberger:1969).

The historical records certainly help to dispel the idea that the San were passive players in this history. The San managed to drive white farmers, with their superior arms, out of the Hantam in the 1770s (Sampson 1995, Penn:1995). The San not only fought on their own but San, Khoe and Bastard Hottentots stood together against the increasing incursions of the Dutch farmers in the 1790s (Penn:1995). Eventually most of the hunter-gatherers were dominated politically by black and white farmers (Ouzman:1995:59). Even in these circumstances San managed to manipulate the events to achieve the greatest benefits for themselves as illustrated by Prins (1994).

The examples that I have enumerated clearly show the difficulties in trying to tease out the tangled threads with regard to group identity. I suggest, as others have done, that by the early 1800s, if not before, a rigid application of group identity is probably no longer a valid way of looking at people on the landscape. A more flexible approach is required, although prior to this, in the early period of contact, we are probably safe in suggesting that there were hunter-gatherer groups which were separate in culture, economy and identity and ideology. Although I do use the obvious group identities in some descriptions as a useful handle, these problems must be borne in mind. The historical records, like the archaeological accounts, show that hunter-gatherers made use of a variety of options as a reaction to both herders and agriculturists' arrival in their areas. The reactions ranged from warfare, retreat, trade, clientship and symbiotic co-operation. The options that were put into practise were predicated on the specific hunter-gatherer group's social and economic past, as well as the social, environmental and geographical situation in which they found themselves at the time that the specific interaction was taking place.

CHAPTER TWO

Archaeological Evidence for Interaction in the eastern Free State

Neither of the sites that I excavated can be seen in isolation. Evidence from other sites in the general area, occupied at a similar time period, needs to be taken into account as do the historical events taking place around them. I will be looking at a number of excavated rock shelters and caves in the eastern Free State (Fig. 2) to assist in the interpretation of Roosfontein Rock Shelter and De Hoop Cave.

Tandjiesberg

Tandjiesberg is situated 25km east of Ladybrand and approximately 1km from the Caledon River (Fig. 2). The levels grouped around the date of 860BP are the richest in formally retouched lithics and ceramics. Small scrapers dominate the scraper category and scrapers in general form the bulk of the retouched tool assemblage. Of interest is the presence of possible stone bowl rims, all nine of which were found in the dated level. Stone bowls may have been manufactured by agriculturists (Wadley & McLaren:1998:30). Also in the dated levels are nineteen sherds of which two are decorated and grass-tempered. The grit- tempered ceramics found in these levels have a mean thickness of 6.8mm (Thorp:1998). No diagnostic Sotho sherds were found. Thorp suggests that this assemblage is comparable to contemporary Khoe pastoralist assemblages in the Orange River Valley and the Seacow Valley (Thorp:1998:133). The mean thickness of the grit-tempered sherds is similar to the sherds from Roosfontein, but the Roosfontein ceramic assemblage appears at least 400 years before the Tandjiesberg ceramics. The Tandjiesberg pottery appears approximately 350 years prior to the arrival of the agriculturists in the

northern Free State and approximately 600 years prior to dated Iron Age settlements in the eastern Free State, thus this ceramic assemblage was obtained either via long-distance trade with other hunter-gatherers and/or pastoralists. Thorp suggests that the ceramic assemblage may originate from the south (Seacow Valley or Orange River) or from hunter-gatherer contexts in the east in KwaZulu-Natal (Thorp:1998:158).

Rose Cottage Cave

This large cave is situated on the Platberg near Ladybrand (Fig.2) (Wadley:1995). Thorp has recognised three ceramic components. Grass-tempered decorated Smithfield pottery from level Mn dates to the fifteenth century (Thorp:1998:30). These sherds are similar to those found in the Orange River Scheme and the Seacow Valley. The undecorated sherds may be attributed to hunter-gatherers (Thorp:1998). Because grass-tempered sherds are rare at Rose Cottage Cave, Wadley suggests that they were probably not made by the occupants of the cave, but were obtained through exchange networks from the south (Wadley:1992:10).

The second component relates to ceramics with decoration and temper that is comparable with Iron Age Type N and Type V ceramics. The northern site of OU1 (Type N) is calibrated to AD1432 and level Mn at Rose Cottage Cave has been calibrated to AD1436. Thus the Rose Cottage Cave Iron Age ceramics may have been obtained through exchange networks from the contemporary Iron Age settlement OU1 in the north (Thorp:1998:142).

The third component consists of undecorated, undiagnostic, grit- tempered sherds. They are predominantly black or brown in colour and bear no resemblance to Iron Age pottery. From the description, they appear to be

similar to the ceramic assemblage at Roosfontein, although as with Tandjiesberg, the time period is again very different. The Rose Cottage cave undiagnostic ceramics and those from Tandjiesberg are 180 years apart. Thorp suggests that the Rose Cottage Cave assemblage is comparable to Khoe assemblages from the south (Thorp:1998:158). The evidence for interaction from Rose Cottage Cave appears to be mainly through long-distance trade or exchange networks with other hunter-gatherers, obtaining grass-tempered ceramics from the south, Iron age ceramics from the north and undiagnostic, grit-tempered ceramics possibly from the east. Other items from the east that have come into the cave include a cowrie shell and paintings of Mormyrid fish , both of which occur 300km to the east in KwaZulu-Natal (Wadley & McLaren:1998:31). The cowrie shell could have changed hands many times prior to arriving in the eastern Free State, but this does not apply to the Mormyrid fish. The artists would have had to have seen this fish before being able to paint it, which suggests that some hunter-gatherers travelled great distances (Wadley & McLaren:1998:31).

Twyfelpoort

This site is situated east of Marquard. Ceramics enter the record at this site in the undated level H. This level contains a few glass beads and many peach pips which suggests a date of 1836AD (Backwell *et al.*1996). Peaches arrived from two main sources in the Free State. Prior to the settlement of the area by white farmers, various missionaries had planted mission gardens with peach and apricot trees by the mid 1830s. This point is discussed in more depth in the section on plant remains. Peaches originating from white farmers would only have been in production a decade later. The peach pips from this site could have arrived from either source. The decorated ceramics have been identified as Type V

agriculturist ceramics. There appears to be a resurgence of scrapers in the contact level H, although level L, dated to 1880BP has a higher frequency of formally retouched tools than any other level (Backwell *et al.* 1996). It appears that Twyfelpoort, like De Hoop sees a fluorescence of scrapers, at the same time agriculturist ceramics enter the archaeological record. It has been suggested that the Twyfelpoort hunter-gatherers were hide working for their agriculturist neighbours, at this site during the nineteenth century (Backwell *et al.* 1996:94).

Mauermanshoek

Like De Hoop, this site is situated close to a Wesleyan mission station started in the 1830s (Fig.2) (Wadley:1999). There was an increase in the frequency of scrapers in the contact levels, which were found in context with exchange items such as Sotho-type ceramics, sheep or goat remains and a few glass beads (Wadley:1999). This leads Wadley to conclude that the hunter-gatherers in this shelter were working hides for the neighbouring agriculturists (Wadley:1999). Wadley found no changes in the retouched lithic assemblage from 3500BP to 200BP. Wadley concludes that the San continued living in the shelter during the contact period (Wadley:1999). The contact levels have been dated to 200$\pm$50BP. Wadley points out that, although pastoralists and farmers processed hides, neither of them used the type of scrapers found here, which are typical post-Classic Wilton scrapers (Wadley:1999).

Rooikrans

This shelter is situated on the eastern flank of the Tandjiesberg approximately 20km northeast from Ladybrand (Fig. 2). The contact levels have been dated to 100$\pm$60BP. A feature of the contact levels here is the wide range and high percentages of formally retouched tools compared

with sites like Twfelpoort, Westbury and Mauermanshoek. Rooikrans also yielded ceramics comparable with either Type V or Caledon River Valley ceramics. Also present were bone points, peach pips, pumpkin seeds, tsama melon seeds, maize fragments and 95 pieces of ostrich eggshell. Thorp suggests that hunter-gatherer sites were situated close to agriculturist settlements as a result of new relationships that hunter-gatherers entered into with the farmers (Thorp:1998:108). Thorp interprets the wider range of retouched tools as the result of the site being used as a base by hunter-gatherers who were clients of the agriculturists and therefore lived a more sedentary lifestyle. They thus lived at the site for longer periods of time (Thorp:1998:169). The large amounts of tsama melon and pumpkin seeds were obtained by the hunter-gatherers.

Westbury

Thorp (1998) interprets the occupation of this site, in the contact levels dated to the nineteenth century, as being a specialised site, probably a hunting or stock raiding camp, with one of its main activities being hide working. This interpretation is based on the restricted range of retouched tools as compared to those at Rooikrans and the high percentage of small end scrapers in the contact levels. The lack of exchange items in the contact levels generally indicates less evidence of interaction with agriculturists. There were far fewer pots at Westbury than at Rooikrans, as well as smaller amounts of domesticated plant foods. Thorp suggests that the hunter-gatherers from Westbury may not have established close relations with the local agriculturists; thus they were not receiving domesticated plant foods. A high number of domesticated plant foods would suggest that the hunter-gatherers were receiving these items from the agriculturists in payment for services or in an exchange relationship (Thorp:1998). The undecorated ceramic assemblage from this site are

comparable with Type Z, Type V and Caledon Valley sites. The closest excavated Iron Age site is OXF1 (Type Z) which is 90km northwest of Westbury, but there are Type V and Caledon Valley sites in the area (Thorp:1998:152). OXF1 has been dated from the sixteenth or seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century (Maggs:1976:293).

It is worth briefly discussing the Iron Age settlements close to De Hoop Cave. There are six Type V sites around the Viervoetberg and thirteen other Iron Age sites. Two of these, OND2 and OND3, have been excavated by Maggs.

OND3

This settlement is situated on the western slopes of the Viervoetberg at Tihela. This site was the scene of the Battle of Viervoet in 1851 where Moshesh and Moletsane defeated the British forces under Major Warden (Maggs:1976:193). OND3 is the southernmost Type V site. Maggs estimates that this site was occupied by Taung people, either Moletsane's people or his allies during the nineteenth century. The Taung dominated the Mequatling area at that time (Maggs:1976:229). OND3 and De Hoop Cave were probably occupied during the same period. It is approximately 25km from De Hoop.

No pumpkin seeds, maize or peach pips were found. As the Mequatling mission station was not far from this settlement, it is surprising that no peach pips were found, although nineteenth century glass beads were found. Cowpea, sorghum and tsama melon were found amongst broken pots on a hut floor. Remains of cattle and sheep or goats were present (Maggs:1976:210).

OND3 also yielded hunter-gatherer items in the form of three bone points which resemble Late Stone Age arrowheads (Maggs:1976:210). Two of the points were found in the midden, the remaining point was recovered from a hut floor. Maggs feels that the point recovered from the hut floor suggests that these bone points are contemporaneous with the occupation of the site (Maggs:1976). A bone tube with a hatched design from the midden was not found at any other Iron Age site in the area but is comparable to bone tubes found at Late Stone Age sites in the Cape (Maggs:1976). A decorated bone tube was found at Rose Cottage Cave in a level dated to 2200BP (Wadley pers.com.). Historically San were in the area at the time that OND3 was occupied. A group of San lived with the Taung under Moletsane's protection (Loubser & Lourens:1994). It is possible that they or a group like them may be the source of the bone points at OND3. Although bone points have been found at other Iron Age settlements, for example, Maggs found bone points at OXF1, they are not as regularly shaped as Late Stone Age bone points. Maggs draws a distinction between the bone points found at OND3, which he feels are more characteristic of Late Stone Age points, and Iron Age points found at excavated Iron Age settlements in the Free State (Maggs:1976:210). Wadley points out that approximately 200 bone points and linkshafts were found at the Early Iron Age site of Broederstroom (Wadley:1996:212). It is possible that the Iron Age people made these items themselves.

OND2

This settlement is situated on the eastern side of the Viervoetberg. Maggs estimates that it was occupied in the eighteenth century and perhaps the early nineteenth century but not at the time of the Mfecane
or thereafter as no evidence for missionary or settler goods has been found. No plant remains were found. Domestic faunal remains were

present in the form of cattle and sheep/goats (Maggs:1976:225).

Discussion

There is evidence of early contact in the form of probably long-distance trade or exchange of undiagnostic grit-tempered ceramics from Tandjiesberg dated to 860BP and Rose Cottage Cave dated to 680BP. The origin of the early undiagnostic ceramics is unclear, but Thorp suggests that they may originate from the Seacow Valley or Orange River Valley in the south, or from KwaZulu-Natal in the east. Rose Cottage Cave is of even more interest in that it has evidence of trade in grass-tempered pottery from the south and the undiagnostic grit- tempered pottery from the south or east. There is also evidence or long-distance trade with Iron Age settlements to the north. This trade or exchange network may have taken place through hunter-gatherer networks and not directly with the Iron Age people themselves.

Later contact appears at Twyfelpoort, Mauermanshoek, Rooikrans and Westbury. The contact levels at all four sites fall within the last 200 years, once the Iron Age had moved south into the Caledon River Valley. Here the contact is mainly with Iron Age people and later white missionaries. At least five mission stations were founded in the 1830s and 1840s in the Ladybrand, Thaba Nchu area, excluding Lesotho. Rooikrans, Twyfelpoort and Mauermanshoek are all in an area well populated by Iron Age settlements during the nineteenth century. Mauermanshoek and Rooikrans are not far from OND3. The evidence from Mauermanshoek, Rooikrans and Twyfelpoort suggests that hunter-gatherers remained in caves which were in close proximity to the Iron Age settlements in the area and provided services such as hide working in return for ceramics and domesticated plant food. This situation is more than periodic contact, rather, established

client and exchange relationships appear to have developed in this area. According to Maggs, there was a considerable Sotho presence in the Caledon Valley in the 1830s (Maggs:1976:310). The Taung were settled around the Merjuatling area, at OND3 and other sites. The historical records also mention that this area was well populated with many Iron Age villages in the 1830s and thereafter.

An important point to remember is that the Mfecane was probably a disastrously disruptive event on the southern Highveld and in particular in the Caledon Valley. The effect of the Mfecane was so great that it transformed every Iron Age community and destroyed others completely (Maggs:1976:310). People and whole villages became wandering refugees or moved and settled where they could away from areas of great strife. Thus the Mfecane would have altered living patterns and the number of settlements in a given area. Areas that may have been sparsely populated, prior to the Mfecane, were settled by refugees, leaving abandoned villages in previously well settled areas. Travellers, in the 1830s, recorded seeing many deserted, stone-walled settlements to the north of Ladybrand (Arbousset & Daumas:1968). Historical records in this area, therefore, portray a landscape after the Mfecane only.

Historical accounts of Interaction in the Free State and Lesotho

Iron Age farmers crossed the Vaal between the 16th and 18th centuries and moved south. According to Ellenberger (1969), the hunter-gatherers in the Caledon River Valley lived in peace with the first farmers who arrived in the area. The farmers acknowledged the San as the first inhabitants of the land. These early immigrant Sotho groups, such as the Fokeng, Taung and Kubung, interacted with the San for centuries prior to the formation of the Sotho nation under Moshesh (Gill:1993:7). On their arrival at

Motbongtloang, the Taung found numerous San. According to Ellenberger, some of them remained independent and others became herders and hunters for the Taung. Both groups existed largely on hunted and gathered food (Ellenberger & Mcgregor:1969:56). The Ghoya (the name which refers to the Kubung and the Taung after they merged in the 1820s (Jolly:1993)) are thought to have initiated friendly relations which extended to intermarriage with the native hunter-gatherers. Stow suggests that this was because the Ghoya were not a powerful group at the time of the migration, and marriage would give them rights to the land (Walton:1965:21). Eventually, the assimilated San adopted a more settled lifestyle and acquired livestock. The Ghoya living in Lesotho in the late nineteenth century still referred to themselves as "brothers of the San" (Walton:1965:30).

Other early arrivals to this area were three Nguni groups, the Phetla, the Polane and the Phuti (Maggs:1971:226). All of these small autonomous groups, both Sotho and Nguni, were united by Moshesh after his arrival at Thaba Nchu in 1824.

Certain groups of San appear to have moved into closer proximity to the Sotho and Nguni farmers because of the benefits that could accrue to them. For example, some Sotho married San women and employed young San boys as herders and some as hunters. Obviously this would have been arranged to be mutually beneficial to both parties. Exchange in the Caledon River Valley seemed to have centred on the San receiving crops, cattle and sheep in return for herding and giving San women as wives to Sotho leaders (Loubser & Laurens:1994).

One of the early immigrant groups, the Phuti under chief Moorosi, is

interesting in that it interacted to a large extent, especially, during the Mfecane, with the San and appear to have had a close symbiotic relationship during these wars and thereafter. This group of Phuti had been attacked during the first wave of the Nguni assault and had been left without shelter and food. The San assisted the impoverished Phuti during this time by providing them with food which the San hunted and gathered. They also shared their cave with them. Later this group of Phuti raided the Nguni and the white settlers in the eastern Cape, to replenish their herds, and returned with the cattle to the caves of the San (How:1962:11). In this case, the San became the overlords of the Phuti and claimed a share of the stolen cattle which the Phuti had to comply with. Once the Phuti had recovered and fell under the protection of Moshesh, they moved out of the cave and, in the following years, the situation was reversed. Moorosi took two San wives and ended up protecting various bands of San (How:1962). Moorosi is thought to have had San blood from his mother's side (Loubser & Laurens:1994). Moshesh himself apparently took two San wives as a political move. According to the legend surrounding this decision, Moshesh sent a herd of cattle to Phillipolis to obtain the service of missionaries. A San hunter stole not only the first herd but the second and third as well. To stop further attacks on his herds, Moshesh married two of the hunter's relatives and gave the hunter permission to hunt eland in the mountains (Ellenberger & Macgregor:1969:235).

Although there was intermarriage between the San and the Sotho, the child of such a union could not succeed his father as chief. Therefore, although the Sotho-Tswana believed the San to be important to them in ritual affairs, people with San blood were not acceptable as political leaders (Loubser & Laurens:1994). Moshesh is recorded as having said, "A Bushman cannot rule" (Maggs:1976:307). Jolly suggests that the objection was not the

marriage itself, but that the Sotho would not be ruled by a person of San descent (Jolly:1994:55).

The Caledon Valley and Lesotho changed dramatically during and after the Mfecane. Many displaced groups, (those who were destitute and those who were well armed and warlike) had arrived in the area. In addition to these new groups were the added dangers of the well-armed Korana who raided continuously. The San in this area had to adjust to the new developments. There is documented evidence from the nineteenth century, that in this area the San made use of a variety of options as suited them at the time. A good example of this is the San who fell under Moorosi's protection. They appear to have embraced the Phuti lifestyle to a certain extent. They lived in huts, cultivated crops and possessed cattle and sheep. They joined in Moorosi's raiding parties to the eastern Cape. They also hunted eland for Moorosi, but for part of the year they lived on their own in the hills (Jolly:1994:63). These San kept in regular contact with kin and friends who lived in the mountains (Jolly:1995:71). Here the San were combining different aspects of the proposed model on hunter-gatherer responses to agriculturists. San living under the protection of Moletsane's Taung, also left the area, usually during the summer (Loubser & Lourens:1994:99). Hunter-gatherer responses in the southeastern Free State contrast with those in the southwestern Free State, along the Riet River, where hunter-gatherers appear to have taken to pastoralism as a way of life. North of Ladybrand and Winburg, where Iron Age settlements were densely clustered, it appears that hunter-gatherers moved out of the area, as few hunter-gatherer items have been found at these sites (Loubser and Laurens:1994:100), although ostrich eggshell beads have been found at 001.

Stow mentions that a number of San groups congregated around the mountains at Platberg on the Caledon. Stow calls them the Bushmen of Platberg on the Caledon. These clans acknowledged one paramount San chief and appeared to be powerful enough to live there on their own without needing either to retreat from the farmers or to require their protection. They were first driven out by Mzilikazi after which they returned. They were finally driven out of the cave by the boers in the last Basuto war. Later, this cave was used as a kraal for goats and cattle, by the Basuto and the boers. This occupation destroyed the many paintings (Stow:1905: 191). Another powerful San group lived in the mountains at Mequatling. They, like the Platberg San, were forced to leave after the last Basuto/Free State war (How:1962). This group lived in an area surrounded by Moletsane's people and they may have come under his authority.

The historical accounts can give us a good idea of the population spread of the area after the 1830s and the positions in which the San chose to place themselves. Some of the San lived in close proximity to the Korana and Bantu-speaking farmers, of which there were, amongst others, Sotho, Taung, Zulu and Rolong. In certain cases, they fell under the protection of the relevant chief. Arbousset and Daumas, on their travels in 1834 in the Thaba Nchu area, found on their arrival at a village called Ralitbane, various "Bushmen" families living on the slopes of a high mountain amongst approximately 100 Ghoya. Many of this group of San and Ghoya had lost their children to the Korana who had forcibly taken them and then usually sold them to the white pastoralists. This village had also lost its herds to the Korana (Arbousset & Daumas:1968:227). San, who had been compelled by "Basters" into service as servants, fled to Moshesh who placed them under his protection (Theal:1883:27). On their arrival, the missionaries found Sotho villages all along the way from Thaba Nchu to

Thaba Bosigu (Theal:1883:1). Backhouse in his travels between Mequatling and Meremetsu in 1839 records passing Taung villages, a group of San huts, Korana villages, the villages of Zulu refugees and Basotho villages (Theal:1883:32). Travelling between Thaba Bosiu and Platberg Mission Station he wrote the there was a profusion of Basuto villages on the slopes of the hills. Smith said that a group of Bushmen lived, under Moshesh in the area between Platberg mission station and the Viervoetberg Mountain (Kirby:1939:122). Later, travelling along the Modder river, not far from the many Sotho and Rolong villages in Thaba Nchu, he notes, "Small kraals of Bushmen are dispersed over the whole of this country" (Kirby:1939:161). Moshesh estimated that there were 189 Sotho villages in the Thaba Nchu area in 1843 (Eldredge:1993). Arbousset & Daumas record seeing a party of San hunters close to Morija (Arbousset & Daumas:1968) but whether these hunters were independent or whether they hunted for Moshesh is not known.

Other San worked for a variety of more powerful groups as hunters, herders or servants. Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, had a "small army" of San who were employed to look after the draught oxen on a journey and to saddle the horses (Casalis:1971:140). Even when the San allied themselves to other groups, their safety was not always guaranteed. Rolland, the missionary at Beersheba, records that two Boers arrived at his station in 1837 and demanded that they hand over the group of San residing there. The following day the farmers returned and forcibly removed four of the San children, threatening to shoot the parents if they interfered (Theal:1883:16). Thus from the 1820s onwards this area was well populated by many different groups including the San who chose not to retreat permanently into the mountainous areas of Lesotho and the northern Cape.

Retreat into the mountains was another option that some San groups made use of. An example of this option being put into practice is mentioned by How (1962). A group of San was living in a rock shelter near Thaba Bosiu in 1823 when Moshesh arrived. Moshesh attempted to establish friendly relations with them, but they rejected his friendly overtures by retreating further into the Maluti mountains with his cattle. As the game grew scarce in this area, in the late 1800s, the San hunter-gatherers who had chosen to retreat rather than live among the Sotho, started to raid the Sotho cattle. After this, attacks by the Sotho against the San were frequent. Even Moorosi, one of the protectors of the local San, found that his cattle were raided by San from other areas. The result was that he made various raids on the San who lived higher up the Orange River (Jolly:1994).

The option of retreating was sometimes forced upon them. Stow recounts how, after the San of the Koranaberg were attacked by the Boers, they withdrew to the Maluti mountains. This, unfortunately, did not provide them with many years of safety because they were attacked by Chief Moorosi in retaliation for cattle raids and the group was "annihilated" (Stow:1905:191). Widdicombe (1895) also mentions that the San who lived in the innermost recesses of the Maluti Mountains as late as the 1880s would occasionally venture out to steal cattle from the Sotho. During Moorosi's war with the British in 1879, many of his group of San died with him when he was defeated at Moorosi's mountain in southern Lesotho (How:1962). Chief Jonathan used to hunt the San in the Maluti mountains on a regular basis because of stock theft (How:1962). The San were also hunted by various British patrols which were sent into the Maluti mountains in order to hunt them down and exterminate them. The European view of the San is illustrated by a British resident of Bloemfontein, W. Savage, who described them as "predatory bands of

those psychological and physiological travesties of humanity" (Schoeman:1989:43). British Colonel Bowker led a number of parties to hunt down the San from 1868 (Gill:1993).

The Korana and the San had very hostile relations, which resulted in many skirmishes. After they lost these battles, the San retaliated by killing Korana herd boys and stealing their cattle (Engelbrecht:1936). According to Engelbrecht (1936) and Arbousset and Daumas (1968), the Korana are said to have stolen San children for use as servants or for trade with the Dutch farmers. On the other hand Korana and San marriage was recorded in the early 1800s (Burchell: 1953). Some San joined the raiding Korana and Bergenaar groups. The Korana had both horses and guns which they used against the Sotho assegai with obvious success in the many wars between the Sotho and the Korana (Ellenberger & Macgregor:1969). Many Sotho villages were left destitute by the raiding Korana. The Sotho first obtained guns in the 1830s and by the 1850s many Sotho had acquired both guns and horses (Maggs:1976:221). The Korana attacked Sotho, San, Griqua, white pastoralists and missionaries indiscriminately. One day's march from Thaba Bosiu, Casalis found a group of Sotho who had lost all their cattle through Korana raids and were existing mainly on hunting and a little wheat (Casalis:1965:30). Casalis remarks that travelling between Morija and Beersheba in the 1830s placed one at risk of being stripped of everything by "brigands" (Casalis:1965:72). Most groups appear to have feared them, as with horses and guns they were both fast and deadly.

Historical Events in the Nineteenth Century in the eastern Free State and Lesotho.

The wars of the 1820s in the Caledon River Valley were particularly severe,

and, even if the San did not get caught up in the rampaging groups in the Valley, the refugee situation would have placed resources under considerable stress (Campbell:1987). Many San died with their protectors between 1822 and1833; and as already mentioned some of the Baphuti moved into a cave with the San and resources were shared (Ellenberger & Macgregor:1969). By 1824, Moshesh had established himself at Thaba Bosiu, a mountain stronghold. Thaba Bosiu was successively attacked by the Batlokoa in 1829, the Korana in 1830 and the Ndebele in 1831.

Even after the wars of the 1820s, this area experienced many other wars, although there was a period of relative peace between 1834 and 1844 when the Sotho people under Moshesh regrouped and started to prosper. Dr A. Smith who travelled to Morija in Lesotho in 1836 said that the people here and in other parts of the country placed their villages in defensive positions and were continually on their guard against attack (Theal:1883). In the 1830s, several mission stations were started in the eastern Free State and Lesotho by both the French missionaries and the Wesleyans. Morija was the first mission station to be started in the area in 1833 by the missionaries, Casalis, Arbousset, Gosselin and Daumas from the French Missionary society, who were to minister to Moshesh and his people. Soon after another mission station was founded at the foot of Thaba Bosiu, by Casalis, because the French missionaries could not persuade Moshesh to join them at Morija. The mission station at Berea was also founded by the Paris Missionary Society in 1833. Six months later, also in 1833, the Wesleyans moved from their mission station on the Vaal and migrated east to Moshesh's territory. As the group of people under their care was large they split into three different mission stations, Thaba Nchu, Umpukane and Platberg on the Caledon. Thaba Nchu was founded for the Rolong, Umpukane for the Korana and Platberg on the Caledon for the Griqua.

Platberg on the Caledon is situated on the farm Pinekloof approximately 2km from De Hoop Cave. The Wesleyans recorded that, at the time of their arrival, it was surrounded by "several populas Basuto Villages", all of whom owed allegiance to Moshesh (Schoeman: 1991:90). The Platberg mission station was established in 1833 and lasted until the Battle of Viervoet in 1851 (Schoeman:1991). Mequatling was started by Daumas in 1837 at the foot of the Viervoetberg. Much later in 1872, the Anglicans founded a mission station at Modderpoort called St Augustine's, which is 25km north east of Ladybrand (Crisp:1895). The missionaries started stations in areas well populated by Basuto villages at Thaba Nchu, Thaba Bosiu, and Platberg. Also in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu were Ghoya (who were part of the Taung tribe) and Matabele. The Mequatling station was started expressly for the Taung.

To add to the general instability of the area, there were also skirmishes with the white pastoralists who crossed the Orange River and moved up the Caledon River valley during the 1830s as part of the Great Trek. This trek resulted in the boers camping on Sotho land and was the start of a gradual diminishment of the land controlled by Moshesh. This constant encroachment on Sotho land led to great conflict between Moshesh and the boers. Sometimes boers stole cattle from the Sotho and kidnapped San children to be used as slaves (Theal:1883). The Sotho in retaliation raided cattle from the boers. Mabile, missionary at Morija, commented that the constant cattle raiding from one side to the other kept the "frontier in a state of incessant turmoil" (Smith:1996:93).

The disputed boundary between the Free State and Lesotho was a major cause of the strife in the area after 1834, of which cattle raiding was but a part. The boundary dispute involved not only the boers but also the

British. By 1845 there were more than 300 boer families on Moshesh's land (Gill:1993:89). In 1848 the British and the San came to blows along the Vaal river. As the San were armed with poisoned arrows, the British soldiers had to wear heavy woollen cloaks to protect themselves. A few "Bushmen" were killed and the rest, about 10 families, surrendered and were taken to Bloemfontein to be distributed as servants. All absconded (Schoeman:1989:17). There were also wars between different Sotho groups as well as wars between the Sotho and the colonial forces that lasted until the 1870s.

In 1851 Warden decided to settle the land dispute between the Rolong and the Sotho, on behalf of the Rolong. He attached and captured the mountaintop in the Mequatling area where Moletsane kept his cattle and passed on leaving his allies, the Rolong and Korana, in possession of the settlements and mountain. Moshesh and Moletsane united forces and launched a counter attack and retook the mountain (Maggs:1976), thus defeating the Rolong, Korana and British forces. This was known as the Battle of Viervoet, the scene of which was Tihela. This site is of interest as Tihela, a Taung settlement under Moletsane, was excavated by Maggs and was named OND3.

In 1852 Moshesh and the British under General Cathcart fought the Battle of Berea at which the Sotho were victorious. In 1858 the boers of the Free State invaded Lesotho. This was the beginning of the Sotho/Free State wars. As a result of this war, Moshesh lost the land on the Free State side of the Caledon River. The second Sotho/Free State war took place in 1865. The Treaty of Aliwal North was signed in 1868, in which Lesotho lost all its land to the west of the Caledon River and the boers were forced to withdraw from their positions on the east side of the river

(Ambrose:1993). This had important consequences for the settlements in and around Thaba Nchu, those in the Mequatling area, and the inhabitants of De Hoop and the surrounding area as the people had to vacate their villages and move to Lesotho. To add insult to injury, this move was forced on them before they had time to harvest their crops. The missionaries were also expelled from the area on the west of the Caledon which then became part of the Free State. Belatedly in order to force the boers to leave the occupied areas on the eastern side of the river, and to protect what was left of Moshesh's territory, Lesotho was annexed by the British Government. The British later insisted that the Sotho hand all their guns in. This led to the gun war in 1880 between the Sotho and the British.

This brief history of the nineteenth century in this area shows that after the devastation of the wars in the 1820s, this area was not free from warfare and skirmishes, but on the contrary, defensive positions were still sought after by the San, Sotho and Korana.

Discussion

The historical accounts suggest a wide range of interactions that sometimes were violent but also took the form of hunter-gatherers providing wives and services (hunting and herding) for which they were paid in domestic crops, metal, cattle and sheep.

Archaeologically, we can find the remains of the cattle and sheep as well as metal items and plant food. The number of Iron Age ceramics in rock shelters is evidence that pottery was part of the exchange scheme as well. Historical records mention that the agriculturists lived in caves with the San during times of strife. Archaeologically, this should also be recognisable in the number of both hunter-gatherer and Iron Age objects in the record. Where San lived on their own and interacted with the agriculturists on a

regular basis, artefacts such as ceramics, iron and domestic plant foods may suggest payment for various services rendered. Cave sites inhabited by hunter-gatherers, displaying a high frequency of scrapers in the contact levels, may suggest hide working for the agriculturists.

The interaction that took place between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would have taken place on a landscape that was far less populated by Iron Age people. OND3 the Iron Age settlement in the Mequatling area, yielded three bone points which are morphologically similar to Late Stone Age bone points and a decorated bone tube. These hunter-gatherer items suggest interaction, although one would expect to find more hunter-gatherer items (ostrich eggshell beads) on this site as Maggs (1976) has linked OND3 to Moletsane's Taung, who had a San group living with them. The accounts are not specific as to whether they lived in the village or in a nearby cave or kraal. It may suggest that, by the nineteenth century, the hunter-gatherers were herding, hide working and hunting for the agriculturists and that hunter-gatherer items were not desired as part of the exchange relations.

Both the historical and archaeological accounts demonstrate that the relationship between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists was not static, but changed through time, sometimes quite dramatically. A good example is How's description of the relationship between the Phuti and the San. This relationship moved from amicable interaction, through assistance and succour that the San gave to the Phuti, the San domination of the Phuti, and, later, the Phuti protection of the San when they become dominant (How:1962). San are recorded as being looked after by various chiefs, Moshesh, Moorosi and Moletsane amongst others. The San were later hunted by Moorosi in retaliation for stock theft, although these were

probably not the San under his protection. Chief Jonathan also hunted the San for the same reason, when, in the past, his father had given them his protection. Thus historical events which are linked to environmental factors (scarcity of game) can cause these relationships to change in the space of 50 years. Contact in this area, as has been shown, changed over time. Oral history suggests an initial peaceful interaction between the hunter-gatherers and certain agriculturist groups. During the Mfecane, relations between certain hunter-gatherers and agriculturists deepened. The later interaction between the San and the Sotho declined to the extent that the Sotho sent raiding parties to kill the San living in the Malutis, from the 1850s onwards. This area can be seen as a frontier zone, initially of peaceful contact with the white missionaries and, later, a hotly disputed area over ownership of land between the Sotho and the white farmers.

The archaeological work done by Mazel, in KwaZulu-Natal, and by Van der Ryst, in the Waterberg, suggests that hunter-gatherers moved closer to agriculturist settlements in order to interact with them. Van der Ryst sees this relationship as being amicable and beneficial which later turned to hostility (Van der Ryst:1998). Mazel found evidence that the close relationship between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists cooled in the later period (Mazel:1998). The historical and archaeological accounts demonstrate the fluid nature of the interaction between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists. These relationships would have been predicated on both groups' social and economic past, the present and the historical events taking place around them at any given time.

I now turn to two excavated sites in the eastern Free State to see whether any of the recorded historical events can be traced archaeologically.

CHAPTER THREE

Excavation at Roosfontein Rockshelter and De Hoop Cave

Roosfontein Rock Shelter

Roosfontein Shelter (28.49S ; 27.44E) is situated between Clocolan and Ficksburg in the Gumtree area in the eastern Free State (Figs 1 & 41). It is approximately 10km from the Caledon River (Fig. 2). This north-facing shelter is large, 60m long and 10m wide. A small section of stone walling was found in the northwest area of the cave. Just outside of the shelter, beyond the stone walling is a stream. According to local history, this shelter was used as a meeting place for farmers to celebrate Nagmaal and in the process they drove their wagons into the shelter, thus churning up the surface deposit. A few badly preserved paintings were found on the southeastern wall. Forty-one square metres were excavated in total. Three excavation grids were laid out, in the west (RW), the east (RE) and one in the middle (RM) (Fig.).

Roosfontein West (RW)

Strewn rocks were found against the rock face running along the entire west section of the grid (Figs 42 & 43). Sixteen square metres were excavated in this grid. The stratigraphy in this excavation was complex. Nine stratigraphic levels were recognised (Figs 4 & 5).

Surface This level consisted of loose brown sand which was easily swept up. Roots as well as cow and hyrax dung were present.

Hard Grey This level was found directly beneath the surface level in most squares. Although very hard and compacted, Hard Grey became fine and powdery when excavated.

Upper Brown The consistency of this level ranged from consolidated to loose. The colour ranged from light to dark brown.

Dark Brown was soft and damp. It contained many fine roots.

Hard Grey 2 like Hard Grey 1 was very hard and dry. This was the deepest level in which pottery was found.

Light Brown Light Brown was found directly beneath the surface in some squares and beneath Hard Grey and Upper Brown in others. It ranged from wet to dry with some roots.

Hard Grey 3 This layer was separated from Hard Grey 2 by the Light Brown layer. It was hard and dry. Large rocks were present.

Light Brown 2 This level was soft and fine. Large rocks were present.

Hard Red This level was excavated only in square I6 although it was also present but unexcavated in J7. It was hard and damp. Small rocks were present.

Roosfontein Middle (RM)

A total of ten square metres was excavated in the centre of the shelter. Three stratigraphic layers were identified: Surface, Light Hard Grey, Ashy and pre-ceramic Ashy (Fig. 6). Decomposing sandstone and bedrock were exposed in four squares.

Surface was loose and disturbed and was easily swept up. It was dry and brown in colour and contained cattle and hyrax dung.

Light Hard Grey (LHG) This layer was adjacent to the Ashy layer. It was much lighter in colour and much harder. The use of a geological pick was often required.

Ashy (A) This layer was dark grey to black in colour and, although it had a fine ashy texture, when excavated it was compacted. Roots were present.

Pre-ceramic Ashy This had the same texture as ceramic Ashy, except that ceramics were absent in the last sixteen and a half buckets of deposit. A charcoal date of 1920±60 BP (Pta 5932) was obtained from square H11 at a depth of 200mm, the base of the excavation.

Roosfontein East (RE)

A rock platform runs part of the length along the back wall of the shelter behind RE and RM. It is this platform of bedrock that appears not far from the surface in some of the squares in both of these grids. A total of fifteen square metres was excavated. The stratigraphy from RE can be seen in Figure 7.

Surface brown in colour, dry, loose and soft and very easy to sweep up. Lots of cow and hyrax dung were present

Black Ash the colour of this level found directly beneath the Surface in most squares was dark grey to black. It was hard and compacted but fine and powdery once excavated. Certain squares had rocks and roots. One square, S17, showed evidence of termite activity. A charcoal sample from square R18 dated to 1290±50BP (Pta-5931) was obtained at 40mm below the surface.

Grey Ash this level was found adjacent to Black Ash in square R18. It was grey brown in colour and much softer than Black Ash.

Brown was found beneath the surface and adjacent to Black Ash in some squares. It was fine but contained many stones and rocks.

Hard Grey this level was dark grey in colour and was very hard and compacted. A pick was used to excavate this deposit. Once excavated, it was powdery. Hard Grey was only found in two squares, Q15 and R14, in both squares it lay directly beneath the Surface.

Black Ash 2 level although hard was softer than Black Ash 1. Although it was dry and rocky, roots were present.

White Sand This was only found in two squares. It was white and fine in places and similar to grainy beach sand in others. Bedrock was found below this level in Q13.

Discussion

The sequence at this shelter was not deep. Bedrock was exposed in ten squares approximately 200mm from the top of the surface. RW had the deepest sequence that extended to 870mm from the surface, although the last level was almost sterile. The Surface level in all three grids appeared to be consistent. The Hard Grey level in RW appeared to be the same as the Light Hard Grey level in RM, and the Ashy level in RM appeared from the description of the colour and texture, to be the same as the Black Ash level in RE.

Dating

Two charcoal dates were obtained from this excavation, one from RM and one from RE. A date of 1290±50BP (Pta-5931) calibrated age AD 770 range AD 685 - 852 was obtained from RE in the Black Ash level at a depth of 40mm from the surface. A second date of 1920±60 BP (Pta-5932) calibrated age AD 112 and AD 64 - 208 was obtained from RM in the Ashy level at 200mm in depth. Both of these levels are directly beneath the surface and, from the description of colour and texture, appeared to be very similar. The difference is that the level from which the date of 1290±50BP was obtained was found in context with pottery. This level in RE yielded 96 sherds. The Ashy level from RM also yielded pottery: a total of 77 sherds were found. The level from which the pottery was obtained did not differ in colour or texture from the lower sections of this level from which the charcoal came, but the last three and a half buckets of Pre-ceramic Ashy in square H11 contained no pottery and the charcoal

sample was taken from the base of the excavation in that square. Thus, most of the Ashy sequence in RM is younger than the date of 1920±60BP and is probably of a similar age to the Black Ash in RE dated to 1290±50BP.

De Hoop Cave

De Hoop Cave (29.14.10S;27.26.18E) is situated on the farm Pinekloof, approximately 15km southwest of Ladybrand (Fig. 2). It is a large cave, 46m long and 9m wide at it narrowest point and 15m at the widest. The cave is located high up on the side of the Platberg mountain and it therefore has an excellent view of the surrounding plains (Figs 45, 46 and 47). It is only 5km from the Caledon River. Other smaller rock shelters are found in close proximity to De Hoop. Approximately 80m to the south of the cave, the hill swings round to face the north. Here, set into a small rock shelter, two huts look onto De Hoop Cave. They are completely hidden from below and, as with De Hoop, they command an excellent view of the plains to the north and west. The stone walls of the huts were covered with a daga plaster both inside and out (Fig. 48). The outside walls still have the remains of the orange plaster on top of the daga plaster. The floor inside the huts and the area outside the hut entrance was also covered with a daga layer. The contents on the floor of the huts included an iron stirrup, a piece of a blue and white ceramic plate, a broken white ceramic cup, green glass, pottery sherds and many maize cobs. On the slope directly below the huts are the remains of kraal walls. To the north of De Hoop, approximately 40m away, other small rockshelters were found with stone walling, small stone kraals, a lower grindstone, a Type V obliquely notched rim sherd and other undiagnostic pottery sherds, various stone flakes and chips.

De Hoop is a west-facing cave and therefore receives only the afternoon sun. The cave had been divided by a rock fall (Fig.8). A large hollow section from the centre of the cave roof running north to south (Fig. 49) is evidence of the rock fall that may have occurred during the Little Ice Age at approximately AD 1350 (Tyson & Lindesay:1992). The area at the back of the cave, behind the rock fall is slightly smaller than the front of the cave. The back area cut off by the rock fall does not get any sunlight and consequently is always rather dark. It would only be the preferred occupational area if there was a wind or rain storm. The deposit in the back area was very powdery and was lower than the deposit in the front section of the cave. Badly preserved rock painting are visible on the back wall of the cave. These will be described later. Smaller stones had been placed on the lower sections of the rock fall (Fig. 50) to make them high enough for use as a kraal between the rockfall and the back wall of the cave (marked A on Fig. 8). It is large enough to house cattle. A portion of a smaller kraal is evident in the north marked B. As the cave roof slopes down sharply at this point it is too low to have housed cattle. Likewise a third and complete kraal, marked C, is found also against the north and west cave walls. Again, it is too small and the roof too low to have housed anything but small stock. Broken walling is evident along the front of the cave which is completely screened from the outside by vegetation.

The excavation

Three grids were laid out in the front section of the cave and two squares were excavated behind the rockfall. In all, 32 squares were excavated, not all to bedrock. The northern excavation was at the highest point in the cave. It gently slopes from this point to the south and extreme north.

De Hoop South (DHS)

Thirteen squares were excavated in this grid. The western-most row of squares, C row, being on the drip line, was consequently rather damp. Some of the pottery, as well as a few of the stones, showed signs of water damage. This row was also close to the line of vegetation and thus there were many roots in C row and some squares in D row. One of the squares in this grid was slightly removed from the main grid in that it was positioned partially under an overhang of the cave wall which had been in use as a porcupine lair. An ochre-covered lower grindstone (Fig. 51) found under the overhang had been turned upside down and pushed to the back of the cave wall.

Surface The surface earth was brown in colour and was very loose and trampled. Many cow pats were found on the surface and within the Surface level other than the row of C squares, C9, C10, C11, C12 and C13. The colour of the deposit for these squares was a light grey brown. The reason for this may be that this row is on the drip line. From the row of D squares, the surface colour was brown. Seventy-nine buckets of deposit were removed from this level. The Surface level and the Brown Dung level beneath it were indistinguishable in squares E13, D13 and G11. There was evidence of rat disturbance and a hyrax hole in the base of the Brown Dung level in square G11. Such holes usually result in a disturbance of the deposit and smaller objects may move downwards.

Light Brown This level was found directly beneath the Surface only in the C row of squares. Like the Surface level in this row, many roots were present. Eighteen buckets of deposit were removed. The C row was not excavated further than this level.

White Dung This level was found only in squares D13 and E13 and was hard, compacted, grey-white dung which was burnt. Several rat holes and

rat droppings were found. Twenty-two buckets of deposit were removed.

Brown This was found only in the western half of square D13, adjacent to the White Dung level. It continued deeper in the deposit and was found adjacent to three levels beneath the White Dung level. The Brown level was also disturbed by roots. In all, ten buckets of deposit were removed.

Brown Grey This level was found only in D13 and E13, because they were the only squares that were excavated below the Dung levels in DHS. The deposit was hard and compacted, but, once excavated, became powdery. Ten buckets of deposit were excavated.

Dark Grey The deposit was dry and soft and easy to excavate. A few roots were present in square D13. The base of Dark Grey was mixed with roof spalling which is the level found directly beneath Dark Grey. Only four buckets of deposit were removed from this level.

Roof Spall This sterile level covered the whole of E13 and half of D13. Three buckets were removed.

Grey The colour of this level was also dark grey but it was completely sealed from the Dark Grey level above by the rockfall. The texture is variable, soft in some areas and compacted in others. Most of this level was found in square E13, and a small portion was present in the north east corner of square D13. Five and a half buckets of deposit were removed.

Brown Grey 2 This level was also found beneath the rockfall, but was found only in D13, adjacent to Brown. Roots were present and the deposit was slightly damp. Grey in E13 and Brown Grey 2 in D13 formed the base of the excavation in these two squares. Bedrock was not reached (Fig 9).

De Hoop Middle (DHM)

A large recent hearth had been constructed, which partially overlay five squares. The surface deposit in this area had been moved in order to form

the raised hearth. This almost completely overlay square G20 and partially overlay squares G19, H20, and H19 and, to a much lesser degree, G21 and F20. The construction of this hearth disturbed the Surface and Brown Dung levels and resulted in a mixing of the Surface and Brown Dung levels in the affected squares (Figs 11 & 12). A total of 14 squares was excavated in this grid (Fig. 52).

Surface The surface layer was trampled and disturbed and was therefore loose and easy to sweep up. Cow pats and hyrax dung were included in this layer, as was a grey-brown, ashy area around the recent hearth. Sixty-two and a half buckets of surface were removed.

Brown Dung This level was found directly beneath the surface in most squares, other than those that were disturbed by the recent hearth, in which case the Brown Dung level with mixed with the Surface level. It was made up of compacted cow dung. Fifty-seven buckets of Brown Dung were removed.

White Dung This level was found beneath the Brown Dung level, other than in the squares which had been disturbed by the recent hearth. In these squares the White Dung level was found directly below the Surface. This level was found in almost every square in DHM. It was absent from G20 which was completely covered by the recent hearth, which accounts for its absence, and from square H17 which had only a Brown Dung level. Forty-two and a half buckets of White Dung were removed.

Grey Ash This level was a mixture of Brown Dung and Grey Ash which was found below the white dung level. This level rested directly on the daga floor in squares G18, G20, H18, H19 and H20. Bone from this level was dated to 180±40BP (Pta-7136).

Daga Floor This red-orange floor appears in squares F18, F19, G17, G18, G19, G20, H18, H19, and H20. Daga smears on sandstone rocks were

found in squares F20, G17 and H16 (Fig.10) The lower level on the Daga Floor in certain squares had pottery sherds embedded in it. The stratigraphy suggests that the floor extends beyond the excavation grid to the east in squares H20, H19 and H18 and to the south in F18. Rodent burrows had disturbed and partially destroyed the floor in H19, H18 and F19. The floor was moulded around a hearth which straddles H19 and H20 (Fig.10). The thickness of the floor varied from 30mm to no more than 80mm. Thirty and a half buckets of Daga Floor were removed. This level effectively sealed the level beneath it from the disturbance of the recent hearth, other than the areas where rodents had burrowed. Several squares, F18, F19, F20 and G18, were not excavated below the floor.

Hearth The hearth was surrounded by stones and an edging of Daga Floor. The deposit was soft, ashy and very powdery.

Grey This level was found above the rock spall and it therefore contained rocks mixed with fine, ashy-grey deposit. Twenty-five and a half buckets of Grey deposit were removed.

Brown Grey This level was found directly beneath the Daga Floor in certain squares and below the Grey level in others. It was fine textured and soft with a few rocks. Charcoal from this level was dated to 3620±60BP (Pta-6785).

Rock spall This was found in patches in squares F20, G16, G17, G19, G20, H16, H17, H18 and H20 (Fig.10)

Orange Brown This deposit was only found in the south east corner of square G16. One bucket was removed.

Bronze Ash This layer was bronze grey in colour and was again found only in G16. Two buckets were removed.

Dark Grey This level was found only in squares H16 and H17. It was soft and fine in texture with a few rocks. Eight buckets of Dark Grey were removed.

De Hoop North (DHN)

This was the smallest grid, as the edge of the cave floor and the rock fall limited the size (Fig. 53). Three squares were excavated, H29, I29 and I 30 (Fig.13). Next to I29 there was a large boulder that formed part of the rockfall in the centre of the cave. This boulder had a large smear of red ochre and was covered in cut marks (Fig.54). A stone resting on the Daga Floor in DHM had similar cut marks (Fig.55), and an ochre smear was found on the daga floor in square H19 (Fig.56).

Surface The Surface was brown in colour and, as with DHS and DHM, it was loose and trampled. It also contained many cow pats and a lot of hyrax dung. Twenty-four buckets of Surface were removed.

Grey Ash This level was light grey in colour and was hard along the drip line but powdery further in. The deposit was damp in patches and roots were present. The lithic artefacts were affected by the roots and damp: most of them have a white deposit on them when dry.

Grey Brown This deposit was coarse in places with fine, ashy patches in between. It was dry but roots were present in areas. A date of 2850±60BP (Pta-6787) was obtained from this level. Thirteen buckets of deposit were removed.

Dark Lens This area was dark grey in colour and ashy in texture and formed part of a hearth.

Ashy This level was a very light grey colour and was soft. Square I30 was damp and had roots and again the lithics were covered in a white deposit. A hearth was present in the southeast corner of square I29. Eighteen and a half buckets were excavated.

Light Brown This hard and coarse deposit contained rock spalls and roots. Seven buckets were removed.

Dark Grey This level was powdery in places and hard in patches. Roots and rodent holes were present, which would have caused some disturbance of the deposit. Four buckets were removed.

Dark Brown This deposit was damp along the drip line and roots were

present. Along the eastern wall it was dry. Twelve buckets were removed.

Grey This level was slightly damp along the western wall and a few roots were present. It became soft and powdery in the eastern section which contained a few rock spalls. The lithics in this level were also covered with a white patina. Sixteen buckets were removed. Square H29 was not excavated beyond this level.

White Sand The deposit was like white beach sand, with some roof spalls. Bedrock was reached at the base of this level in square I29. The number of artefacts in this level decreased dramatically, although it was not quite sterile. A few roots and a rodent hole were found in I30. Thirty-two and a half buckets of deposit were removed. Two pits were found in the White Sand level. The Orange Pit was coarse and hard. The Brown Pit was soft and damp. Roots were present.

De Hoop East (DHE)

Two squares were excavated at the back of the cave behind the rockfall.

Surface *This deposit was light-grey in colour and was very fine and* powdery. A total of sixteen buckets was removed.

Grey This deposit was hard and compacted. Six buckets were removed.

Brown Grey The Brown Grey level was coarse in texture and very dry. Five buckets of deposit were removed.

Discussion

There are very few stratigraphic levels which occur in all three excavation grids. Besides the Surface level, the pre-contact Grey-Brown level is the only level that was found in DHS, DHM and DHN. The White and Brown dung levels are completely absent from DHN but are present in both DHM and DHS. There are very few artefacts that suggest contact with farmers

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