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A Comparative Archaeological Study of Two Colonial-period Farm Middens in the Sneeuberg, Eastern Cape

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A research report submitted to the School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Science, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

Johannesburg, 2019

ABSTRACT

The main goal of this research was to investigate and compare the consumption practices of the settlers who lived on two farms, Groenvlei and Rondefontein, in the Sneeuberg area of the Eastern Cape, between the 18th century and the 20th century. A secondary goal was to investigate the interaction of these settlers with the indigenous people of the area and whether indigenous practices had any influence on settler consumption practices. To achieve these goals, excavations were undertaken on both farms in middens of comparable historical contexts, within the framework of household archaeology. The artefacts recovered from these excavations were analysed and were used to make inferences about diet and consumption practices on both farms. It was found that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were likely wealthier than those of Groenvlei, possibly due to economic success related to a wool boom in the 1850s. It seems that the inhabitants of both farms benefited from the economic success of the Graaff-Reinet district from the 1870s to the 1890s as evidenced by an increase in wealth on both farms. Furthermore, it appears that the inhabitants of Groenvlei suffered financially from the 1890s onwards whereas the inhabitants of Rondefontein continued to prosper. The investigation of consumption patterns through household archaeology was a successful approach and the analysis of middens was an effective method for household archaeology. Although it was a secondary goal of this project, no evidence of interaction or indigenous influence of settler consumption patterns was evident on either farm.

DECLARATION

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



(signature of candidate)

01 November 2019

DEDICATION

To my family and friends,

To Janita van Rooyen, Theo van Rooyen and Daniel Morrison

To Kate Croll, Yoda, Tyson and Dante

Thank you for the love and support

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First and foremost, a big thank you goes out to my supervisors, Dr Geoffrey Blundell and Dr Chrissie Sievers. Without their advice, guidance, support and patience, this research would not have been possible.

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Chapter 1. Colonial Farmsteads in Time and Space

The focus of this project is two farms—Groenvlei and Rondefontein—both situated in the Sneeuberg area of the Karoo region of South Africa (Figure 1). Excavations of ash middens on both these farms partially reveal, for the first time in the area, archaeological sequences for colonial occupation. I compare the respective sequences in order to extract aspects of household archaeology that shed light on the varied local experiences of people—both coloniser and colonised—as well as the broader historical context of the Sneeuberg. This project ties in with the current interest in South African historical archaeology in the investigation of rural lifeways on the frontiers of the Cape Colony during the 18th and 19th centuries (Bugarin 2003; Jeppson 2005; Moffet 2010; Zachariou 2011; Viljoen 2011; Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012; Zachariou 2017; Palk 2018).

The Sneeuberg stretches from the town of Murraysburg in the Western Cape to north of the town of Nieu-Bethesda in the Eastern Cape (Clark *et al.* 2009: 196). It is adjacent to the archaeologically significant Seacow River Valley. One of the farms that I discuss in this dissertation—Groenvlei—is well-known historically. It is located on what was the main road from Graaff-Reinet to the north until the 1950s and the farm is mentioned in the diaries of several travellers who passed through the Sneeuberg, including Robert Jacob Gordon, William Burchell and Joseph Orpen (Neville 1996: 49). Documentary evidence shows that this farm has been occupied by pioneer farmers and their descendants for at least 200 years (S.G.GR.Q8-47). There are also stone walls and lithic scatters on the farm, which point to an earlier and possibly overlapping occupation by hunter-gatherers and/or pastoralists. In comparison, not much is known about the second farm—Rondefontein—that I discuss in this work. Part of Rondefontein (the area known as Kriegers Kraal) was previously part of Groenvlei until the farm was sub-divided in the 1960s (van Rooyen 2016). There is some surface evidence of hunter-gatherer and pastoralist presence on this farm as well as documents recording the European occupation of the farm since the early nineteenth century (S.G.GR.5502).

Small-scale excavations in an ash midden on Groenvlei in 2016 revealed information about colonial lifeways in this area from the early nineteenth century onwards (van Rooyen 2016). For this project, I have extended the excavations at Groenvlei in order to obtain more data about its colonial occupants. I have also excavated two ash middens on Rondefontein for comparative data.

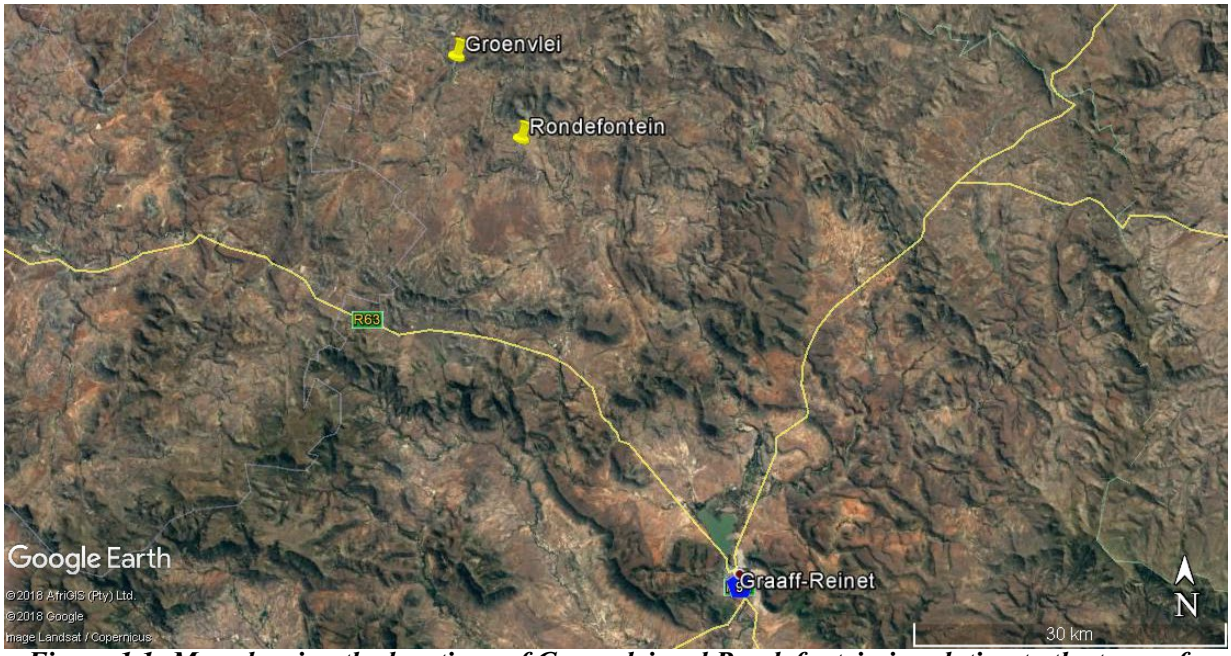

Figure 1.1: Map showing the locations of Groenvlei and Rondefontein in relation to the town of Graaff-Reinet

1.1 Research Question and Project Aims

The main research aim of this project is to investigate and understand the archaeological and historical sequences of the colonial occupation at Groenvlei and Rondefontein, and with the initial question being: What are the similarities and differences between the archaeological assemblages at Groenvlei and Rondefontein? The objective was to use archaeological data from excavations and archival data to understand the consumption practices of the people who occupied the two farms under study during the colonial period. This data was also used as a method to find evidence of contact between indigenous populations and the settlers, in order to enhance understandings of the impact of colonialism in the area.

1.2 Rationale

Extensive archaeological research has been done in the Sneeuberg and the Seacow River Valley, notably by Garth Sampson and his students as part of the Zeekoe Valley Archaeological Project (Neville 1996: 2). Their research focused on the archaeology of Khoekhoen and Bushmen as manifested in open-air sites as well as in rock shelters (Neville 1996; Bollong & Sampson 1999; Close & Sampson 1999; Sadr & Sampson 1999). These works provide information on the indigenous groups of the Seacow River Valley and although Sampson's work did not take an historical archaeological approach, the research that he and his students undertook produced excellent data which can be used to investigate marginalised lifeways. European artefacts from these shelters establish a basic timeline of colonial contact for this area

(Sampson *et al.* 1989; Saitowitz & Sampson 1992; Moir & Sampson 1993; Westbury & Sampson 1993; Voigt *et al.* 1995). Little work, however, has been done on colonial farmsteads or occupations within the Seacow River Valley or in the Sneeuberg (Neville 1996: 2). To understand the processes and events in this area during the contact period, it is necessary to study the archaeology of colonial settlements as well (Orser 2013: 58). A comparison between the colonial archaeological sequence from Groenvlei and Rondefontein will contribute towards developing a more detailed archaeological and historical sequence of the area.

This project is partly in response to a call to produce historical archaeology that integrates various sources and subsequently does not lack historical depth (Behrens & Swanepoel 2008). This research will also contribute to the growing interest within the field of historical archaeology in South Africa in the lifeways and consumption patterns of frontier households in the 18th and 19th centuries (Bugarin 2003; Jeppson 2005; Moffet 2010; Zachariou 2011; Viljoen 2011; Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012; Zachariou 2017; Palk 2018). It will also contribute data on ceramic consumption, which would be a useful addition to comparative databases for research into European ceramics in South Africa, another growing area of interest in South African historical archaeology (Kramer 2012; Zachariou 2017; Palk 2018).

1.3 Site Context

The area in which Groenvlei and Rondefontein is situated experiences a dramatically variable climate with hot, dry summers and cold, snowy winters, reaching temperatures above 35°C and below 0°C at the extremes (Sampson & Neville 2018: 27, 30). The area experiences summer and autumn rainfall and is semi-arid, with an average rainfall of 400mm per annum (Sampson & Neville 2018: 12). There are cyclical long-term droughts when as little as 12mm of rain falls per year (Sampson & Neville 2018: 29). Strong winds in the winter are typical, which leads to high levels of surface evaporation and erosion (Sampson & Neville 2018: 31).

The vegetation in the area consists of Eastern Upper Karoo (EUK) and Upper Karoo Hardeveld (UKH) (Mucina & Rutherford 2006). EUK vegetation consists mostly of grasses and dwarf shrubs. The important taxa of EUK include tall shrubs, low shrubs, herbs, succulent shrubs, succulent herbs and graminoids (grasses). The endemic taxa include succulent shrubs and low shrubs. Some of the important EUK taxa that were identified during recent vegetation surveys on Groenvlei include: *Lycium cinereum, Aptosimum procumbens* and *Psilocaulon coriarum*. Upper Karoo Hardeveld consists mostly of dwarf Karoo scrub and grasses (Mucina & Rutherford 2006). UKH is very similar to EUK but contains more geophytic and succulent

herbs. Some of the important taxa for UKH that were identified on Groenvlei include the following: *Lycium cinereum, Asparagus mucronatus, Asparagus retrofactus, Asparagus suaveolens, Jamesbrittenia atropurpurea* and *Dianthus caespitosus* (Mucina & Rutherford 2006). UKH vegetation is more common on Groenvlei than EUK vegetation is.

Trees are not common in the aforementioned vegetation types, but there are several tree taxa on both Groenvlei and Rondefontein. There are a few alien tree species such as *Eucalyptus globulus* (Bluegum tree), *Planatus* sp. (Plane tree), *Pinus pinaster* (Pine tree) and *Salix babylonica* (Weeping willow). The few indigenous tree taxa that are found are close to the farmsteads and the most common species are *Acacia karroo* (*Vachellia karroo,* Sweet thorn), *Searsia lancea* (Karee) and *Salix mucronata* (Cape willow) (Neville 1996: 39). Most of the alien trees were planted as a source of firewood and building timber by colonists (Neville 1996: 40). This is the environment that the inhabitants of Groenvlei and Rondefontein would have encountered and lived in. These environmental conditions would have affected their consumption practices as well.

1.4 Terminology

In this dissertation, I have chosen to use the term Bushmen rather than San or hunter-gatherers to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of the Sneeuberg. Bushmen is a problematic term: it has been noted that it is racist and sexist and that it groups people of different identities into one umbrella term, which erases individual ethnicities (Guenther 1986: 27; Gordon 1992: 5). The word ‘San’, which is sometimes used as a replacement for Bushmen, comes with its own problems as it is a derogatory Khoekhoe term for people who were outsiders (Biesele 1993: xix). Hunter-gatherers is also used instead of Bushmen by some researchers, but this reduces people to their economic practices and over-simplifies the actions of people who may not always have engaged purely in only hunting and gathering activities (Sadr 1997: 107). Each of these terms is problematic in some sense and the ideal would be to use the name that people called themselves. However, these names were not recorded in the Sneeuberg, apart from three: ‘Oesjwana’, ‘Saana’ and ‘Sun-Ei’ (Raper & Boucher 1988: 79-80, 89). The contexts of these terms are not very clear, and it is not known how many people in the Sneeuberg belonged to any one of these groups. Thus, to use any one of these names would still be grouping people into an ethnicity to which they might not belong (Neville 1996: 3). The term ‘Bushmen’ is not ideal however others who have worked in the area use this term as well.

Garth Sampson (1990, 1993, 1994, 1997, 2000) uses the terms ‘Bushmen’ or ‘hunter-gatherer’. Hunter-gatherer is not an appropriate term in this context as there are records of Bushmen practising pastoralism and some of these people also became slaves and servants on farms who would not have had the opportunity to hunt and gather all the time (Neville 1996: 168, 174, 200, 205). Neville (1996) also uses this term in his master’s dissertation on the area and in the book he co-authored with Sampson (Sampson & Neville 2018). It is therefore also useful to use the term Bushmen in my dissertation as it creates continuity with previous research in the area.

The term Khoe in this dissertation has been used to refer to people who usually practise pastoralism and are sometimes defined as being ethnically separate from the Bushmen. When the two groups could not be separated, the term Khoe-San has been used to refer to them. This term is advised by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) for researchers (South African San Institute 2019). Historical background related to the Bushmen and the Khoe and their interactions with European settlers in the Sneeuberg area is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Setting the Scene

Archaeological evidence shows that the Sneeuberg area was first inhabited by hunter-gatherers and, in some periods (between 900 AD and 1500 AD), pastoralists (Sadr & Sampson 1999: 14). Europeans started to settle in the area in the late 18th Century, with a substantial section of the area colonised by the 1780s (Neville 1996: 195). There was considerable resistance to this colonisation by local hunter-gatherers, starting with small-scale stock thefts and culminating in the Bushman Wars of the late 1770s, resulting in several massacres of the indigenous population and subsequent enslavement of the survivors (Moodie 1841; Neville 1996: 206). In 1798, the colonial government started a campaign to appease the Khoe-San people of the Sneeuberg and this settled some of the larger tensions between them and the Europeans (Neville 1996: 23). After this, the area became more heavily populated by settlers as it became safer for them (*ibid.*). A brief historical background of the Sneeuberg follows, covering the period before the 18th century and then the 18th and 19th centuries, detailed separately due to their specific relevance to this project.

2.1 Pre-18th Century

It is important to have some idea of what was happening in this area before the 18th century to provide context for much of what followed. The people that inhabited the area before the 18th century did not disappear from the landscape once European settlers arrived and they continued to have an impact on local happenings both in their own capacity and through their interactions with the Europeans (Neville 1996; Penn 2005).

The Sneeuberg area was inhabited by hunter-gatherer groups before European settlers arrived (Sampson *et al.* 1989: 3). It is unknown when these groups arrived, but they inhabited the area before 900 AD (Sampson *et al.* 1989: 3). These hunter-gatherer groups were what are now known as the Bushmen. There was also a Middle Stone Age hunter-gatherer occupation. The Bushmen lived nomadically in small family groups, hunting wild game and gathering plants (Neville 1996: 163). There is also evidence for the presence of other groups of people in the Sneeuberg, namely pastoralists or Khoe people (Sampson *et al.* 1989: 3). According to Sampson's analysis of pastoralist pottery, the Khoe are visible in the archaeological record of the area from 900AD but their signature in the archaeological record wanes after 1000AD only to become stronger again from 1400 AD (*ibid.*). According to the archaeological record, these pastoralist groups had left the area before European settlers arrived (Sampson *et al.* 1989: 3).

The hunter-gatherer groups were the people who occupied the Sneeuberg when the first European settlers arrived in the second half of the 18th century.

2.2 18th Century

The late 18th century was a period of conflict in the Sneeuberg (Moodie 1841, Neville 1996, Penn 2005). European settlers first came to the area in the 1760s (Neville *et al.* 1994: 65). The first farm in the area was recorded in 1768, but there are several hints of an earlier settler presence, for example a carved beam in the longhouse at Groenvlei is inscribed with the year "1762" (Neville 1996, van Rooyen 2016). There is also evidence that many people occupied farms without registering their ownership with Colonial officials (Neville 1996: 21, Penn 2005). Those who did register their land ownership with the Colony were given loan farm contacts. Loan farms, as the name implies, were pieces of land that were officially owned by the Colony but were loaned to citizens for long-term periods (Sampson *et al.* 1994: 75). Loan farms were mostly given to indigent colonists who could not afford to purchase their own land (Elphick & Gilliomee 2014: 86). This was often done on the frontiers of the Colony as it allowed for colonial expansion without risking the safety of important citizens such as colonial officials or rich and influential land owners (*ibid*.). From 1770 onwards, more settlers moved into the Sneeuberg, going from one recorded loan farm in 1768 to 256 loan farms in 1774 (Neville 1996: 21). Settlement here was desirable as the Sneeuberg was situated on one of the main routes into the interior and also because horse sickness was absent (*ibid*.).

The first settlers in the Sneeuberg were what are currently referred to as *Trekboers* (Neville 1996: 1). This is a term used to describe the pioneer settlers outside of the colony that seems to have been coined by Leo Fouche in 1909 (Penn 1995: 4). They were mostly poor families looking to own land and farm or single men looking to make enough money to marry (Van der Merwe 1938: 178). The word *trek* in the name refers to the practice of transhumance and semi-nomadic living that was common among these people (Van der Merwe 2006: 62). Although they did have a section of land that they rented from the colonial government and farmed, they did not have large homesteads that they lived on year-round (Van der Merwe 2006: 212). Instead, their dwellings were either wagons or huts made of reed mats and they travelled around their land following their livestock (*ibid*.). This way of life lasted from the 1760s to the late 18th century (Neville 1996: 26). Farmers settled the land and by the end of the 18th century there were no settlers living as *Trekboers* in the Sneeuberg (Neville 1996: 26).

Some of the *Trekboers* brought other people with them from the Colony as labourers (Neville 1996: 205). In the historical records, these servants are often referred to as "Hottentots" (*ibid*.). Neville (1996: 205) states that these people were probably Khoe-Khoe servants taken from the Cape who were employed as domestic workers and herders. These servants mostly slept in the same house as the settlers for whom they worked until the end of the 18th century, when separate dwellings for workers and farm owners became more common (*ibid*.). They were paid with food, tobacco, and small parcels of land for cultivating their own food; occasionally they were also paid with money (Neville 1996: 205). Khoe servants were often in more danger than their employers as they were sent out to guard animals from stock theft and wild animals and were also sometimes sent on commando as a replacement for their employers (Penn 1995: 215). There is evidence to suggest that by 1797, the number of servants in the employ of settlers had decreased dramatically from the 1760s, due to death as well as escape (Neville 1996: 206). This may have contributed to the practice of capturing Bushmen for enslavement.

The first recorded Bushman labourers in the Sneeuberg were obtained through conflict enslavement (Penn 1995: 214). The enslavement of Bushman women and children was most common as adult men were more likely to resist and escape; however, there are some records of captured men being distributed amongst poor colonists who did not have their own servants (Neville 1996: 206, Penn 1995: 222). Child captives were distributed in a similar manner and adult women were often given to Khoe servants as wives (Neville 1996: 206, Penn 1995: 225). This practice continued well into the 1820s and was finally banned by Andries Stockenstrom in 1824 (Neville 1996: 208).

From the start of settler expansion in the area, there was significant resistance on the part of local Bushman groups (Moodie 1841, Neville 1996: 3). For the most part, this resistance took the form of stock thefts and raids, sometimes resulting in the death of servants and settlers (Neville 1996: 22). These raids created a sense of panic and fear among the settlers, who often deserted their farms and called on the Colonial government to intervene (*ibid*.). The conflict between the Bushmen and the settlers reached a peak in the late 1770s and culminated in the Bushman Wars, which started in 1769 and ended in 1777 (Moodie 1841). These "wars" were not wars as we think of in the classical sense with pitched battles between two armies, but rather took the form of continued stock raids by the Bushmen and retaliation from the settlers in the form of large commando groups that committed a series of atrocities including massacres and the enslavement of Bushman women and children (*ibid*.).

These wars, catastrophic as they must have been for the local Bushmen, failed in their goal of ending the conflict in the area. In 1786, the Drostdy of Graaff-Reinet was established with the aim of providing greater governmental access to and control over the Sneeuberg area (Pitman 1986: 7). This effort also failed to deal with the area's problems and in 1798, the local government, along with their settler subjects, decided on a different, non-violent approach. They installed a policy of livestock subscription where farmers could donate surplus livestock which, would in turn, be given to the Bushmen (Imperial Blue Books 1835: 115). This policy lessened the frequency and severity of stock raids in the Sneeuberg and in so doing, soothed tensions and improved the relationship between the settlers and the Bushmen (Neville 1996: 23.).

After the end of the wars, many free Bushmen (i.e. those who were not enslaved or already attached to a settler household) started to move closer to colonial farms and some formed working relationships with settlers (Neville 1996: 214). They would sometimes work as herders or as domestic servants on a part time basis, without becoming servants or slaves (*ibid*.). The frequencies of these relationships increased through the century and were very common by the beginning of the 19th century (Neville 1996: 215).

2.3 19th Century

The threat of stock raids during the late 18th century led to the abandonment of many farms but once the conflict lessened, many settlers took the opportunity to move in (Neville 1996: 23, Plug & Sampson 1996: 26). By the 1830s, most of the Sneeuberg was occupied by colonial farmers with some patches of unclaimed land called Crown Land in between (Neville 1996: 27). Crown Land was the property of the Colony and was not farmed or occupied by settlers. It was often occupied by what were called "unattached Bushmen" (Bushmen who lived within the colonial boundaries but were not servants or slaves) (Neville 1996: 239).

Occupation of the Sneeuberg area remained stable until 1860, when the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and later, gold in the Witwatersrand, greatly increased the exposure of the Sneeuberg to external contact (Neville 1996: 25). From 1860, Crown Land started to be occupied by settlers and by 1885, there was no Crown Land left in the area (Neville 1996: 239). These changes in land use also reflected and influenced changes in the relationship between settlers and their slaves and servants.

The Sneeuberg settlers, with their primary economic activity being stock farming rather than vineyards, relied less heavily on slave labour than the Colony did (Neville 1996: 208). In 1827,

12% of the Sneeuberg's labour force consisted of slaves although unfortunately the record does not state whether these were slaves from other countries or whether they were captured Bushmen (*ibid*.). After the abolition of slavery, the number of labourers in the area did not change much but their relationships with the settlers did change (Neville 1996: 211). Most became hired servants and stayed on the farms on which they had been working (Neville 1996: 212). After they were freed, these people moved out of the settlers' households and were either given their own households nearby or sent to live near isolated stock kraals (*ibid*.).

The historical background of the Sneeuberg raises several issues for archaeologists working in this area. One must grapple with the specific variations of colonialism in this region during different time periods and how these variations and events affected the material and documentary evidence. There are also issues surrounding different ways that people interacted with each other on the landscape and how they interacted with their environment. Looking at previous research in this area and in historical archaeology and drawing on the theory and approaches used in that research is one way of trying to grapple with these issues and this is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. Household Archaeology, Garbage Archaeology, Consumption Factors and Historical Interaction

In this chapter, I investigate four areas of literature pertinent to research of the colonial farmsteads in the Sneeuberg: household archaeology, garbage archaeology, consumption factors and historical interaction. Household archaeology is a sub-discipline which is used in many different archaeological fields and is an approach which is particularly suited to investigating the life histories of farm inhabitants. I discuss the history of this sub-discipline briefly, as well as some of the more problematic elements of household archaeology. I also discuss the merits of garbage archaeology as this research is based on excavations from middens. Thereafter is a discussion of the economic factors in the Sneeuberg and surrounding areas that would have affected the consumption practices of the inhabitants of Groenvlei and Rondefontein. This is followed by a discussion of interactions in the Sneeuberg as it was such a big part of the lives of the settlers living on the farms that it could not be ignored. The final section is a description of three sites that have been chosen as a comparison to Groenvlei and Rondefontein in order to contextualise the data from those sites.

3.1 Household Archaeology

Historical archaeologists have been interested in and working at the scale of the household since the inception of the sub-discipline in the late 1960s (Orser 2002: xvii, Brandon & Barile 2004: 1). Households, most often in the form of residential structures or their ruins and associated activity areas, are often the most accessible parts of historical sites, especially in rural and farming areas where there is very little development and interference with dwelling areas (Brandon & Barile 2004: 2). Not only is the household scale accessible, households and the domestic sphere are more intimate than other inhabited spaces. Investigating households is therefore one of the most useful tools for investigating the consumption practices of past individuals (Prossor *et al.* 2012: 810; Chesson 2012: 46).

Working at the scale of the household can also provide a wealth of information about the society in which it is located. Households not only reflect trends in their societal context but are also spaces where societal norms are negotiated and even transgressed (Franklin 2004: xiv). The investigation of households also provides archaeologists access to a large portion of the population that often is not represented in official documentation, such as women, children, servants and others who lacked power in their society (Tringham 2012: 86). Although these societal relations cannot be directly accessed through the archaeological record, the

environment that produced these relationships would have affected the way objects were produced, used and discarded and therefore these objects can provide some clues as to how the interpretation and negotiation of societal influence would have played out (Allison 1999: 1). These advantages make household archaeology an ideal approach for this research on Groenvlei and Rondefontein as it allows for investigation on the individual scale, but also on the societal scale and the interplay between those areas, providing greater depth of understanding.

The beginnings of theorisation of the discipline of household archaeology did not take place until the 1980s (Tringham 2012: 83). Even as recently as 2004, it has been suggested that household archaeologists had still not developed a significant body of theoretical work (Brandon & Barile 2004: 7). "Household archaeology", as a niche part of the discipline and as separate from archaeological research on households, arose in the 1980s and was heavily influenced by processual ideas from the 1960s (Brandon & Barile 2004: 4, Franklin 2004: xiii, Tringham 2012: 83). It was influenced by the processual concern with positivist scientific method but stayed somewhat marginalised because it did not hold up to these ideals, and interpretations were often functionalist (Souvatzi 2012: 16, Tringham 2012: 84). For example, in a volume about historical archaeology edited by Wilk and Rathje (1982), the authors focused heavily on using household analysis to explain social adaptation and social harmony in the functionalist sense although ostensibly, their aim was to use household archaeology to empirically test social theories (Souvatzi 2012: 16, Tringham 2012: 83, White & Wolff 2012: 268). During the 1980s, some scholars, working from the still-nascent post-processual framework, tried to apply a Marxist framework to household archaeology, but these too were functionalist (Rathje & Mcguire 1982, Foster & Parker 2012: 2, Tringham 2012: 85). Post-processual and feminist archaeology have contributed greatly to the field more recently, identifying and embracing the complexities within and between households (Lawrence 1999: 121, Spencer-Wood 1999: 162, Tringham 2012: 87). Through the implementation of these theories, household archaeologists have been able to recognise the presence and intersections of gender, class and race and how they affect the household (Battle 2004: 50, Bonine 2004: 32, Tringham 2012: 87). Lawrence (1999), for example, investigated patterns within household material culture to distinguish between all male households and those with female inhabitants in the goldfields of Australia, using these patterns not just to identify female presence, but also to show that consumption patterns do not delineate clearly along gender lines.

The inherent complexity of different households is very important for contemporary household

archaeology (Allison 1999: 8). There are many examples of scholars assuming and assigning a nuclear family to a household, regardless of evidence (Voss 2000: 292). This contributes to an erasure of household dynamics from different periods, cultures and places, especially non-colonial and non-Western practices (Voss 2000: 300). Often associated with this is a conflation of the household with marriage, sexuality, reproduction and domestic labour, which is not only problematic and inaccurate but also creates a false connection between women and children and the domestic sphere (Allison 1998: 16; Allison 1999: 11; Voss 2000: 293). The assumed association between women and the household has also created a false binary in household archaeology between the private, female sphere and the public, male sphere (Allison 1999: 13). All these concepts need to be disentangled from one another and from the concept of the household in order to practice household archaeology in any kind of constructive manner and I have endeavoured to do this in the course of this research.

South African historical archaeology has in the past been mostly focused on the Great Trek and the Cape Colony (Kramer 2012). Recently, however, there has been a growing trend towards investigating more rural communities at the fringes of the Cape Colony, especially by researchers at the University of Cape Town (Kramer 2012). The work of these researchers have several areas of focus in common, namely the study of vernacular architecture, the classification and analysis of European ceramics and the investigation of identity and change among the inhabitants of the colonial frontier (Bugarin 2003; Jeppson 2005; Behrens & Swanepoel 2008; Moffett 2010, Zachariou 2011, Kramer 2012, Smuts 2012; Zachariou 2017; Palk 2018). This project fits in with this growing body of research as it seeks to better understand lifeways and consumption patterns on rural farms right on the edge of the Cape Colony and makes use of the analysis of European ceramics and other artefacts to understand consumption patterns and possibly use these patterns to make inferences about the identity of the farm inhabitants.

The focus of the archaeology at Groenvlei and Rondefontein is on the household. This approach has been chosen for several different reasons. Archaeology on a household-scale can bridge the gap between broad theories and actual everyday practices (Wilk & Rathje 1982: 617). Household archaeology is effective in investigating several different areas of past lifestyles including economic trends, the acquisition of goods, landholding patterns, agricultural production patterns, consumerism and diet (Wilk & Rathje 1982: 619; Allison 1998: 2; Allison 1999: 3; Mckee 1999: 36; Voss 2000: 297; Groover 2005: 229; Prossor *et al.* 2012: 810; Tringham 2012: 92). This kind of information is useful in understanding the processes of

colonisation, habitation and development that took place at Groenvlei and Rondefontein.

Household archaeology, focusing on diversity within the household and one that does not assume a nuclear, Western family model, can also be used to understand interactions between colonists and colonised at both these farms. By excavating middens and tying the material culture to dated, stratigraphic layers, it will also be easier to identify specific households during specific periods in the history of the occupation of these farms, although it is very unlikely that actual individuals will be identified (Allison 1999: 5; Prossor *et al.* 2012). Household archaeology can also assist in examining and investigating the differences between cultural ideals and everyday practices as dwellings act both as a tool for societys influence as well as a barrier from societal influence (Allison 1999: 6).

A useful concept or understanding the influence of society on households is the *habitus,* taken from the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 72). *Habitus* is the system of rules and conventions that humans sub-consciously create and conform to and which is self-reproducing (*ibid*.). It is a useful concept for household archaeology as it explains the seemingly arbitrary societal rules that people sometimes subscribed to in the past, but it is also particularly appropriate because Bourdieu (1977: 21) himself discusses how *habitus* is represented in material culture. The system that enforces the set of rules that is the *habitus* also by extension creates objects that represent the *habitus* and it is these objects that we find in the household archaeological record. However, the *habitus* is very restrictive as it only describes societal influence on people, ignoring individual agency (Hodder 1986, Davison 1988: 100). Another concept which does account for individual agency is Anthony Giddens' (1984) structuration theory and the concept of duality of structure. Structuration theory, unlike *habitus*, does not separate the 'structure' (society) from the 'agent' (individuals within the society) and states that the structure and the agent are constantly, recursively and reflexively influencing and recreating one another (Giddens 1984: 25). This concept is particularly appropriate for this research as it does not assume the individuals in question to be powerless, passive receivers on which societal ideals are encoded and can help to account for deviations from expected norms taken from historical records. Davison (1988) uses both the *habitus* and structuration theory to great effect in her work on Mpondo homesteads. Both concepts are used to suggest that material culture is not a simple reflection of behaviour, but objects which are used in the process of mediating between social ideas and everyday practice (Davison 1988: 100). These ideas can be used for similar purposes in my research on households and societal influence in the Sneeuberg.

One of the most useful approaches to household archaeology is the one espoused by Mary C. Beaudry (1989). Beaudry (1996: 272) treats artefacts in the material record as 'active voices' and although she does view them as a reflection of the wider social discourse, her approach does allow for nuance as it requires historical contextualisation. It also allows for artefacts to have multiple meanings within the household and social context, even if those meanings are contradictory (White & Beaudry 2009: 211). It is also one of the few approaches that call for the inclusion of site formation processes and stratigraphic information in the contextualisation and interpretation of the archaeological record (Beaudry 1989: 85; Galindo 2004: 180). This is important as it allows researchers to link changes in the life history of archaeological sites to changes in the history of the households with which they are associated (Beaudry 2004: 254). It also minimises the chance of making false conclusions if the stratigraphy and taphonomy are well understood (Beaudry 1989: 84). For these reasons I believe this to be the best approach for me to use as a baseline for my own research.

Beaudry (2004: 255) and other researchers have also discussed the problem of defining the term 'household' (Allison 1999: 103; Yentsch & Beaudry 2001: 224; Brandon & Barile 2004: 1; Franklin 2004: xiii; Galindo 2004: 181). Just as it is important not to impose modern ideas of what a household should be onto the past, it is also important not to impose one definition of the word 'household' onto wildly varying archaeological sites and historical and social contexts (Anderson 2004: 109; Beaudry 2004: 255). The most effective studies at the household scale adapt their definition of the household to the unique circumstances of the sites on which they are working (Anderson 2004: 110; Beaudry 2004: 255; Franklin 2004: xiii). Households can be defined according to many different criteria, including co-residence, kinship relationships, function, space or productive activities. Co-residence is here defined as people who live together in a bounded space (Anderson 2004: 110). For example, Bonine (2004: 16) argues that family must be factored into household analysis; Anderson (2004: 111) defines the household according to the spatial distribution of dwellings and household-related activities; Barile (2004: 122) argues for an entire plantation as an economic unit being defined as a household and Galindo (2004: 181) finds it more useful to define the household according to functional categories derived from Netting and Wilk (1984) and Ashmore and Wilk (1988). The categories used by Netting and Wilk (1984: 4) are as follows: production, distribution, transmission, reproduction and co-residence, with consumption being added as a category by Ashmore and Wilk (1988: 6).

For the purposes of my research, I have chosen to focus largely on co-residence as well as

household activity spaces. The structure of the households at both Groenvlei and Rondefontein would have been fluid, changing over generations but also on a day-to-day basis. The first inhabitants of the dwellings on which I am focusing would have been poor farmers and their wives and children but also Khoe-San servants and a whole slew of visitors, including those who had given notice of their arrival but also travelers passing through the area looking for rest, food and water (Neville 1996: 49). The relationships between people within the household as well as their activities and habits would have changed over time as well, especially within the volatile social environment of this part of the Eastern Cape from the late 18th century onwards. Focusing on function would not work as the functions of the household would have changed over time and been very different between the two farms as well. Household activity spaces must, out of necessity, be considered as these, in the form of middens, are the only spaces that can be excavated due to the historical dwellings still being in use. Although middens are not part of the typical domestic space, as part of the everyday functioning of the household, they can be defined as domestic activity spaces. Food debris, remains of the fire and broken objects had to be removed from the main domestic space for the household to function.

3.2 Garbage Archaeology

Along with households and the lives of those within the household comes the refuse of these lives, most often discarded on the ground either on the floor of dwellings or in a specific area for refuse disposal (Rathje & Murphy 2001: 37). Although they may seem marginal, garbage disposal habits and practices are central to everyday life (Rathje *et al.* 1992: 437). Every act of consumption or manufacture results in a corresponding act of discard. Archaeological investigation of middens is therefore a very important and useful tool for historical archaeologists to piece together the consumption patterns, behaviour and even ideology of the people that they are trying to study (Rathje 1992 *et al.*: 437; Smith & Williams 1994: 33; Høst-Madsen 2005: 316). Areas dedicated to refuse discard tend to preserve well, especially in rural areas where there is enough space that people are not forced to build on top of them. In many areas, middens are also reused or are continuously used for decades or even centuries (Beck 2006: 19). This makes these areas useful for historical archaeology.

The archaeological data from middens is useful in drawing inferences about different aspects of past lifestyles. Spatial patterns within and between middens can indicate beliefs about cleanliness, sacred areas and renewal rituals, for example (Smith & Williams 1994: 32). Middens are especially useful for historical archaeology because they consist not of a

homogenous mixture, but rather many lenses, each corresponding to an individual discard event (Rathje 1974: 240). These different lenses can be linked to certain periods, cultural groups and even individual households, thus providing information about changes over time in the lifestyles of those contributing to these middens (Rathje 2001: 70; Beck 2006: 27). They can also be used to investigate continuities over time in the case of middens that have been used for a very long time (Beck 2006: 19).

There is very little data on direct comparisons between colonial and indigenous practices and patterns of waste disposal (Posnansky 2013: 64). In the Sneeuberg and Seacow River Valley, although there is very little data about colonial waste disposal practices, some tentative comparisons can already be made. Sampson (1993) and his students have shown that the hunter-gatherers and pastoralists of the Sneeuberg made middens that were interspersed with their living areas. Colonists however, had delineated areas for waste disposal. According to Sampson (1993: 59), there is no specific separation between living and discard areas at indigenous sites in the region. At Groenvlei, there is a specific space for discarding garbage that is outside and separate from the actual dwelling (van Rooyen 2016). There are some similarities in the contents of the refuse of the different groups. Both coloniser and colonised dispose of food remains, broken vessels and broken or discarded valuables in the same area (Voigt *et al.* 1995; van Rooyen 2016). The differences are mainly in the spatial distribution of refuse. The work done for this project has produced data which could be used in further comparisons between colonial and indigenous waste disposal practices as well as comparative data for other historical research. The investigation of waste disposal practices can also reveal information about the consumption of goods. Economic and societal factors that affected consumption in the Sneeuberg and which might be observable in the archaeological record are discussed in the following section.

3.3 Factors affecting Consumption in the Sneeuberg

Economic conditions and factors in Cape Town in the 18th century were the main driving forces behind the movement of settlers into the interior of South Africa (Smith 1976: 1). All available farming land in the Colony close to Cape Town had been occupied and the farms on the outskirts were only suitable for stock farming (*ibid.*). For colonists who wanted to own their own land and make a living as farmers, the only option at this point was to move further and further away from the centre of the Colony onto unclaimed land and take up pastoralism (Smith 1976: 1, Cilliers & Green 2018: 245). The majority of these *trekboers* were lower-middle to

working class people from the Netherlands and Germany who travelled from Europe seeking opportunities in the Colony that were not available back home and usually spent a short amount of time in Cape Town before moving on to seek a living on the frontier (Newton-King 1988: 4). Conditions on the frontier incentivised a simple lifestyle for the *trekboers* and for the most part they had to produce and provide their own goods and services but, isolated as they were, they were still influenced to some extent by the cultural hegemony of colonial authority as well as the pressures of the economic market (Newton-King 1988: 1, 10).

The majority of *trekboers* led an unsettled life, especially in the Sneeuberg where they left their farms in winter to find better grazing along the banks of the Orange River (de V. Minnaar 1987: 1). Many visitors to the region reported that *trekboers* preferred to build their houses out of mud or straw, probably due to this nomadic lifestyle, which meant they needed to be able to pack up and move to different grazing grounds without too much difficulty (Smith 1976: 3, Fourie 2013: 241). This was reported even in areas where wood was plentiful and Smith (1976: 3, 50) posits that these crude dwellings were the result of the pressures of movement rather than being indicative of material poverty. *Trekboers* also did not seem to place much value on privacy and separation of different members of the household within a dwelling. There are numerous accounts of horrified travellers reporting *trekboer* families living in a one-room house with their servants and animals, sometimes with multiple *trekboer* families living together in this manner (Smith 1976: 3). This way of life continued well into the 19th century, with similar sightings being reported in 1823 in the Graaff-Reinet district (Smith 1976: 50).

The *trekboer* diet was fairly uniform. Their diet was heavily meat-dominated, occasionally supplemented with bread, cereal and vegetables where these could be bought or cultivated (Smith 1976: 3; Newton-King 1988: 7). The meat they consumed was mostly venison, mutton and lamb (Smith 1976: 3; Newton-King 1988: 7). This would have been typical in the Sneeuberg area as well since this area was particularly good for farming sheep and small game was readily available (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12; Cilliers & Green 2018: 248). Farmers in the Sneeuberg were also unlikely to be able to regularly supplement their diet with non-meat food items since the soil and climate conditions are not suitable for agriculture although they might have eaten wild fruits and vegetables growing naturally (de V. Minnaar 1987: 1; Fourie 2013: 426; Sampson & Neville 2018: 26).

Stock farmers were generally less wealthy than crop farmers and the *trekboers* were at the poorer end of this scale (Newton-King 1988: 2). However, *trekboers* were still influenced by

cultural and fashion trends from Cape Town and Europe and so purchased manufactured goods and commodities even when these were impractical, expensive or difficult to obtain (Newton-King 1988: 10; Cilliers & Green 2018: 247). Newton-King (1987: 5), in her study of *trekboer* household inventories found that on average up to 50% of a family's household goods might be manufactured ones. She also found records of debts to shopkeepers for a variety of items including, but not limited to, groceries, small personal items and tools (Newton-King 1988: 6). Fashionable fabrics like cotton and muslin imported from Asia and Europe were obtained by the *trekboers* and worn alongside the more practical hide clothing they produced themselves (Newton-King 1988: 6). There are also records of *trekboers* buying expensive imported items that could be considered luxuries such as tea, coffee, sugar, rice, spices, tobacco and snuff from shops in town as well as from itinerant hawkers (Newton-King 1988: 7).

Pedlars made up most of the trade that the *trekboers* were exposed to. These were either full-time traders or farmers who traded part-time (Newton-King 1988: 10). They obtained manufactured goods in Cape Town and travelled around the countryside selling their wares, most often bartering for commodities like animal hides and skins, ostrich feathers or fat stocks rather than exchanging goods for cash (de V. Minnaar 1987: 56). The *trekboers* also had access to a variety of tradesmen as many farmers continued to ply trades that they learnt in Europe as a side-line to stock farming (Newton-King 1988: 5). Recorded examples of these include carpentry, saddle-making and blacksmithing in workshops on their farms or travelling around the countryside to other farms where their skills were needed (*ibid.*). Although *trekboers* were able to produce much of what they needed, it would have been useful to have access to people who were trained in these highly specialised trades.

The supply of imported goods from Cape Town was unreliable during the 18th century. Most people relied on pedlars to bring in goods and transport their goods for sale as the journey to Cape Town took two months in ideal conditions, which was a very long time to be away from the farm (Newton-King 1988: 11). The roads during this period were also of very poor quality and the journey was dangerous due to the possibility of attack both by animals and humans (Newton-King 1988: 11). The Sneeuberg was also especially dangerous during this time, for reasons set out below.

The period from the late 18th century to the early 19th century was a chaotic one for the inhabitants of the Sneeuberg and the surrounding areas. There was a constant state of near anarchy and danger caused both by the threat from Bushmen stock raids as well as the rejection

of colonial authority by some of the *trekboers* in the area (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). The establishment of the town of Graaff-Reinet originated directly from this chaotic environment as the drostdy was established at the request of prominent citizens in the area in order to help establish law and order (de V. Minnaar 1987: 2). This did not however do much to change the situation and farming and economic activity was still disrupted, as evidenced by reports of butchers struggling to obtain meat from farmers in the 1790s due to Bushmen raids (Smith 1976: 17).

When the town of Graaff-Reinet was first established in 1786, it was small and shabby, consisting only of a few mud buildings on a single street (de V. Minnaar 1987: 9). The town remained largely undeveloped until the early 19th century (*ibid.*). When Henry Lichtenstein visited the town in 1804, he indicated that there were very few traders in town and those that were there had very little stock, meaning that manufactured goods from Graaff-Reinet were probably in short supply (de V. Minnaar 1987: 9). From the time of the first settler occupation, roads around Graaff-Reinet and the Sneeuberg were of poor quality and difficult and dangerous to navigate, especially the many steep mountain passes (de V. Minnaar 1987: 48). This made travel difficult and limited the access that inhabitants of the Sneeuberg had to trade centres (*ibid.*).

From the 1790s to 1806, there was a series of Boer rebellions in the district against the authority of the local government (de V. Minnaar 1987: 4). These negatively affected trade and farming in the region. The Sneeuberg was largely unaffected as the rebels in this area were the first to surrender. However, their supply of goods from Cape Town would have decreased as the area became more dangerous and unsettled (*ibid.*). Tensions between the *trekboer* rebels and the colonial government were eased only after the second British Occupation of the area in 1806 (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3; Kramer 2012).

The transition from Dutch rule to British rule resulted in several changes for the inhabitants in the Graaff-Reinet district, especially in terms of land ownership and farming practices (Kramer 2012). The land ownership system under Dutch rule was fairly chaotic and informal, relying mostly on local agreements and a loan farm system (Kramer 2012). The Dutch government also did not interfere with farming practices or land management as long as they could make a profit out of the Colony (Van der Merwe & Beck 1995). When the British took over, they tried to establish order within the land ownership system through a system of surveying and formalisation (Kramer 2012). In 1813 they introduced the Cradock Proclamation, which

encouraged landowners to make improvements to their farms through the erection of permanent structures which were rare on loan farms before this date (Kramer 2012). The British government preferred a system of perpetual quitrent to the Dutch loan farm system as it allowed them to make more money and retain control over the land, although this system was not well-liked by *trekboers* as it provided no security in land ownership (Smuts 2012). This system did allow for increased organisation as it forced farmers to survey their farms and apply for deeds (Smuts 2012). The land ownership system was still fairly chaotic however, and land administration issues were only truly resolved after 1844 (Duly 1968). The British administration also influenced farming and consumption practices, especially through the encouragement of Merino sheep farming (Smuts 2012).

The administration of Andries Stockenstrom Sr and Jr from 1804 to 1827 stimulated development in Graaff-Reinet, which in turn boosted the economy (de V. Minnaar 1987: 11). From 1804, when the senior Stockenstrom became governor, bricks were used for buildings in the town (*ibid.*). The town expanded during this period and more streets were added to accommodate a population increase. By 1812 there are records of several tradesmen and shopkeepers in the town including three blacksmiths, a wagon-maker, a butcher, a baker, a store that sold wine and brandy and several general stores (de V. Minnaar 1987: 11). Andries Stockenstrom Jr took the step of installing the 83rd Regiment in the town. This attracted more trade and, along with the larger number of shops and tradesmen in the town, would have made it easier to obtain manufactured goods as well as to trade goods produced on the farms (de V. Minnaar: 11).

During the 1820s, the Graaff-Reinet district (which includes the Sneeuberg) continued to experience economic development (de V. Minnaar 1987: 75). The arrival of the 1820 settlers in the Eastern Cape provided an incentive for the expansion of the wool trade in the Graaff-Reinet district and in 1825, the farming of Merino sheep experienced a significant increase in the area (*ibid.*). After 1820, most British manufactured goods were imported to the Graaff-Reinet district from Grahamstown rather than Cape Town. This allowed for a larger supply of these goods for cheaper prices as the trip between Grahamstown and Graaff-Reinet was much shorter (de V. Minnaar 1987: 57). In 1820, John Campbell mentions a notable increase in itinerant peddlers selling goods from Cape Town (Smith 1976: 51). During this period, it became fashionable to copy British culture and this increased the popularity of British manufactured goods across the Colony (Klose & Malan 2000: 50)

The district benefited economically from the improvements to the harbour in Port Elizabeth in the 1830s. Roads in the area slightly improved in 1834 and steps were taken to make the mountain passes safer but, in general, it was still inconvenient and dangerous to travel and transport goods in the district (de V. Minnaar 1987: 48)

The Great Trek also contributed to this economic upturn as it opened new trade routes into the interior of the country (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). The Great Trek started in 1836 and was a mass migration of Dutch-speaking settlers (*voortrekkers*) towards the interior of South Africa, in a bid to escape British colonial control (Binckes 2013). This movement was mainly triggered by the British colonial government forcing the Cape Colony to fund itself through internal taxation as well as the abolition of slavery across the British colonies (Lloyd 1997). Many Dutch-speaking settlers bridled against what they felt was too much interference in their everyday affairs and chose to leave the Colony to forge a new life in the interior (Giliomee 2003). The Boer Republics which arose as a direct result of the Great Trek established new trade routes into the interior of the country and paved the way for greater economic expansion in the following decades (de V. Minnaar 1987; Gilliomee 2003).

There was substantial commercial and economic expansion in the Graaff-Reinet district during the 1840s (de V. Minnaar 1987:12). Graaff-Reinet became a commercial centre in the 1840s with a large number of shops selling foodstuffs, clothing, farming equipment and hardware (de V. Minnaar 1987: 61). The Sneeuberg became one of the leading centres for the breeding of valuable Merino sheep and the trade in wool enabled this area to become more successful. The area steadily became more prosperous through the 1840s leading up to the wool boom of the 1850s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). During this period, the value of land in Graaff-Reinet and the surrounding areas, including the Sneeuberg, increased and the price of goods increased as well (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12) The first municipal board in the town was also established in 1845 and this helped to improve the infrastructure of the town and the district (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). Despite the improvements in infrastructure, there were goods which were still relatively difficult to obtain, such as refined ceramics.

South Africa had no local refined ceramic industry until the mid-19th century (Klose & Malan 2000: 51). The majority of refined earthenware in South Africa in the 19th century was imported from Britain (Klose & Malan 2000: 51). Asian porcelain was imported from China or Japan through Cape Town. The lengthy journey these goods undertook from Asia as well as their fragility meant that these items would have been more expensive than refined earthenware from

Europe (Klose 2007: 39). From the mid-19th century onwards, mass-produced ceramics such as industrial slipware and hand-painted "bright" ware became available and, as very little labour and capital went into producing these ceramic vessels, they were much cheaper than porcelain or certain other kinds of refined earthenware (Klose 2007: 68). Stoneware was also imported mostly from Britain, but sometimes from Germany too; it cost about the same as refined earthenware (Klose 2007: 38). Inhabitants of the Sneeuberg had access to all these imported ceramics through itinerant pedlars and shops in town.

During the 1850s, Graaff-Reinet thrived economically (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). This period was characterized by a boom in wool prices and since the economy of the Graaff-Reinet district was based on Merino stud breeding the area experienced a massive boost in both foreign and local merchant capital (de V. Minnaar 1987: 4). The growth in wool exports in the 1850s was a direct response to the creation of a market for imported colonial wool in Britain, which was unable to produce enough wool to meet the needs of its expanding colony (Dubow 1982: 13). The first banks in Graaff-Reinet were established in 1848 and 1854 and the first newspaper was started in 1851 (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). Shops in the town carried a large variety of goods and also traded in expensive commodities such as animal skins and ivory (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). The value of land in Graaff-Reinet and the surrounding area rose due to the economic success of the area but also due to widespread property speculation (Dubow 1982: 18). The general practice during the period was for farmers to receive commodities or renewed credit in exchange for their wool rather than being paid in cash (Dubow 1982: 23). This extension of credit and the property speculation contributed towards the economic downturn of the 1860s.

The 1860s was a period of general economic depression across the colonial territories in South Africa (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). A severe drought started in the winter of 1859 and continued throughout the 1860s with particularly bad years in 1862 and 1865. The wool price also dropped dramatically during the period. This was due to the price of wool from the United States of America declining after the end of the Civil War, making wool from the USA preferable for British buyers - the main client for the wool trade in South Africa (de V. Minnaar 1987: 62). The value of land in the area decreased sharply during the 1860s and this coincided with a significant decrease in the population (Dubow 1982: 19). In 1867, the discovery in diamonds of Kimberly stimulated economic recovery in the area as one of the main routes to the diamond mines passed through it (*ibid.*).

The area only recovered from the economic depression of the 1860s in 1871 (Dubow 1982: 20). The discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1873 also provided an economic boost for the region (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). The first hospital in the town was established in 1879. Before this, people in the district had to rely on the surgeon-general (an individual appointed to this position) in the town whose facilities were hugely under-staffed and had very few resources. People who lived further away from Graaff-Reinet probably relied more on home medicine and local healers rather than risk the dangerous and long trip to the town where they might not receive proper care (de V. Minnaar 1987: 29).

Graaff-Reinet reached the peak of its commercial success in the 1880s, with the number of shops in town reaching a record high of 113 in 1883 (de V. Minnaar 1987: 64). The Sneeuberg and Graaff-Reinet area experienced a period of economic upturn again from 1891 to 1896 (*ibid.*). This was short-lived, however. From 1897 to 1898, there was a rinderpest epidemic in the Graaff-Reinet district, which killed many stock animals and disrupted the meat and wool trade (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77). A long-lasting drought also started in 1899 (*ibid.*). All of these hardships were compounded by the outbreak of the South African War late in 1899 (formerly known as the Second Boer War).

The South African War greatly affected the economy of the Sneeuberg area. Martial law was declared in the Graaff-Reinet district at the end of 1900 (de V. Minnaar 1987: 34). Boer troops occupied Nieu-Bethesda and Murraysburg during the war (*ibid.*). There was not much fighting around Graaff-Reinet and the Sneeuberg, but the war still had a negative effect on the area (de V. Minnaar 1987: 34). English soldiers stationed in the area often raided farms for supplies, industry and trade were diverted to help the war effort and farm produce was often sequestered for use by the military (*ibid.*). The war ended in 1902 and the drought ended in 1905, but this was followed by a plague of locusts in 1906 (de V. Minnaar 1987: 78).

In summary, from the arrival of the first European settlers in the 1760s, the Sneeuberg and the surrounding area experienced a series of economic fluctuations. From the 18th century to the early 19th century, the area was chaotic and dangerous and there was little economic growth or access to trade (de V. Minnaar 1987: 1, 3). At the start of the 19th century there was minor economic expansion as the town of Graaff-Reinet became more developed in the 1810s and the arrival of the 1820 settlers and the establishment of Grahamstown in that year increased trade in the area and made it easier to access manufactured goods (de V. Minnaar 1987: 11, 57). Commercial expansion in the 1840s and developments in breeding Merino sheep led into

the wool boom of the 1850s, resulting in a period of great prosperity for the Graaff-Reinet District as a whole (Dubow 1982: 14). This was followed by a deep economic depression in the 1860s, compounded by a severe drought and a drop in the wool price (Dubow 1982: 19). The area recovered economically in 1871 and reached its commercial and economic peak in the 1880s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 64). Finally, the area suffered another series of setbacks due to an outbreak of rinderpest and a drought in the 1890s as well as the South African War which started in 1899 (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77). All these events are likely to have influenced the lives of the people living at Groenvlei and Rondefontein. Another important aspect of the lives of the people living in the Sneeuberg was their interactions with indigenous people in the area.

3.4 Interactions in the Sneeuberg

In a situation in which colonial dominance is not yet established, the interactions between colonial and indigenous communities are of even greater importance to the survival and development of colonial groups, as they may be forced to co-operate with and learn from indigenous people and their respective survival strategies. In the Sneeuberg in particular, the typical colonial dominance model does not apply (Jordan 2009: 41). The colonial dominance model is one in which the colonial authorities have complete power and control over their colonised subjects, as well as cultural and social hegemony (Jordan 2009: 33). In theory, the Dutch colony controlled the area and by association the people living in it, but in practice the situation was very different. The colonists technically owned the land but had no control over the movements of anyone on their land or the actions of the Khoe-San people (Neville 1996: 258, Penn 2005: 145). They did not even have control over their own lives for the most part, as they relied on help from the Khoe-San in order to survive (Penn 2005: 157). Khoe-San cattle raids put their lives and their livelihood in danger and there was very little they could do about it without military support from the Cape (Moodie 1841, Neville 1996: 22). Only in the 1830s, when the English took over the colony and it expanded and became stronger did the Sneeuberg area succumb to true colonial dominance.

These complex interactions in the earliest period of settlement in the Sneeuberg could reveal much about colonial processes outside of stereotypical imperial dominance, at the peripheries of colonial expansion (Jordan 2009: 36). These aspects of colonial interaction in the Sneeuberg are still not well-understood due to the lack of colonial archaeology and this is one of the reasons why this research is important.

The Sneeuberg and the surrounding area were some of the first parts of South Africa to be

colonised outside of the original Cape Colony (Penn 2005: 114). It is easy to read all instances of colonialism from the perspective of the coloniser, not least because most of the information about these periods comes from colonial records (Orser 2013: 65). However, this erases the lived experience of the indigenous people who encountered colonial rule (Orser 2013: 65). It also tends to homogenise both the coloniser and the colonised when, in reality, these groups were much more complex and never static in their worldviews and actions (Jordan 2009: 33). Other problems that arise with this approach to colonial archaeology include a consistent stereotyping of power relations that often does not correspond with the reality of the situation (Jordan 2009: 33).

A slightly different approach is needed, especially in the case of the complex colonial interactions that took place at the start of colonisation in the Sneeuberg. Care must be taken not to stereotype or homogenise either the Khoe-San or the *Trekboers*. Colonisers on the edge of colonial control often have very different motives and perspectives than those at the centre (Jordan 2009: 34). Colonised groups are also much more varied in their actions than many post-colonial scholars give them credit for (Jordan 2009: 33). Some would partake in acts of resistance, such as the Khoe-San who undertook raids against the colonists in the Sneeuberg (Moodie 1841). Others would collude with colonial authorities and aid settlers, such as the Khoe-San who helped the *Trekboers* to survive in the Sneeuberg (Penn 2005: 157). Yet others simply wanted to get on with their lives and find some way to survive under colonial rule (Jordan 2009: 41). These nuances in the motives and experiences of the coloniser and the colonised must be considered when investigating colonial relations in the Sneeuberg.

The complex conditions of early settlement in the Sneeuberg also provide an opportunity to examine the processes that led to colonial domination and to examine culturally entangled areas. Jordan (2009: 32) refers to culturally entangled areas as precursors of colonial domination. These are areas of rudimentary colonial expansion where power relations between the coloniser and the colonised are not well-defined (Jordan 2009: 32). This applies perfectly to the Sneeuberg area, where power was constantly being contested and, for a significant period in the early colonisation of the area, power relations were not clear (Penn 2005: 377). It is very easy in hindsight to view colonialism as inevitable, but it very rarely was, and this is especially true of the Sneeuberg area (Jordan 2009: 34). Had military intervention been less successful and had the English not taken over the Cape Colony when they did, it is possible that this area would not have been colonised or would only have been colonised much later. Areas of cultural entanglement are not just precursors to colonialism; they are a series of open-ended processes,

interactions and negotiations and should be treated as such (Jordan 2009: 32). This research does not treat this area in the frame of a simple colonial dominance model, but rather it treats it as an area of cultural entanglement.

One possible route to follow when looking for evidence of interaction between the colonisers and the colonised at Groenvlei and Rondefontein is to look for evidence of what they were eating. Diet can very easily be influenced through contact between groups, especially in a place like the Eastern Cape during the colonial period where different groups of people relied on each other for survival. An example of this can be found in the traditional food of Afrikaans people, which has been heavily influenced by what is known as the Cape Malay tradition (Snyman 2004: 91). This tradition comes from the people who were brought over to Cape Town as slaves and since the Dutch often lived quite closely with their slaves and used them as cooks, their food traditions influenced the Dutch traditions and mixed with other indigenous South African foodways to develop into Cape Malay cuisine that, later, influenced Afrikaans food (Snyman 2004: 92).

Another example can be found in the different diets of different parts of colonial America (McWilliams 2005). Different colonial conditions, levels of interaction, personal relationships and colonial mind-sets resulted in vastly variable diets across the various American colonies. In the West Indies, the heavy reliance on sugar, the almost immediate genocide of the indigenous population and the fact that African slaves vastly outnumbered white plantation owners meant that the diet of this colony became heavily influenced by West African food traditions (McWilliams 2005). Conversely, in New England, there was very little influence from West Africa or from Native Americans, and religious conservatism, a belief in their own superiority, a relative lack of slaves and a determination to eat British food led to a diet that was almost indistinguishable from what would have been consumed in England (McWilliams 2005). It is possible that similar trends could be identified by examining the diet of those who lived at Groenvlei and Rondefontein, through analysis of faunal and botanical remains. These and other consumption trends can then be contextualised by comparing to other similar historical sites in the area.

3.5 Comparative Studies in Ceramic Consumption Patterns

Two sites were chosen for comparison to Groenvlei and Rondefontein: Kerkplaats farm and Warmhoek farm. These sites were chosen for their similarity to Groenvlei and Rondefontein in being rural farmsteads in the interior of the country inhabited at some point by *trekboers* and

their descendants. They were also chosen because they date from the late 18th to early 20th centuries, a similar period to that under investigation at Groenvlei (GV) and Rondefontein (RD). These similarities give a strong basis for comparison of the unique features of the sites under study. The research on both farms has been heavily focused on imported ceramics and this will form the foundation of this comparison.

Kerkplaats (KP) farm was investigated by Zachariou (2017). Kerkplaats is situated near the Zak River, close to Fraserburg in the Northern Cape (Zachariou 2017: 2). This farm was the site of a mission station from 1806 to 1813 (Zachariou 2017:1). It was subsequently re-occupied in the 1830s by *trekboers* who then relocated to a different section of the farm in the 1860s (Zachariou 2017: 1). For the purposes of this comparison, I will be focusing on two sites on the farm: Werf 1 and Werf 2. Werf 1 is related to the occupation of the farm from the 1830s to the 1860s and Werf 2 is related to the subsequent occupation from the 1860s onwards (Zachariou 2017: 84). The data relating to the mission occupation has not been used as it is too dissimilar in time scale and household function to Groenvlei and Rondefontein to provide a useful comparison.

The minimum number of vessels (MNV) count for KP Werf 1 is 445 (Zachariou 2017: 163). The most common ware type in this assemblage is European refined industrial ware (RIW), followed by European stoneware and Asian porcelain (Zachariou 2017: 199). The least common ware types are European porcelain, Asian stoneware and coarse European earthenware (Zachariou 2017: 199). Slipware was the most common decoration category, followed by transfer print and hand-painted (Zachariou 2017: 200). Modified edge and a combination of printed and painted on one vessel are the least common decoration categories (Zachariou 2017: 200). The proportion of hollow ware in the assemblage is almost double that of flatware (Zachariou 2017: 166). Werf 1 has very little tea ware and no matching tea sets (Zachariou 2017: 205).

The MNV count for KP Werf 2 is 214 (Zachariou 2017: 180). The most common ware type is European refined industrial ware, followed by European porcelain (Zachariou 2017: 180). Asian porcelain and European stoneware are the least common ware types in the assemblage (Zachariou 2017: 180). Transfer printing is the most common decoration category in the assemblage, followed by lined decoration (*ibid*). Painted and moulded edge decorations are the least common decoration categories at the site (*ibid*). The proportion of flatware in the assemblage is slightly higher than the proportion of hollow ware (Zachariou 2017: 184). Werf

2 has a large amount of tea ware, many of which consist of matching tea sets (Zachariou 2017: 205).

The data from Warmhoek (WH) comes from Viljoen's (2011). Warmhoek is located on the Jan Dissels River, near Clanwilliam in the Western Cape (Viljoen 2011). The data selected for comparison from Warmhoek comes from excavations at the ruins of the former main house on the property, dating from the late 19th century (Viljoen 2011). As mentioned above, both Zachariou (2017) and Viljoen (2011) focused on ceramics analysis and this comparison will concern ceramic data.

The MNV count for Warmhoek is 174 (Viljoen 2011: 107). The majority of these vessels are refined industrial earthenware (Viljoen 2011: 126). The second most common category is refined stoneware and the least common is Asian porcelain (Viljoen 2011: 126). No European porcelain was recovered from this site (Viljoen 2011: 126). Transfer printing is the most common decoration present in the assemblage, followed by lustre decorations (Viljoen 2011: 129). Slipware and coloured body are the least popular decoration categories (Viljoen 2011: 129). There is a slightly higher proportion of flatware than hollow ware in the assemblage (84 vs. 80) (Viljoen 2011: 132). More than half of the ceramic assemblage at Warmhoek consists of matching tea sets (Viljoen 2011: 143).

According to Zachariou (2017), the proportion of hollow ware to flatware in an assemblage is indicative of foodways and conscious consumption preferences. He further asserts that these consumption preferences and other trends in the ceramic assemblage are indicative of female consumer agency and ascriptions to British consumer trends (Zachariou 2017: 263, 284). By comparing the ceramic assemblages recovered from Groenvlei and Rondefontein to the aforementioned studies I will be able to contextualise my study and infer foodways and consumer agency.

3.6 Summary

The people who dwelt at the two farms involved in this study would have had a series of interactions and contact with a variety of other groups and individuals, as discussed above. However, this is an aspect of this area's history that is commonly left out of the prevailing narrative and these interactions are not well understood. The aim of this research project is to fill in some of the gaps in this knowledge. Household archaeology, applied in a cautious and conscientious manner as discussed previously, is one of the most effective methods for understanding the lives of past people and thus is the method that I will use in trying to achieve this aim.

With this background and theoretical framework in place, I now move on to the collection and analysis of artefacts to provide data which, in combination with the aforementioned, will be used to address the research aims and question of this project. In the following chapter, I provide an overview and detailed explanation of the methods and techniques that I chose to implement in order to achieve these aims.

Chapter 4. Methods and Techniques

The specific methodological approach for this research project is laid out in this chapter. The general method and motivation behind this approach is described in the first section, followed by a more detailed explanation of each technique used to gather and analyse data. At the end of this chapter, I discuss the problems and limitations I encountered during the course of conducting this research and how they affected the data.

4.1 Methods

The primary data for this project comes from excavations of ash middens on the farms Groenvlei and Rondefontein. The ash midden on Groenvlei is associated with a known historical building and post-dates the year 1800 (van Rooyen 2016). Two test pits were excavated here in 2016 for my Honours research and two more were dug in 2017 for this project, three were 1 m x 1 m and one was 50 cm x 50 cm. There are several ash middens on Rondefontein. Excavation for this project was performed on the two oldest examples, dating from the 1840s onwards (RD1 and RD2). Two 1 m x 1 m pits were excavated on RD1 and three were excavated on RD2.

The archaeological data from the excavations at each site were analysed and compared to those from the other site. Flotation was used to obtain archaeobotanical remains, according to accepted procedure (Pearsall 2001). These were compared to modern plant samples taken from the area around the sites and to reference material at the University of the Witwatersrand and at the South African National Biodiversity Institute (SANBI) for the purpose of identification. Glass, ceramics and faunal bones were classified, analysed and used for relative dating and extrapolating information about the lifestyles of those contributing to the ash middens. Glass was classified and analysed according to the methods laid out in Jones *et al.* (1989). The methodology for the classification and analysis of ceramics is according to the HARG ceramic analysis handbook by Jane Klose (2007). Faunal bones have been analysed and identified by me with the help of Kenny Molopyane and checked by Dr. Jerome Reynard. Comparison of the data sets was used to identify trends, as well as similarities and differences between the archaeological sequences of the two farms.

Some documentary evidence was used to supplement the information obtained from the excavations. This includes analysis of farm deeds, loan farm records, traveller diaries and other historical records relating to this region.

4.2 Techniques

A variety of techniques was used to collect and produce data for this project. Physical and desktop surveys were used to decide where to excavate as well as to gather information about the farms and the excavation sites. Excavation in turn, was conducted to collect artefacts and these artefacts were analysed in various ways in the laboratory. The details of each technique used, as well as the reason for their use are expanded upon in this section.

4.2.1 Documentary Evidence

Deed records for the farms were obtained from the farm owners. For Groenvlei, this consisted of deed records provided by the Minnaars, the historical research they have undertaken with the help of an architect who specialises in historical reconstruction as well as research done by Neville (1996). For Rondefontein, the owners also provided deed records going back to the 1830s as well as genealogical and ownership records from the National Archive. The documentary evidence was used to build up a history of ownership and historical context for each farm.

4.2.2 Surveying

Groenvlei (Figure 4.1) was surveyed on the ground as well as on Google Maps in 2016 as part of my Honours research (van Rooyen 2016). The midden that was excavated for this project extends for about 150 m north to south and 200 m east to west (See Figure 4.3) and was extensively surveyed by three people walking in transects as well as other areas of interest on the farm, including the kraal on the hill opposite the midden, household ruins on another section of the farm called Muishoek, stone circles next to the river and herders huts on the section of the farm called Kriegers Kraal (van Rooyen 2016). The midden was surveyed to establish to extent of the midden, the extent of surface scatter, possible disturbances as well as to find areas of highest artefact density (van Rooyen 2016). These surveys were undertaken to establish where to excavate as well as to gain a better understanding of various structures and places of interest on the farm as a whole (van Rooyen 2016).

On Rondefontein, extensive surveys were done on the various ash middens (Figure 4.2). Two people surveyed RD1, which extends for about 30 m north to south and 15 m east to west, to find the extent of the midden, the extent of surface scatter, possible disturbances and where artefacts were most densely concentrated (see Figure 4.4). RD2, which extends for about 15 m north to south and 15 m east to west, was surveyed by a team of four people to find the extent

of the midden, the extent of surface scatter, possible disturbances as well as to look for areas of highest artefact density (See Figure 4.4).

The physical survey of Rondefontein focused on the ash middens as well as their spatial relationship to any nearby features, such as buildings. This assisted in the process of deciding where each excavation pit should be placed in the ash midden and provided information on the relationship and effects of various factors on the formation of the ash midden. On both farms, the initial surveys were followed by excavations on the large midden at Groenvlei and at RD 1 and RD 2 on Rondefontein.



Figure 4.1: Aerial view of Groenvlei showing the current house (A), the historical longhouse (B), the guest house (C) and the Groenvlei midden (E)



Figure 4.2: Aerial view of Rondefontein showing the barn (A), the current house (B), the tennis court (C), the workers' houses (D), midden Rondefontein 1 (E) and midden Rondefontein 2 (F)

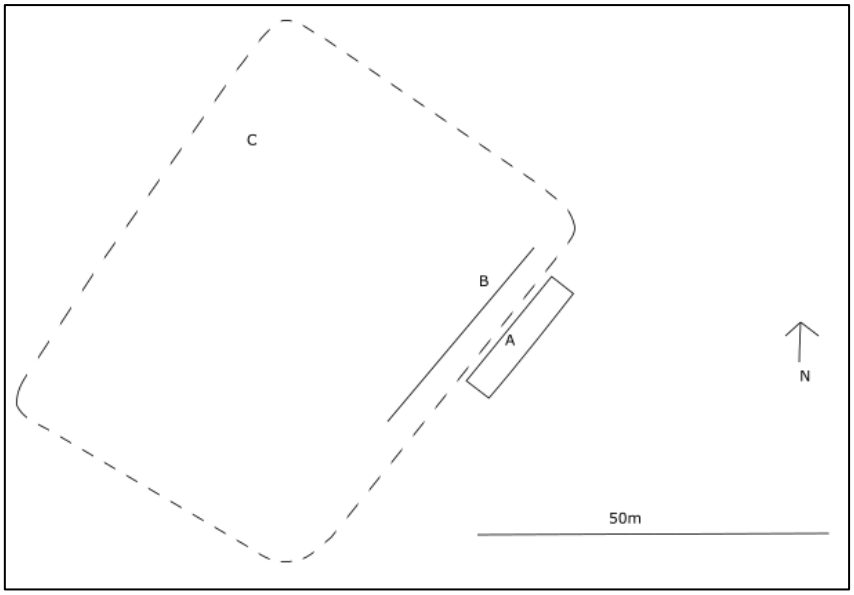

Figure 4.3: Aerial diagram of Groenvlei midden, showing the long house (A), the retaining wall (B) and the approximate extent of the midden (dotted line, C)

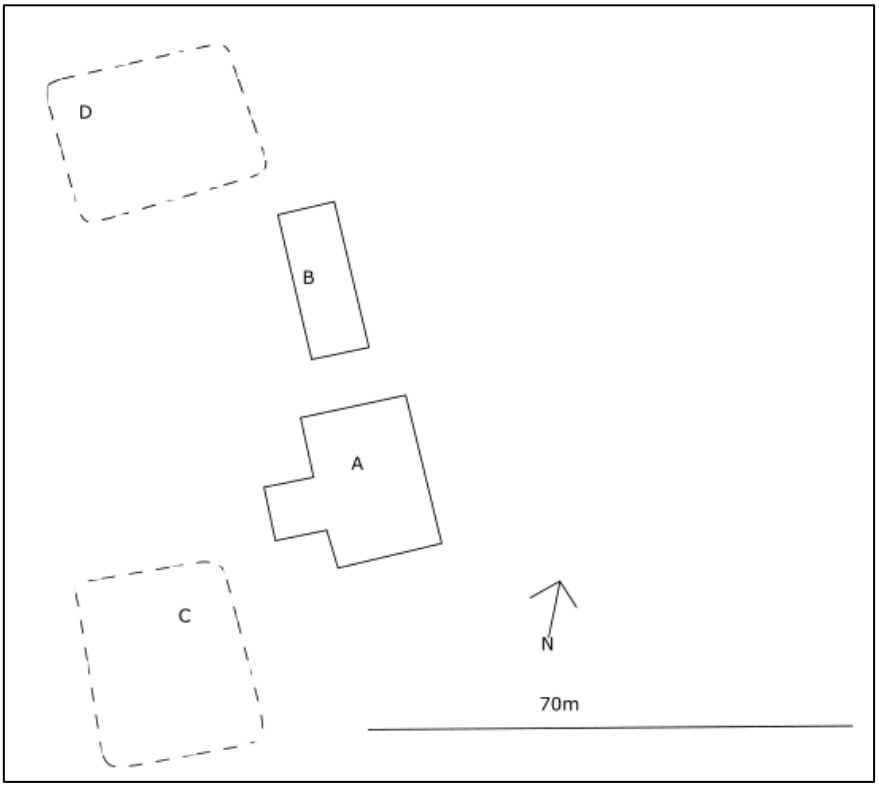

Figure 4.4: Aerial diagram of Rondefontein, showing the current house (A), the barn (B), and the approximate extent of RD1 and RD2 (dotted lines, C and D respectively)

4.2.3 Excavation

4.2.3.1 Groenvlei

The first excavations at Groenvlei took place in April and June of 2016 (van Rooyen 2016). These excavations were located at midden GV1 (Figure 4.5), a midden located directly behind an historical longhouse, which used to be inhabited, but is now used as a venue by the farm owners (van Rooyen 2016). GV1 extends for about 150 m north to south and 200 m east to west. Two 1 m x 1 m pits were dug at this time with the aim of investigating the archaeological sequence of the midden at a small scale (van Rooyen 2016). The first square that was dug was exploratory and it was situated in between the longhouse and the retaining wall (see figure 4.1), in the middle of a slope (van Rooyen 2016). The second square was dug to try to ascertain the full archaeological sequence of the midden and was dug behind the retaining wall in the deepest part of the midden (van Rooyen 2016). This excavation was done for my Honours research. The aforementioned retaining wall was used as the baseline for the Honours excavation as well as subsequent excavations at the site for this project.

In November of 2017, two more squares were excavated on GV1. Square 3 was located two metres east and one metre north of Square 2. This location was chosen because of the known depth of this part of the midden and to attempt to recover a higher density of artefacts and to potentially extend the archaeological sequence to the 1700s. Square 4 was located twenty metres east of Square 3 along the section of the embankment where the retaining wall had worn away. This location was chosen in hope of accessing the lower layers of the midden more quickly, since digging in a section is faster and easier as all the layers are visible from the outset.

The excavation of both squares began with recording the square. This was done by photographing the surface as well as taking notes detailing the condition of the surface and drawing a sketch of the surface. The same process took place after the 1m x 1m (Square 3) and 50 cm x 50 cm (Square 4) grids were set up and the surface was cleared of plants and loose soil. When excavation started, it was done in spits of 5 cm as well as in stratigraphic layers. The spits were named according to the following convention: a number would be assigned to each 10 cm section depth and letters to each 5 cm within each 10 cm, so spit 1A would be 5 cm deep, spit 3B would be 30 cm deep etc. The spits were further labelled with a name describing the stratigraphic layer, for example, GB for grey-brown. If the stratigraphy changed halfway through a spit the spit number would not change but the stratigraphic letters would, e.g. 2A GB

and 2A LGB. This method was chosen to have greater stratigraphic control which was necessary since middens are likely to have many different lenses which may be deposited in a chaotic manner.

Records were taken at the end of each spit and each stratigraphic layer. These records were comprised of photographs were taken of the surface on completion of excavation of each layer and spit and a sketch was also made of the surface. These were accompanied by notes on soil colour, soil texture and composition, clast sizes and distribution, whether the layer was clast or matrix supported, animal activity and root activity.

Excavated soil was deposited in 10 litre buckets which were then taken to be sieved about 5 m west of the excavation. The soil was sieved through a 4 mm sieve stacked on top of a 2 mm sieve. Larger artefacts such as bone, ceramics, metal and glass were collected from the 4 mm mesh sieve. Only seeds and beads were collected from the 2 mm sieve as the shards of bone, ceramic and glass found in this sieve were far too small to be of any use. The only exception to this was macrofaunal bones which were all collected. Square 3 was dug to a depth of 90 cm, after which the square was sterile. For the same reason, digging at Square 4 was halted at a depth of 80 cm. Squares 1 and 2 were dug in the same manner in 2016, to a depth of 40 cm and 1.5 m respectively. Upon completion of the excavation, all squares were refilled from the sieve pile. Artefacts were labelled according to the site name, the square, spit and stratigraphic layer in which they were found as well as the category of artefact (e.g. ceramics, glass, bone etc.) and the date of excavation.

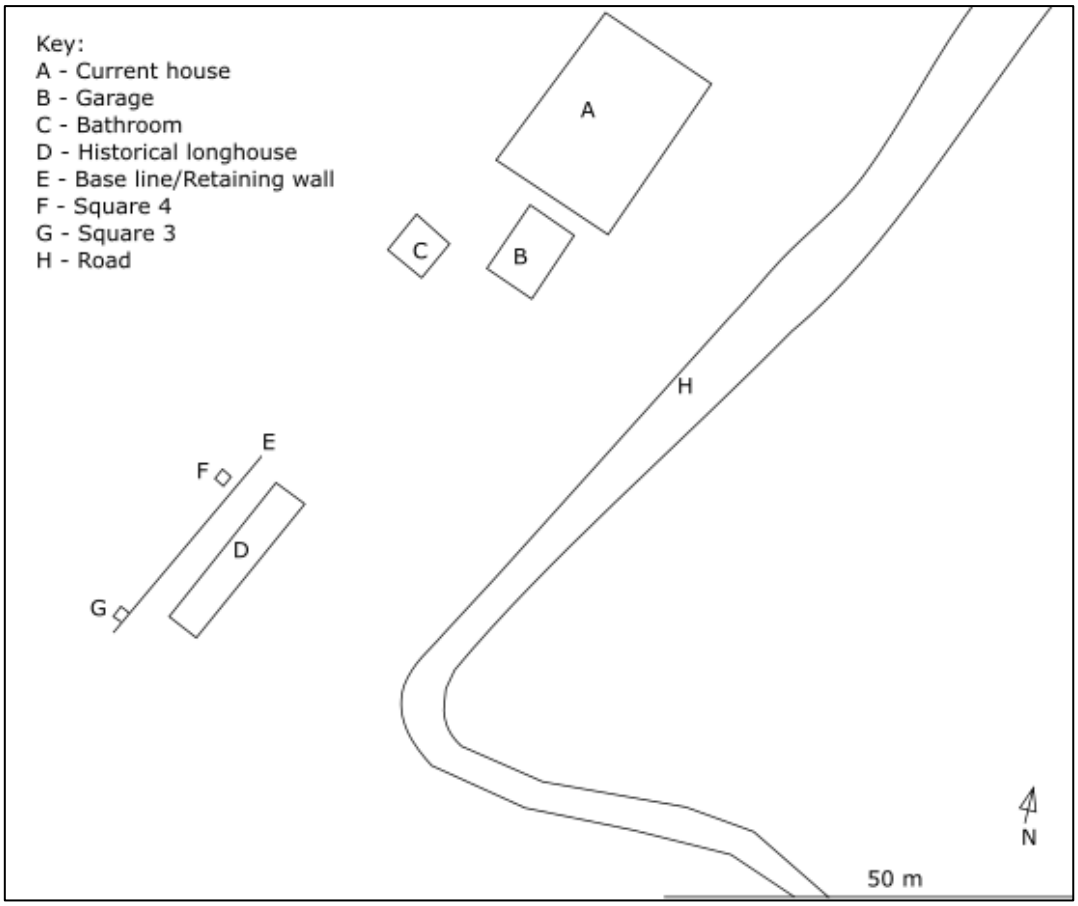

Figure 4.5: Aerial view of Groenvlei showing the location of the excavation squares and baseline

4.2.3.2 Rondefontein

The first excavation at Rondefontein took place in September 2017, on RD 1 (Figure 4.6). RD 1 is the younger midden at Rondefontein, dating from approximately 1868 to almost the present day (dates taken from artefact analysis) and is associated with the house that the farm owners currently inhabit. This midden extends for about 30 m north to south and 15 m east to west. Two squares were dug on this midden, IXG and XID. The names come from the square's position along the baseline, taken from a line of fencing on the southern side of the midden. The base point was located at the end of the fence line in the middle of the last post. Both were situated 11 metres horizontally along the base line, east of the base point. IXG was located 7 metres north of the baseline and XID was located 4 metres north of the base point. IXG was excavated first. It is situated on the outskirts of the midden. The location was chosen to avoid the area where the farm owner's son had done his own excavation in 2011 as well as to understand the taphonomy of the midden higher up on the slope. XID is located at the highest part of a mound of soil indicating the epicentre of the midden. This location was chosen in order to obtain as many artefacts as possible as well as in hope of finding greater time depth.

Both XIG and XID were excavated with the same methods as the squares dug on Groenvlei. The soil from these squares was also sieved through a 4 mm sieve stacked on top of a 2 mm sieve, again to obtain larger artefacts from the 4 mm sieve and only beads and seeds from the 2 mm sieve. Each spit and stratigraphic layer in these squares was also recorded in the manner, outlined above, that was used at Groenvlei and the artefacts were also bagged and labelled according to the same conventions.

XIG and XID were both very shallow. Excavation on both squares ended when bedrock was reached, at a depth of 35cm in XIG and 50cm at XID.

The second and final excavation on Rondefontein took place in May 2018. This excavation focused on RD 2 the midden located on the western side of the old house which is now used as a barn. This midden extends for about 15 m north to south and 15 m east to west. This midden was initially believed to date from 1838 to 1864 and associated with the old house but artefact analysis has shown that it dates from approximately the 1840s onwards and is associated with the barn or the house that the current owners live in. A total of three 1 m x 1m squares were dug on this midden (5D, 6C, 7C), as well as two 50 cm x 50 cm (Pit 1, Pit 2) test pits on two separate middens further up the slope. The base line for the squares was taken from the fence line running along the southern part of the midden and the base line for the test pits was taken from another fence line perpendicular to the first, running along the western side of the midden. Square 5D is located 5 metres horizontally across the first baseline and 4 metres north of it, 6C is located 6 metres across the baseline and 3 metres north of it and 7C is located 7 metres across and 3 metres north of the baseline. Pit 1 is located 8 metres horizontally across the second baseline and 4 metres west of it and pit 2 is also located 8 metres across this baseline, 20 metres west of it. The location of the squares was based on information from the farm owners, who indicated that that was where the main part of the midden was historically. The squares were situated to check the extent of the midden as well as to find the largest number of artefacts possible. Test pit 1 was dug to check the accuracy of the farm owner's information, in another mound of soil further up the slope. It did not reveal any evidence of a midden. Test pit 2 was dug to investigate a third mound of soil further up the slope, associated with workers' houses which were inhabited until recently. This midden was revealed to be very modern, post 1960s probably.

The squares on RD 2 were dug, recorded and filled in with the same methods used at Groenvlei and at RD 1. Artefacts were also bagged and labelled according to the same conventions as at

the other sites. All the squares at RD 2 were even shallower than those at RD 1, with none being deeper than 25 cm before we encountered the same thick rocky layer that stopped digging at RD 1.

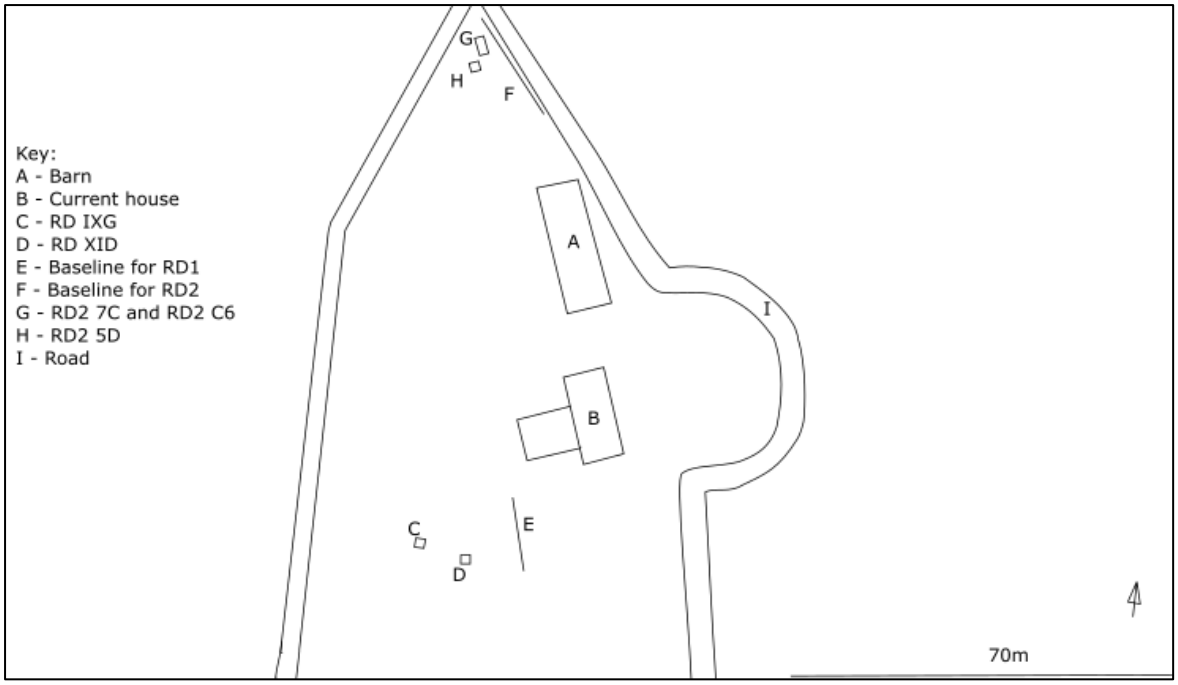

Figure 4.6: Aerial view of Rondefontein showing the location of the excavation squares and baselines

4.2.4 Analysis

Different types of artefacts were analysed according to the following methods and by the following technicians: ceramic and glass artefacts were sorted, identified according to the relevant typology and analysed in the laboratory (Jones *et al.* 1989, Klose 2009). A sherd analysis was done on the ceramics first, identifying ware, paste, variety and decoration. These were recorded and are presented in Appendices C3. A minimum vessel count was then done. Refitting was attempted but no whole vessels could be constructed. Instead, the minimum vessel count was based on decoration, ware and sherd thickness. Care was taken to be as conservative with the final count as possible. Glass was sorted according to colour and diagnostic features and these were recorded in tables presented in Appendix C4.

Metal, OES fragments, fragments of building material and other artefacts were also sorted, classified and analysed in the laboratory. Archaeobotanical micro- and macro-remains were sorted, identified and analysed in the archaeobotany laboratory at Wits. Faunal remains were identified and analysed by me and Keneiloe Molopyane and checked by Dr Jerome Reynard of Wits.

4.2.5 Flotation

Samples for flotation were taken from every stratigraphic layer in all squares at both Groenvlei and Rondefontein, except for Square 4 at Groenvlei where the excavation assistant forgot to take samples. The flotation samples were each 5 litres. Flotation of each sample was done in the laboratory at the University of the Witwatersrand, except for two samples which were floated at Groenvlei.

Flotation in the laboratory and at Groenvlei was done according to the following protocol: 2.5 litres of soil was floated at a time. The soil was placed into a bucket, into which was poured 5 litres of water and the mixture was then agitated by hand. Organic material that floated to the surface was poured through a layer of gauze placed over a 0.5 mm sieve to catch the light fraction. The light fraction was then bagged up in the gauze, labelled and hung up to dry. The 0.5 mm sieve was then replaced by a 2 mm sieve stacked on top of a 1 mm sieve. The remaining soil and water (heavy fraction) were then poured through these sieves. Anything caught in the sieves was placed in a tray separately to dry before sorting.

Sorting of the heavy fraction was done by hand. Any artefacts were labelled and bagged according to the conventions outlined in the excavation sections. The light fraction was sorted in the archaeobotany laboratory at the Wits. The samples were inspected under a hand lens and any seeds and charcoal were picked out and checked under the microscope. Only carbonised seeds were collected as fresh seeds could be contamination. The carbonised seeds were then bagged and labelled.

The seeds were compared to the modern seed collections in the archaeobotany laboratory as well as at the South African National Biodiversity Institute for identification. Identification was done by comparing the archaeological seeds to modern seeds under the microscope. The seeds were also quantified. Partial seeds were counted separately from whole seeds and were not added to the final whole seed count. The charcoal was weighed but was not analysed or used for radiocarbon dating.

4.3 Taphonomy and Site Formation

The data for this section comes from surveys of the excavation sites as well as observations made while excavating. Both anthropogenic and natural factors affecting the sites are discussed as well as the landscape surrounding the sites if they could have affected site formation.

4.3.1 Groenvlei

The midden at Groenvlei is situated behind an historical building that was used as a dwelling until 1950. Most of the soil deposit closest to the house is part of the midden, deposited as refuse. Behind the midden is a large section of veld, which has been used as grazing land. This land is not currently used for grazing, but there are remains of a kraal behind the midden which indicate that it once was used for this purpose. It is not known when last this area was used, how heavily it was grazed and by what kind of animals. Grazing of the area could lead to artefact trampling and further erosion of the slop due to loss of vegetation.

A small section of the midden has been bulldozed at some point in the last decade by the current owner's son. None of the family members could remember exactly when this took place. This was done in order to get rid of a build-up of soil, which was touching the exterior wall of the house and causing rising damp. The presence of this soil indicates that the wash from the koppie behind the site was pushing the soil down the slope. There is a retaining wall just behind the bulldozed area that was built in the 1950s, according to Johan Minnaar. This wall would have stopped soil from being washed against the house but was only effective until the late 1990s.

The site is exposed to high winds but because of a dense covering of shrubs and grasses, not much soil is lost to wind erosion. No large animals have access to this midden area at present. There is some evidence of burrowing by small animals like ground squirrels, but these were not encountered or sighted while we were digging there, and the burrows seemed abandoned. There was extensive evidence of on-going insect activity in this midden, including burrowing insects, such as termites and ants.

To summarise, the midden at Groenvlei has experienced disturbance from bulldozing and the building of the retaining wall, from water running down the slope, heavy insect activity, possible trampling by large animals and minor digging from small burrowing animals. However, the excavation revealed that the layers of the midden were not too heavily disturbed as the layers were clearly differentiated and not mixed together and small artefacts such as charcoal, beads and seeds were not disturbed.

4.3.2 Rondefontein

4.3.2.1 Rondefontein 1

Rondefontein 1 (RD 1) dates from the 1840s onwards. It is located behind and is associated with the house that the farmers currently occupy. There has been some anthropogenic interference with this midden, including previous amateur excavation. In 2011, the farmer's son did some hand sieving on a small section of the midden in search of artefacts. The area that he disturbed is clearly identifiable and was avoided in this excavation. This area was also used by children from the school, which was located on the farm, as a play area. There are remains of "dollhouses" that the children built with large stones about a metre or so away from the main section of the midden. It is unknown how much their playing affected the midden.

This midden seemed to be largely unaffected by natural erosion factors. Although the midden lies on a gentle slope, there was no evidence of wash and the slope is so shallow that this seems unlikely. The midden is exposed to strong winds but due to extensive shrub and grass coverage, it does not lose soil to wind erosion. There was no evidence of animal burrowing activity, possibly because of the proximity to an occupied house and a well-maintained garden. There was extensive evidence of insect activity, including burrowing insects, such as termites.

To summarise, the midden at Rondefontein 1 experienced disturbance from an amateur excavation and being used as a playground by children and heavy insect activity. The layers in the midden were found to be clearly differentiated implying very little disturbance within the midden and light material such as ash, charcoal and beads were not disturbed either.

4.3.2.2 Rondefontein 2

Rondefontein 2 (RD2) is the older of the two middens excavated on Rondefontein and it dates from the 1840s onwards and is associated either with the barn or the current farm owners house. It is unknown exactly how much anthropogenic activity has affected this midden as it is in an exposed area right situated between several frequently used farm buildings. It is also situated directly next to a dirt road that is often used by the farm and the building of this road would have affected parts of the midden. It is unknown how big the effect of the road building was.

RD2 itself is not situated on a steep slope but above this midden, the slope is quite steep and it is probable that some material from further up the slope may have been washed onto the surface of this midden. RD2 is on a level plane so it is unlikely that much of this midden was washed away by water. This midden is very exposed to extremely high winds, but it is unlikely that

much soil is lost to wind erosion due to shrub and grass cover as well as the high degree of dense consolidation of the soil. There was no evidence of animal or insect activity in this midden.

To summarise, the midden at Rondefontein probably experienced disturbance from the construction of dirt roads around it and from wash coming down the slope. However, artefacts within the midden indicated that the midden layers were not very disturbed, for example the presence of light, small artefacts such as phalanges, micro-faunal bones and beads. The layers were also clearly differentiated and not mixed.

4.4 Summary

The combination of methods outlined above is the most appropriate methodological approach to allow me to address my research questions for this project and to mitigate the possible problems caused by the taphonomic factors. By combining quantitative analysis of the artefacts from these sites with the qualitative data derived from archival research and informal interviews, it is possible to generate a more holistic model of the historical sequences of the farms and lifestyles of the farm inhabitants than would be achievable with either methodology in isolation. The data gathered from these analyses are presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 5. Results from Groenvlei

In this chapter all the results from Groenvlei are presented. The results of the archival research and survey are presented first as they provide context for the history of each farm and for the subsequent excavations. Artefacts are presented by category according to each square and site. The first artefacts presented are manufactured artefacts in the following order: metal, ceramic, glass, beads, building material, pipe stems and miscellaneous artefacts. These are followed by artefacts relating to food consumption in the following order: ostrich eggshell fragments, faunal remains and seeds. In each section the frequency of the artefacts as well as details specific to their category are presented.

5.1 Survey and Documentary Evidence

The results of the physical surveys and archival research are presented together as the data they provide serves the same purpose, to provide context for each site and farm. The documentary data is presented first followed by the results of the survey.

Archival evidence of the occupation of Groenvlei by colonists' dates to 1830 (S.G.GR.Q8-47). It is possible that the farm has been occupied by colonists since the 1760s. This could be indicated by a wooden beam in the ceiling of the historical house, which is inscribed with the date 1762, assuming the beam was inscribed and installed during or after construction (van Rooyen 2016).

The available deeds for Groenvlei stretch from 1830 to 1972 (Johan Minnaar pers. comm.). These deeds show that when Groenvlei was surveyed in 1830 it consisted of three plots of land called Groenevalley, Kalkoenkrans and Muishoek respectively. It is unclear who owned the farm at this time as the deed is very faded and difficult to read. In 1837 government at the time sold the farm to Mr Hercules Viljoen (*ibid.*). The farm was later acquired by Johannes Jacobus Grobbelaar in 1852. Groenvlei stayed in the Grobbelaar family until 1950, except for some sections of the farm which were rented to H.J Van der Merwe and W.J. Van der Merwe from 1888 to 1906 (Johan Minnaar pers. comm). In 1950 the farm was bought by the current owners' grandfather, Petrus van Heerden. In 1972 it was inherited by his granddaughter, Joey Minnaar, who is the mother of the current farm owner, Johan Minnaar (*ibid.*). In the 1990s the Minnaars also acquired a plot of land called Kruger's Kraal, which used to be part of the larger farm Groenvlei but was sold off previously (Johan

Minnaar pers. comm.). This land was later sold again in the early 2000s and is now part of Rondefontein.

Groenvlei was extensively surveyed in March and April 2016 as part of my Honours research (van Rooyen 2016). The first area was the section of the farm known as Muishoek. Muishoek is located 3 km north-west of the current farmhouse and is currently used as grazing land for cattle and sheep (van Rooyen 2016). An archaeological survey of Muishoek was undertaken because the Minnaars indicated that a house had stood there until the 1950s. The house was not found but an area of disturbed ground was identified which could indicate where the foundations of the house were (van Rooyen 2016). There were other features at Muishoek, including the ruin of a round stone hut. Several artefacts including pottery and glass were identified on the surface inside the hut and the surrounding area. The artefacts all looked modern, probably post-1900. The hill to the south of this hut was also surveyed and two stone circles were found, as well as several possible lithic artefacts on the surface (van Rooyen 2016).

The owners of Groenvlei indicated various landmarks that might be of interest and this led to the finding of the historical longhouse and its associated midden that became the focus of my Honours and Masters research (van Rooyen 2016). The area behind the longhouse was surveyed in transects by a team of three people. The midden and a series of stone walls were identified immediately behind the building, as well as a section wall that had been cut into the midden by bulldozers. Many artefacts were found across the surface of the midden including glass, porcelain and bone (van Rooyen 2016).

Several other areas of interest on the farm were also surveyed. Two stone circles are located 400 m north of the farmhouse, next to a recently built dam. No artefacts were found around or inside the circle although the owners indicated that stone tools have been found there in the past (van Rooyen 2016).

A large stone kraal is located 500 m south-west of the longhouse on the east-facing side of a hill. No surface artefacts were found associated with the kraal. The owners as well as the restoration architect that they worked with in the course of their renovations believe that it was used by people living in the longhouse from the start of its occupation, but this cannot be verified (van Rooyen 2016).

Approximately 1 km east of the farmhouse, in one of the fields that is now used to graze sheep, there is a stone rectangle, possibly a foundation. No artefacts were found associated with this feature (van Rooyen 2016).

Another midden is located about 10 m to the north of the current farmhouse and is directly associated with it. Many artefacts were identified on the surface of this midden including porcelain and glass. None of these were collected (van Rooyen 2016).

5.2 Metal Artefacts

The metal artefacts recovered from the excavation at Groenvlei are described in this section. For each locale only the provenience and description of identifiable artefacts are presented. For further information about unidentifiable metal artefacts which were recovered, refer to Appendix C1.

Most of the metal artefacts at Groenvlei from both Square 3 and Square 4 are unidentifiable and are found throughout the sequences. The assemblage consists mostly of fragments and sheets of metal of various sizes and thickness which are so corroded that their original shape and purpose cannot be ascertained. However, the general size and shape of these fragments indicates that they were not part of anything delicate and decorative, but probably had a more utilitarian purpose. This is especially obvious when comparing these fragments and sheets to the decorative metal artefacts from Rondefontein.

5.2.1 Identifiable Metal Artefacts from Groenvlei:

5.2.1.1 Nails

One nail was found in layer 2A GB in Square 3 and one in layer 3 GB in Square 4. The purpose of the nail in Square 3 could not be ascertained, but the nail from Square 4 has been tentatively identified as one that is used to secure horse-shoes.

5.2.1.2 Bullet Casing

One bullet casing (fig. 5.1) was found in layer 4 GB in Square 4 and it has been identified through comparative analysis as a .22 bullet casing. The specific gun that the bullet was fired from could not be identified but it probably came from a .22 Long rifle which is the most common .22 calibre gun (Fadala 1989). This calibre bullet was first invented in 1887 and is most commonly used for hunting small game and vermin (Fadala 1989).



Figure 5.1: Bullet casing found in GV Square 4

5.2.1.3 Wagon Part

A wagon part (fig. 5.2) was found in layer 5 RB in Square 4. It is large and sturdy and although it could not be tied to a specific vehicle, its size indicates that it probably came from a wagon of some description that carried heavy loads.



Figure 5.2: Wagon part found in GV Square 4

5.2.1.4 Belt Buckle

A section of a belt buckle was also found in layer 5 RB in Square 4. It is very clearly hand-made.

5.2.1.5 Wire

Sections of smooth wire (fig. 5.3) were found in various layers in both Square 3 and Square 4. Angular wire was found in layer 2A GB in Square 3. The pieces of wire are probably fencing debris.

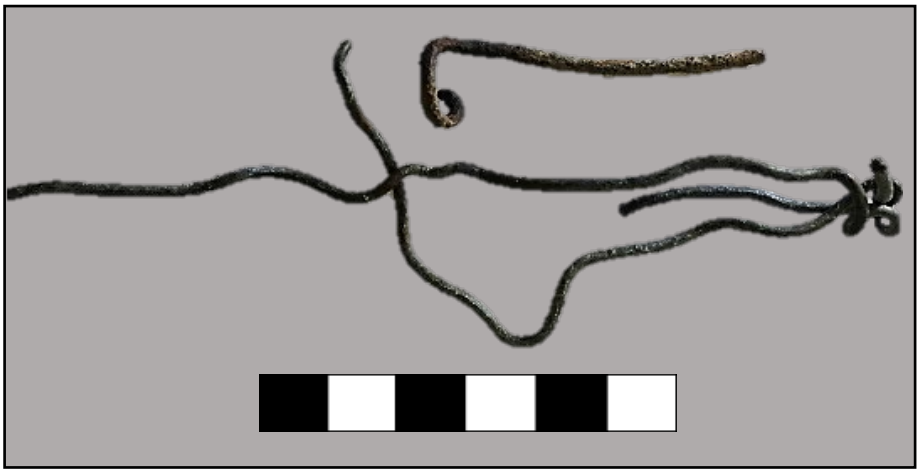

Figure 5.3: Sections of smooth rounded wire from GV Square 3.

5.3 Ceramics

The results of the sherd analysis as well as a minimum vessel number count for the ceramics in each square (Appendix C3) are presented in this section. The identification criteria of wares and decoration used in the sherd analysis are from the HARG Ceramic Identification Handbook by Jane Klose (2007). The minimum vessel number (MNV) for each square was determined through a combination of differences in rim sherds, decoration, ware and thickness. These analyses provide information about consumption and discard patterns of ceramic vessels as well as possible aesthetic preferences and wealth differences.

Flatware includes plates, saucers and side plates and hollow ware includes bowls, jugs and cups. If a vessel's shape could not be determined it is referred to as undiagnostic. If a ware or pattern could not be identified it is referred to as unidentified. For several of the vessels their specific type could not be identified, and these are grouped as flat or hollow ware, otherwise they are identified according to type e.g. plate, jug, bottle etc. Refitting was attempted but no full vessels could be reconstructed. For diagrams of representative sherds of refined earthenware, European stoneware, European porcelain and Asian porcelain, see Appendix E.

5.3.1 Square 3

Ceramics were found in GV Square 3 in layers 7A GY, 4B LRB, 3B DB, 3B DRB and 2A GB. From the oldest to the youngest layers, they were as follows: one sherd of hand painted and enamelled Asian porcelain (fig. 5.4); one sherd of decorated refined earthenware; 19 sherds of decorated refined earthenware (fig. 5.5), 14 sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, one sherd of hand painted European porcelain, one sherd of European grey-bodied stoneware; two

decorated and two undecorated sherds of refined earthenware and finally one decorated and one undecorated sherd of refined earthenware.

The total minimum number of vessels present in this square is 15 (Table 5.1). Fourteen of the total number are examples of flatware and one is an example of hollow ware. Fourteen of the vessels are refined industrial earthenware and one is European porcelain. The distribution of decorations among the vessels is as follows:

Table 5.1: The MNV counts according to decoration and ware from Groenvlei Square 3.

Ware or decoration	Frequency	
	Flat	Hollow
Lined	3	-
Asian porcelain	1	-
Grey transfer print	1 plate	-
Pink transfer print	1	-
Black transfer print	2	-
Green transfer print	1 plate	-
Willow ware	2	-
Blue transfer print	1	-
Purple transfer print	1	-
Pink hand painted	1	-
European porcelain	-	1



Figure 5.4: Sherd of Asian porcelain from GV Square 3.



Figure 5.5: Black and green transfer printed sherds from GV Square 3.

5.3.2 Square 4

In GV Square 4, ceramics were found from Layer 6 to Layer 2. From the oldest to the youngest layers, they were as follows: two sherds of undecorated European porcelain; one decorated and one undecorated sherd of refined earthenware; one sherd of undecorated porcelain; one sherd of undecorated refined earthenware and one sherd of undecorated refined earthenware.

The total minimum number of vessels present in Square 4 is two. One is an example of flatware and one is an example of hollow ware. The flatware is refined industrial earthenware and the hollow vessel is European porcelain. The porcelain vessel is undecorated, and the refined earthenware flatware is decorated with purple transfer printing.

5.4 Glass

The glass artefacts found in each site are described in this section. Glass artefacts provide information about consumption and discard patterns. The glass assemblage for each square is

described in terms of colour and diagnostic features. For further detail refer to the dating section of the discussion and Appendix C4.

5.4.1 Square 3

Eighteen glass sherds were found in GV Square 3. The colour distribution of these sherds is as follows: nine are colourless, three are dark green, one is very dark green, two are black, one is dark blue, one is colourless with a pink tinge and one is colourless with a blue tinge. All exhibit diagnostic features including angular shape, writing, rim fragments and seams.

5.4.2 Square 4

Ten glass sherds were found in GV Square 4. The colour distribution of these sherds is as follows: seven are colourless, two are light green and one is dark green. None of the colourless sherds show any diagnostic features. One of the light green sherds has a neck and a rim with faint seams on the neck and the dark green sherd has a neck and a rim with faint seams on the neck.

5.5 Glass Beads

The few beads that were found at Groenvlei and Rondefontein are described in the following section. Without further context and with such a small sample size there is very little information to be gleaned from the beads.

5.5.1 Square 3

The only beads found at Groenvlei were in Square 3, one in 6B LG and one in 7 GY (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Both beads are white with a silver coating. The silver coating on both beads seems to have been applied during the manufacturing process as a glaze to make the bead silver instead of white. The coating is more degraded on the bead found in 7GY. The bead found in 7 GY is uneven and roughly made and measures 0.7 cm across. The bead found in 6B LG is more delicate although still quite unevenly made and measures 0.2 cm across.

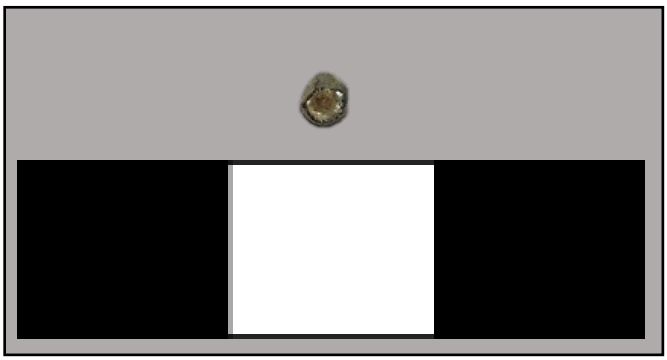

Figure 5.6: Bead from layer 6B LG in GV Square 3.

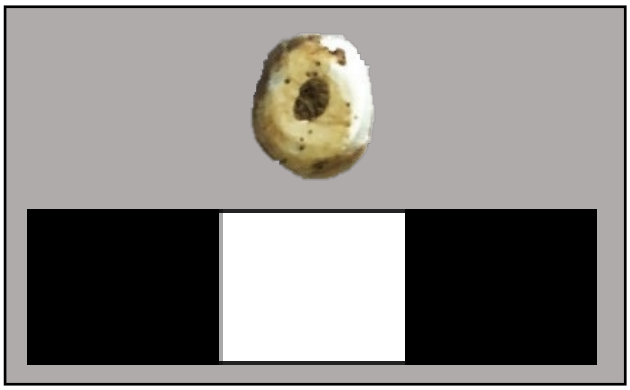

Figure 5.7: Bead from layer 7 GY in GV Square 3.

5.6 Building Material

Fragments of red brick and cement were found in every square on both Rondefontein and Groenvlei. These have been grouped together as building materials. Presented in this section is the frequency of both types of building material found in each of the layers from the squares on both farms (Appendix C2). The building material was weighed rather than counted because it would be inappropriate to count the fragments of bricks and cement as individual pieces since they are not representative of a whole and all that was needed was an indication of the amount of building material in each layer.

5.6.1 Square 3

A total of 111 grams of red brick and 1 gram of cement fragments were found in GV Square 3. The layers with the most building material are 2A GB and 3B DB (29 g) and the layer with the least building material is 4B LRB (5 g). 2A GB, 3B DB and 4A DB could represent two or three separate periods of construction activity that took place near this midden. Building material only appears in the top half of the square and none is present below a depth of 40cm.

The deposition of these building material fragments is probably related to the building, remodelling and maintenance of the longhouse associated with this midden.

5.6.2 Square 4

A total of 7 grams of red brick fragments and 15 grams of cement fragments were found in GV Square 4. The layer with the highest frequency of building material is 4A GB (27 g), followed closely by 5 RB (24 g). The layer with the lowest frequency of building material is 3 GB (4 g). The building material in this square extends 30 cm lower than in Square 3 but also ends 20 cm lower than it does in Square 3. The deposition of these building material fragments is probably related to the building, remodelling and maintenance of the longhouse associated with this midden.

5.7 Ostrich Eggshell Fragments

In this section the quantity of ostrich eggshell fragments (not including beads), in grams is presented. The presence of ostrich eggshell fragments could indicate patterns of consumption of ostrich eggs, general trends in diet and possibly indications of interaction. Only the frequencies are presented here, possible trends and inferences are expanded upon in the discussion chapter of this dissertation (Appendix C6). The ostrich eggshell fragments were weighed instead of counted as the fragments do not represent whole eggs so counting them might be misleading and the weight still gives an indication of quantity without misrepresenting the data.

5.7.1 Square 3

A total of 9 grams of ostrich eggshell (OES) were found in GV Square 3. They were only found in four layers and none were burned. The highest frequency of OES fragments was in 3B DRB (4 g) and the lowest was in 6B LRB (1 g).

5.7.2 Square 4

A total of 3 grams of OES were found in GV Square 4. They were only found in one layer and none of the fragments were burned.

5.8 Faunal Remains

The faunal remains which could be identified to species or mammal class are described in this section. The minimum number of individuals was calculated. For further detail refer to Appendix C5.

5.8.1 Square 3

The identified animals in GV Square 3 are as follows: domesticated sheep (*Ovis aries*), domesticated cow (*Bos taurus*), donkey (*Equus asinus*), freshwater crab (*Potamonautes sidneyi*), size class one bovids, size class three bovids, an unidentified rodent and an unidentified small bird. The most numerous animals in this square are domesticated sheep (*n* =16), followed by size class one bovids (*n* = 9) and domesticated cows (*n* = 7) with the least numerous animals being donkeys (*n* =1), size class three bovids (*n* =1) and freshwater crabs (*n* =1).

5.8.2 Square 4

The identified animals in GV Square 4 are as follows: domesticated sheep, freshwater crab, size class one bovids and an unidentified rodent. The most numerous animals in this square were domesticated sheep (*n* =7) and size class one bovids (*n* = 6) with only one example of freshwater crab and an unidentified rodent species.

5.9 Seeds

The following species were identified at Groenvlei: *Silene undulata, Silene gallica, Atriplex semibaccata, Massonia depressa* and *Amaranthus* sp. (Figure 5.8). In this section each of these species and their provenience is described. The possible uses and possible deposition methods are also discussed.

5.9.1 Silene undulata

Silene undulata is a perennial plant that is native to South Africa and it occurs naturally all over the Eastern Cape, including the study area in question (Vlok & Schutte-Vlok 2010). *S. undulata* has white flowers and can grow up to 60 cm tall and it has black, flattened, kidney-shaped seeds. It is also known as *kleinwildetabak*, dream root, gunpowder plant and *ubulawu* (Vlok & Schutte-Vlok 2010).

5.9.2 Silene gallica

Silene gallica is a plant that is native to Eurasia and northern Africa. It is an annual broad-leafed herb with small, concave, ridged seeds (Randall 2017). *S. gallica* does not have any known medicinal or ritual uses and yet it has been naturalised widely across the world, probably having been accidentally transported in agricultural materials or tools (Salisbury 1964).

5.9.3 Atriplex semibaccata

Atriplex semibaccata, also known as creeping Flatbush, is native to Australia (Heuze *et al.* 2016). It is a low ground cover plant that has large, up to 0.5 cm, diamond-shaped seeds with ridges on either side. (Heuze *et al.* 2016). *A. semibaccata* is tolerant of very dry conditions, saline soil, frosts and a wide range of temperatures (from 0˚C to 36˚C), making it ideal as a fodder plant in areas with poor agricultural soil such as the Sneeuberge (Cunningham e*t al* 1992).

5.9.4 Massonia depressa

Massonia depressa, also known as the Hedgehog Lily, is a flowering perennial plant from the Asparagaceae family (Johnson *et al.* 2001). It is native to Namaqualand and the surrounding areas (*ibid*). The seeds of this plant are very small, 0.5 mm, and are almost perfectly spherical and smooth.

5.9.5 Amaranthus sp.

The specific species of the *Amaranthus* seeds at these sites could not be identified. The seeds are small, tear-drop shaped and smooth.

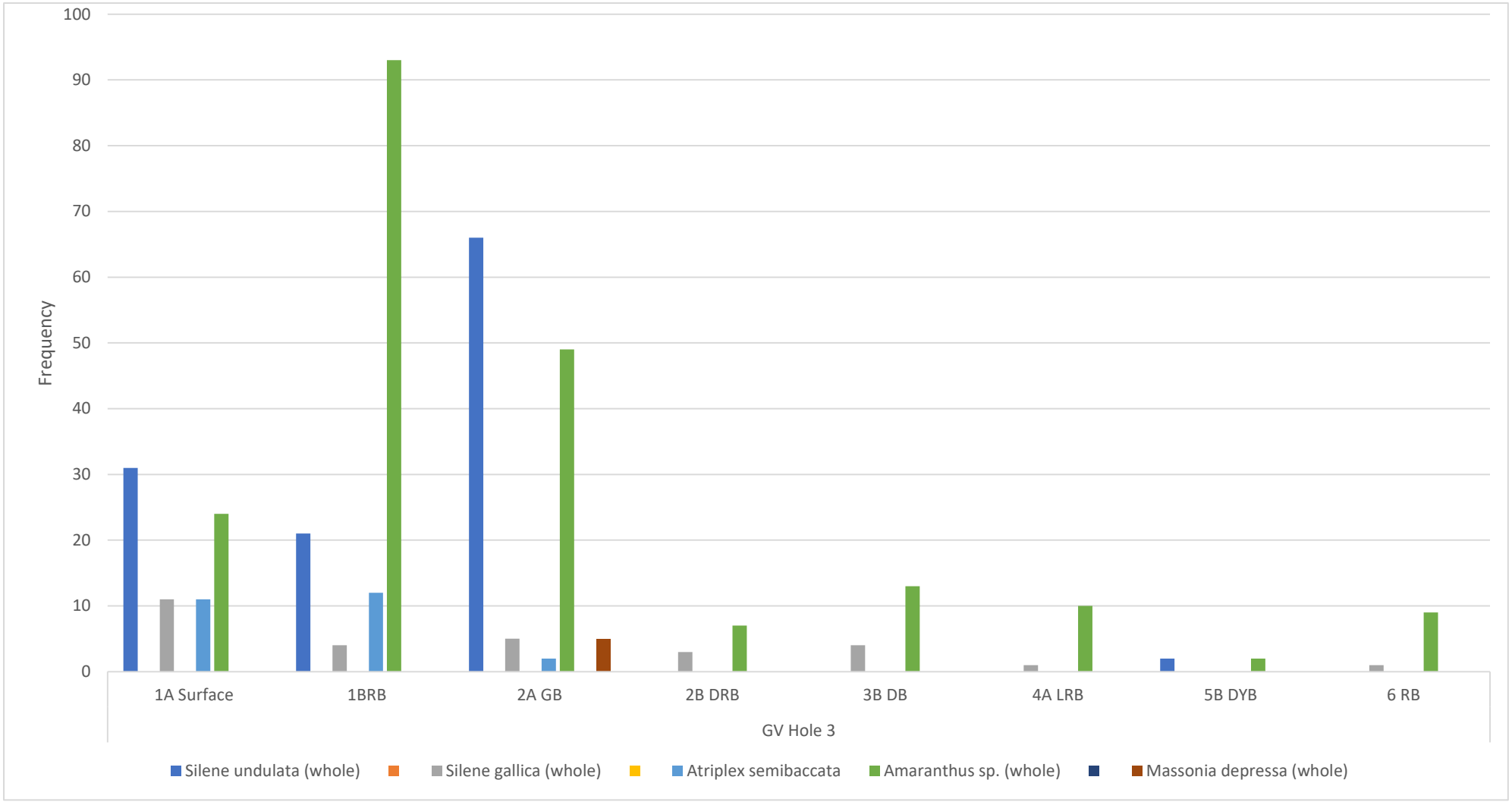

Figure 5.8: The frequencies of the seeds of each plant species found in each layer of GV Square 3.

One of the research goals of this project was to compare the archaeological assemblages at Groenvlei and Rondefontein. This cannot be achieved without presenting the detailed results from the work done at both farms. In the next chapter, the results from the survey, excavation and artefact analysis at Rondefontein are presented.

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Chapter 6. Results from Rondefontein

In this section the results from Rondefontein are presented. The results from the survey and documentary evidence are presented together first, followed by results from the analysis of artefacts recovered from the excavation. The artefactual data is presented in the same order as in the Groenvlei results chapter. For every section the data from the squares at Rondefontein 1 are presented first, followed by those from the squares at Rondefontein 2.

6.1 Survey and Documentary Evidence

As in the previous chapter, the results of the survey as well as documentary evidence are presented together because they serve the same purpose of providing context and background information for the excavation.

The farm Rondefontein is a smaller section of what used to be a much larger farm called Klipfontein (S.G.GR. “Deed of Transfer”.1830). The first known title deed for Klipfontein dates to 1830 and the owner at that time is listed as being Charl Andries Cilliers (S.G.GR.“Deed of Transfer”.1830). In 1832 the farm passed to Johannes Henning van Aswegen (S.G.GR.“Deed of Transfer.1832) It is unknown when Rondefontein was created as a sub-division of Klipfontein but in 1886 it was sold by Phillipus Johannes Retief to Jan Abraham Haarhoff and Jacobus Johannes Vorster (S.G.”Deed of Transfer.1886). In 1890 it passed to Frederick Jacobus Booysen (S.G.”Deed of Transfer.1890). The farm subsequently changed hands many times between 1903 and the 1930s when it was bought by the father of the current owner of the farm (Buks Vogel pers. comm). The current owner, Buks Vogel, inherited the farm in the 1980s (*ibid.*).

A decision was made to focus this research on two houses on Rondefontein: the house that the current owners of the farm inhabit and thus its associated midden (RD1) as well as the older house on the same property, which the current owners use as a barn, and its associated midden (RD2). These households were chosen for the following reasons:

- Time depth and comparability - The house that the current owners live in dates to the 1860s and the house which is now used as a barn dates to the 1830s. Data from both RD1 and RD2 would be needed for a comparison with Groenvlei, where the historical house and midden date from the 1770s to the 1950s

- Known artefact richness – The son of the current owners undertook a light excavation of the outskirts of RD1 several years ago and found many artefacts. This excavation was not done rigorously, and the context and stratigraphic information is not recorded so these artefacts are not of much use to my research but their presence in such large amounts did indicate that it would be worthwhile to excavate at least RD1.

The house that is currently occupied by the farm owners was built in the 1860s. The 1860s house was originally built in a rectangular shape. Several alterations to the house have been made since then, most significantly the addition of a patio and sunroom in the early 1900s and a large annex that serves as an informal lounge, television room and informal dining room which was added in the 1990s (see Figure 4.2).

RD1 is located behind this house (Figures 4.2 and 4.4), accessed by a path that runs through the garden. It is in a fenced off area which is occasionally used for grazing, which might have interfered with the midden at some point. There is a path that runs through this field from the gate close to the house to a gate on the opposite end of the field. This path is rarely used, usually by the gardener who uses it for access to the house garden as well as the vegetable garden. It is unlikely that this contributed to disturbance of the midden in any significant matter.

There is a surface scatter of artefacts on the field that RD1 is located in. The artefacts represented in the surface scatter consisted mostly of ceramic and glass fragments as well as a few pieces of metal.

The main concentration of RD1 is in the southern section of the field, adjacent to the fence line. It consists of two large mounds of very ashy soil. This soil is visibly and clearly different from the surrounding soil in appearance. There is also an increased concentration of surface artefacts around these mounds. On the southern side of the mounds is where the current owner's son undertook his excavation and the soil is visibly disturbed in this area.

Also, on the southern side of the main midden is a series of small stone circles. Although these could be historical, the owners of the farm have explained that they are of much more recent origin. The owner's wife used to run a school on the farm and children from the school would play on the midden and make playhouses out of stones, thereby forming these stone circles, which have not been disturbed since the school closed in 2010. Other features in the field containing RD1 are as follows: one very large tree that sits outside the field but shades over the midden and a windmill in the north western corner of the field.

The older house dates to 1834. The original plan of the building is unknown, but it has had all its inner walls removed and currently consists of one large central room, one outside kitchen and one annex room. The kitchen and annex are both accessed from separate entrances outside the building. The kitchen has been preserved as a museum by the owners and the annex was used as a schoolroom for 20 years. The central room is currently used as a general barn and workshop.

RD2 is located next to the kraal, at the intersection of two recently built farm roads. There is an undisturbed area of about 10 square meters between where the midden is concentrated in a single mound. There is some surface scatter from this midden which extends into the road and along the house, but it is much less dense than the surface scatter at the younger midden. The surface scatter consists mostly of glass and ceramic fragments.

6.2 Metal Artefacts

As in the previous chapter, only the identifiable metal artefacts from each site are discussed in detail here. For more information about the unidentifiable metal artefacts found on Rondefontein, refer to Appendix D1.

6.2.1 Rondefontein 1

As at Groenvlei, most of the metal assemblage at Rondefontein consists of unidentifiable fragments and sheets of metal (fig. 6.1). The unidentifiable fragments are also heavily corroded, and their original shape and purpose could not be determined. There is more variety in shape and size of these fragments at Rondefontein, with some very thin and delicate and some larger, more robust pieces.



Figure 6.1: Sheets of metal from RD IXG.

At Rondefontein I, the identifiable metal artefacts are as follows:

6.2.1.1 Nails

One nail was found in layer 1B GB from square IXG. From square XID, two were found in layer 1A DG, three in layer 2B Sa, one in layer 3A LYB and one in 3B DYB.

6.2.1.2 Jewellery

One small section of jewellery (fig. 6.3) was found in layer 1B DB in square XID. The artefact is either made of copper or a copper alloy and was probably some kind of pendant which hung from a chain, cord or something similar.

6.2.1.3 Thimble

One thimble (fig. 6.2) was found in layer 3B DYB in square XID. The thimble is extremely small and was probably part of a sewing set for a child.



Figure 6.2: The thimble found in RD XID.

6.2.1.4 Clothing Hooks

Two clothing hooks (fig. 6.3) were found in square XID, one in layer 1B DB and one in layer 2B Sa. The hook in layer 1B was a hook that slotted into an eye, while the one in layer 2B was an eye for a similar hook.



Figure 6.3: One of the clothing hooks and the jewellery segment from RD XID.

6.2.1.5 Wire

In square IXG, six sections of smooth wire (fig. 6.5) were found, one in layer 2A GB and five in layer 1B GB. One section of barbed wire (fig. 6.4) was also found in layer 2A GB in this square. Several sections of smooth and angular wire were found throughout various layers in square XID.



Figure 6.4: Section of barbed wire from RD IXG.



Figure 6.5: A section of smooth wire from RD XID.

6.2.2 Rondefontein 2

No unidentifiable metal artefacts were found at Rondefontein 2.

In this midden, the identifiable metal artefacts are as follows:

6.2.2.1 Clothing Fasteners

Clothing hooks were found in RD2 5D, 6C and 7C in layers 1B LYB, 1A LYB and 1A LYB respectively.

The "female" half of two press studs was found in RD2 6C 1A LYB and RD2 7C 1A LYB. These were probably also used as clothing fasteners.

A metal button (fig. 6.6) was found in square 7C, in the layer 2A RB. This button is an example of a "sew-through" design and is thin and delicate with four symmetrical holes in a square pattern.

6.2.2.2 Horseshoe

One section of a horseshoe was found in layer 1B LYB in square 5D. This shoe is very small and was probably for a pony. It is unlikely that it was for any other equid as donkeys and mules are seldom shod. This could indicate recreational riding by children, but it is more likely that it was for a pony who did work on the farm such as a Basotho pony or a similar hardy breed.

6.2.2.3 Pins

One extremely thin and delicate pin (fig. 6.6) was found in layer 1B LYB in square 6C and another long steel pin was found in 2A RB in square 7C. The pin in 6C was probably a sewing pin and the pin in 7C was probably a hat pin or something similar as it is very sturdy.

6.2.2.4 Nails

A total of seven nails were found in this midden, of which two are made of iron and five are made of steel. All were found in the LYB stratigraphic layer in all three squares.

6.2.2.5 Fishing Hook

One fishing hook was found in square 6C in the layer 2B RB. This hook is made of iron, it is 10cm long and about 0.5cm thick.

6.2.2.6 Watch Face

One watch face was found in square 7C in the layer 2A RB. No decorations or even time markers are visible on this face; it was identified entirely based on its shape.



Figure 6.6: Photograph showing a metal button and pin from RD.

6.3 Ceramics

In this section the ceramics recovered from the sites at Rondefontein are presented as follows: first a description of the ceramic sherds found and their provenience in each square, followed by the minimum vessel count (MNV) for each square (Appendix D2). For diagrams of representative sherds of refined earthenware, European Stoneware, European porcelain and Asian porcelain, see Appendix E.

6.3.1 Rondefontein 1

6.3.1.1 RD IXG

In RD IXG, ceramics were found in layers 2B Sa, 2A Be, 2A GB and 1B GB. From the oldest to the youngest layers, they were as follows: 32 decorated sherds of refined earthenware, 15 sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, one sherd of undecorated European porcelain; one sherd of undecorated refined earthenware, five sherds of decorated refined earthenware; six sherds of decorated refined earthenware, three sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, one sherd of undecorated European porcelain and seven sherds of decorated refined earthenware, four sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, nine sherds of undecorated and one sherd of decorated European porcelain.

The total MNV for RD IXG is 18 (Table 6.1). 13 of these are examples of flatware, four are hollow ware and one is an undiagnostic vessel. The distribution of shape and decoration of these vessels is as follows:

Table 6.1: The MNV counts according to decoration and ware at RD IXG.

	Frequency		
Ware or decoration	Flat	Hollow	Undiagnostic
Yellow ware	-	-	1
Hand painted blue	1 side plate or saucer	-	-
Flow blue	-	1	-
Brown transfer print	1 saucer	-	-
Grey transfer print	1 plate	-	-
Purple transfer print	1 plate	-	-
Blue transfer print	1 plate, 3 flat	1	-
European porcelain	1	1	-
Green transfer print	1	1	-
Hand painted pink	1	-	-
Willow ware	2	-	-

6.3.1.2 RD XID

In RD XID, ceramics were found in the layers 4A YB, 3B DYB, 3A LYB, 2A DB, 1B DB and 1A DG. From the oldest to the youngest layers, they are as follows: seven decorated refined earthenware sherds, seven undecorated refined earthenware sherds; 52 decorated refined earthenware sherds, 28 undecorated refined earthenware sherds, three sherds of undecorated English commercial stoneware, three sherds of undecorated European porcelain, two sherds of an unidentified ware; 14 decorated sherds of refined earthenware, nine sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, one sherd of English commercial stoneware, one sherd of undecorated European porcelain; 18 sherds of decorated refined earthenware, eight sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, one sherd of Asian porcelain, one sherd of English commercial stoneware; 40 sherds of decorated refined earthenware, 23 sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, two sherds of English commercial stoneware, five sherds of undecorated European porcelain, one

sherd of unidentifiable ware; 11 decorated refined earthenware sherds, four undecorated refined earthenware sherds, three undecorated sherds of European porcelain, one sherd of decorated and gilded European porcelain, one sherd of Asian porcelain.

The total MNV for RD XID is 72. Of this number, 37 are examples of flatware, 31 are hollow ware and 4 are undiagnostic vessels. The distribution of shape and decoration of these vessels is indicated in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: The MNV counts according to decoration and ware at RD XID.

Ware or decoration	Frequency		
	Flat	Hollow	Undiagnostic
Purple transfer print	1 Saucer, 1 side plate, 1 plate	1	-
Pink transfer print	-	1	-
Brown transfer print	-	1	-
Green transfer print	1 saucer or side plate, 3 flat	3	-
Black transfer print	3 plates	1	-
Lustrous European porcelain	1 plate	-	-
Flow blue	1 saucer	2	-
Willow ware	7 plates	-	1
Blue transfer print	7 flat, 2 plates	3	-
Printed and hand painted	3	-	-
Hand painted	-	-	1
Sponged and sponged and painted	3	2	-
Industrial slipware	-	2 small bowls, 5 hollow	-

Ware or decoration	Flat	Hollow	Undiagnostic
Yellow ware	-	-	1
Lined	2	2	
Glass ceramic	-	-	1
Asian porcelain	-	1	-
European porcelain	1	2	-
Stoneware	-	1 ink pot, 1 large storage jar, 1 bottle, 2 hollow	-

6.3.2 Rondefontein 2

As all three excavated squares on RD2 were found to contain the same stratigraphic layers at more or less the same depths, all three squares were combined for the ceramic analysis and so the assemblage of the squares are presented here together according to stratigraphic layers.

Across Rondefontein 2, ceramics were found in layers 2A RB, 1B LYB and 1A LYB. From the oldest to the youngest layers, they were as follows: eight decorated refined earthenware sherds (fig. 6.7) six undecorated refined earthenware sherds, one sherd of European stoneware, one sherd of undecorated European porcelain, one sherd of hand painted and enamelled Asian porcelain; 14 decorated sherds of refined earthenware, four undecorated sherds of refined earthenware, one sherd of English commercial stoneware; 40 sherds of decorated refined earthenware (fig. 6.8), 18 sherds of undecorated refined earthenware, one sherd of hand painted Asian porcelain, two sherds of English gold and white porcelain, seven sherds of undecorated English porcelain, one sherd of decorated English porcelain.

The total MNV for RD2 is 42 (Table 6.3). Of these, 27 are examples of flatware, 12 are hollow ware and three are undiagnostic vessels. The distribution of shape and decoration of these vessels is as follows:

Table 6.3: The MNV counts according to decoration and ware at RD 2.

	Frequency		
Ware or decoration	Flat	Hollow	Undiagnostic
Glass ceramic	-	1 cosmetics jar	-
Asian porcelain	-	1	-
Pink transfer print	1	-	-
Grey transfer print	1	-	-
Willow ware	3 plates	1	-
European porcelain	1 saucer, 2 flat	-	-
Purple transfer print	-	1	-
Teapot ware	1 saucer	-	-
Brown transfer print	1	-	-
Hand painted	-	1	-
Black transfer print	-	2	-
Blue transfer print	1 large plate, 3 flat	1 hollow, 1 large hollow	-
Silver lustre	1 plate	-	-
Flow blue	-	-	1
Green transfer print	2	-	-
Industrial slipware	-	4	-
Stoneware	-	-	2
Hand painted and sponged	2	1	-
Lined	6	1	-

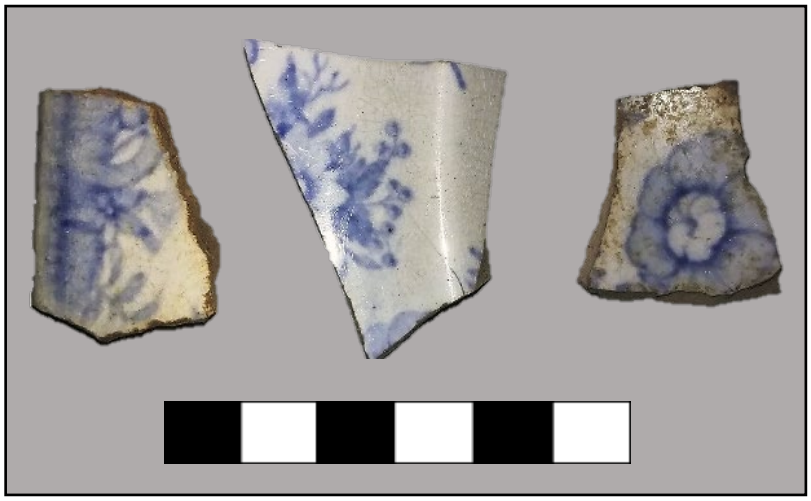

Figure 6.7: Blue transfer printed sherds from RD 2.



Figure 6.8: Sherds with flow blue decoration from RD 2.

6.4 Glass

This section contains descriptions of the glass sherds found in each square at Rondefontein I and II. Features that are described include the colours of the sherds as well as any diagnostic features and other possible notable features (Appendix D3).

6.4.1 Rondefontein 1

6.4.1.1 RD IXG

A total of 26 glass sherds were found in RD IXG. The colour distribution of these sherds is as follows: 19 are light brown, three are colourless, two are dark brown (fig. 6.9), one is light green (fig. 6.9) and one is a light pink or purple. Most of the light brown sherds exhibit the same raised pattern on the surface as well as writing. It is unlikely that all these sherds are from the same vessel, but they may represent several very similar vessels that were discarded on RD

IXG. One of the dark brown sherds also exhibits lettering (Figure 6.10), the light pink sherd has a rim still attached and the colourless sherd (Fig. 6.9) shows a possible ridge fragment still visible.

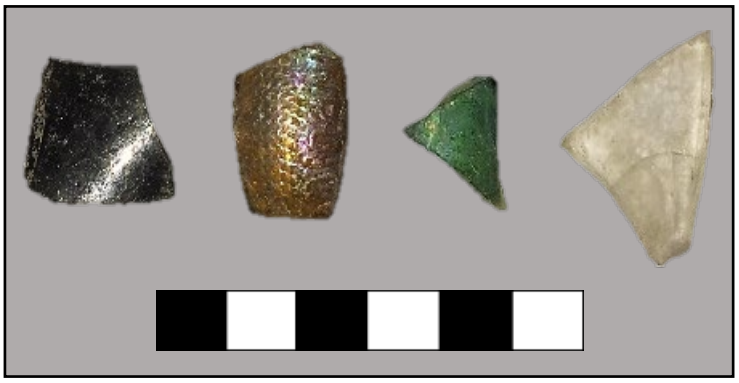

Figure 6.9: One dark brown, one light brown, one green and one colourless glass sherd from RD IXG.



Figure 6.10: Dark brown glass sherd from RD IXG with lettering.

6.4.1.2 RD XID

Thirty-five glass sherds were found in RD XID. The colour distribution of these sherds is as follows: 19 are colourless, five are aquamarine, two are dark brown, one is dark brown with a white and grey coating (Figure 6.11), one is light green, two are dark green with a bluey grey coating and five are light brown. All sherds in this layer have diagnostic features including angular shapes, lips and ridges, lettering and seams. The coated sherd (fig. 6.11) has a layer of bluey grey paint, varnish or glaze which was applied over the dark green glass which is visible on the inside of the sherd.

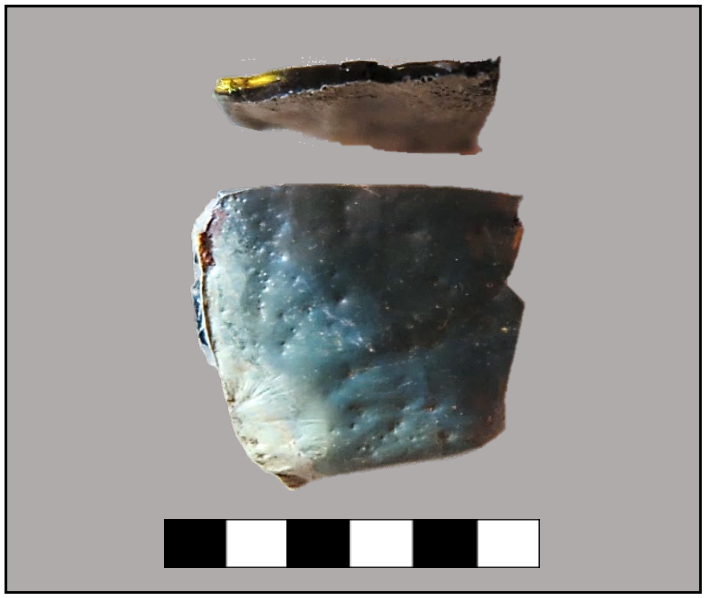

Figure 6.11: The piece of coated glass from RD XID.

6.4.2 Rondefontein 2

6.4.2.1 RD2 5D

A total of four glass sherds were found in RD2 5D, all in layer 1B LYB. The colour distribution of the sherds is as follows: two are aquamarine, one is light green and one is amber. One of the aquamarine sherds is vessel neck with no seams. The other has no diagnostic features. The light green sherd is the bottom of a vessel with a very deep indentation and the amber sherd exhibits no diagnostic features.

6.4.2.2 RD2 6C

A total of seven glass sherds were found in RD2 6C. The colour distribution of the sherds is as follows: four are colourless, one is amber, one is aquamarine and one is medium cobalt blue. One of the colourless and one of the amber sherds exhibit no diagnostic features. One of the colourless sherds has no diagnostic features and the other has a moulded rim. The medium cobalt blue sherd also has a moulded rim.

6.4.2.3 RD2 7C

A total of six glass sherds were found in RD2 7C. The colour distribution of these sherds is as follows: two are colourless, two are dark green, one is dark brown and one is aquamarine. Neither of the colourless sherds exhibit diagnostic features. Both dark green sherds are wine bottle fragments. The aquamarine sherd is a lip attachment to the neck of a vessel with a visible seam and the dark brown sherd has no diagnostic features.

6.5 Glass Beads

Only two beads in total were found at Rondefontein: one in Rondefontein 1 and one in Rondefontein 2. In this section descriptions of these beads are provided as well as their provenience.

6.5.1 Rondefontein 1

6.5.1.1 RD IXG

The only bead found at Rondefontein 1 was found in RD IXG in the surface layer (Figure 6.12). This bead is 0.2 mm in size, made of glass, is off-white in colour and is very small and delicate, especially when compared to the rough bead found at Groenvlei.

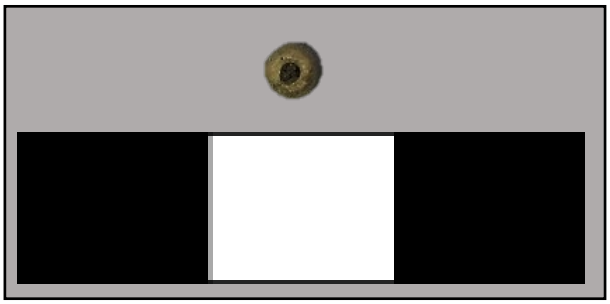

Figure 6.12: Glass bead found in RD IXG.

6.5.2 Rondefontein 2

6.5.2.1 RD2 7C

The only bead found at Rondefontein 2 was found in RD2 7C, in the LYB stratigraphic layer. This bead is 0.2 mm in diameter. This bead is dark green with a lustre coating, is made of glass and is delicate and well-made.

6.6 Building Material

The building material found at Rondefontein can be separated into two broad categories, red brick and cement. These elements were weighed and the frequencies of both are presented in the following section (Appendix D4).

6.6.1 Rondefontein 1

6.6.1.1 RD IXG

A total of 9 grams of red brick fragments and 77 grams cement fragments were found in RD IXG. The layer with the highest concentration of building material is 1B GB (32 g) and the

lowest frequency was in 2A GB (4 g). Building material was present in almost every layer in this square. The deposition of these building material fragments is probably related to the building, remodelling and maintenance of the house associated with this midden as well as surrounding outbuildings.

6.6.1.2 RD XID

A total of 66 grams of red brick fragments and 7 grams of cement fragments were found in RD XID. The highest frequency of building material was in 1B DB (19 g) and the lowest was in 4A YB (2 g). Building material was present in almost every layer of this square but seemed to be most concentrated between a depth of 10 cm and 25 cm. This could indicate a period of construction when these layers were deposited. There was more red brick in this square than cement, which is very different from RD IXG in the same midden. The presence of building material does extend to a deeper level in RD XID than in RD IXG, but RD IXG was located on a much shallower part of the midden and only extended to a depth of about 30 cm. The deposition of these building material fragments is probably related to the building, remodelling and maintenance of the house associated with this midden.

6.6.2 Rondefontein 2

6.6.2.1 RD2 5D

A total of 10 grams of red brick fragments and 1 gram of cement fragments were found in RD2 5D. The highest frequency of building material fragments was in the surface layer (6 g) although 1B LYB contained only slightly less (5 g). As mentioned in the site formation section, the material on the surface could be contamination from further up the slope. The relation of these fragments to surrounding structures could not be ascertained.

6.6.2.2 RD2 6C

A total of 29 grams of red brick fragments and 6 grams of cement fragments were found in RD2 6C. The layer with the highest frequency of building material fragments was 1A LYB (15 g) and the lowest frequency was in 1B RB (3 g). Most of the building material is concentrated in the LYB stratigraphic layer. The relation of these fragments to surrounding structures could not be ascertained.

6.6.2.3 RD2 7C

A total of 34 grams of red brick fragments were found in RD2 7C. No cement fragments were

found. The layer with the highest frequency of building material fragments was 1A LYB (25 g) and the lowest was in the surface layer (2 g). As in RD2 5C and RD2 6C, the building material is mostly concentrated in the LYB stratigraphic layer. The lack of cement in this square most likely indicates that cement wasn't discarded in this area of the midden as it was found in other squares in the same midden. The relation of these fragments to surrounding structures could not be ascertained.

6.7 Pipe Fragments

Pipe fragments were found only at Rondefontein 1 (Table 6.4, fig. 6.13). Theoretically, pipe stems can be used for dating purposes (Schrire *et al.* 1990). This is based on the general observation that the diameter of the hole in pipe stems decreases in size over time (Schrire *et al.* 1990). However, due to the way pipes were manufactured there is a lot of variation between individual pipes and so the date ranges are based on size averages. For this reason, dating using pipe stems is site specific and done through seriation (Schrire *et al.* 1990). The sample size of pipes found in my excavations is too small for this process and so in this section only a description of the pipes found is presented.

Table 6.4: Pipe fragments found in RD IXG and RD XID.

RD IXG		
Layer	Description	Comments
2A GB	Pipe stem	Smooth, hole very narrow and in centre
	Pipe stem	Smooth, hole quite large and situated towards one side of stem, off-centre
2A Be	Pipe stem	White, very smooth, smaller than stems from 2A GB
	Pipe bowl	Smooth
3A GB	Pipe stem	Not as smooth as pipe stems from other layers, hole in centre
RD XID		
4A YB	Pipe stem	Smooth, large hole, off-centre
	Pipe stem	Slightly rough, very large hole in centre of pipe



Figure 6.13: Pipe stems found in RD IXG layer 2A GB.

6.8 Miscellaneous

Presented in this section is the provenience and description of all artefacts that did not fit neatly into any of the aforementioned artefact categories.

6.8.1 Toy Marble

One marble was found in layer 2A DB in RD XID on Rondefontein (Figure 6.14). This marble is made of clay and is very smooth and regular, indicating that it probably is not hand-made.



Figure 6.14: The toy marble found in RD XID.

6.8.2 Porcelain Doll Fragment

One unglazed fragment of a porcelain doll was found in RD XID (Figure 6.15). The porcelain is decorated with a yellow band and with a small hole. The hole is located in the white part of the fragment and was part of the manufacturing process, probably for articulation to another piece, the hole was not created post-deposition.



Figure 6.15: The piece of porcelain doll from RD XID.

6.8.3 Wooden Button

One wooden button was found in layer 4B RYB in RD XID on Rondefontein (Figure 6.16). This button is highly polished and regular and possibly machine-made. This wooden button is unburnt, implying that the layer that it was found in was not burned and that any burned material found in the same layer were burned elsewhere and then deposited in the midden.



Figure 6.16: The wooden button found in RD XID

6.9 Ostrich Egg Shell Fragments

Ostrich eggshell fragments from both sites at Rondefontein were weighed and the frequencies are presented below. If any of the fragments were burned, this is also mentioned (Appendix D6).

6.9.1 Rondefontein 1

6.9.1.1 RD IXG

A total of 63 grams of OES fragments were found in RD IXG (Figure 6.17). The fragments were found in almost every layer of this square and one of the fragments was burned. The

highest frequency of OES fragments was in 1B GB (42 g) and the lowest was in 2B Be (1 g). If we discount the surface layer, there seems to be a general increase from the lower layers to the upper layers

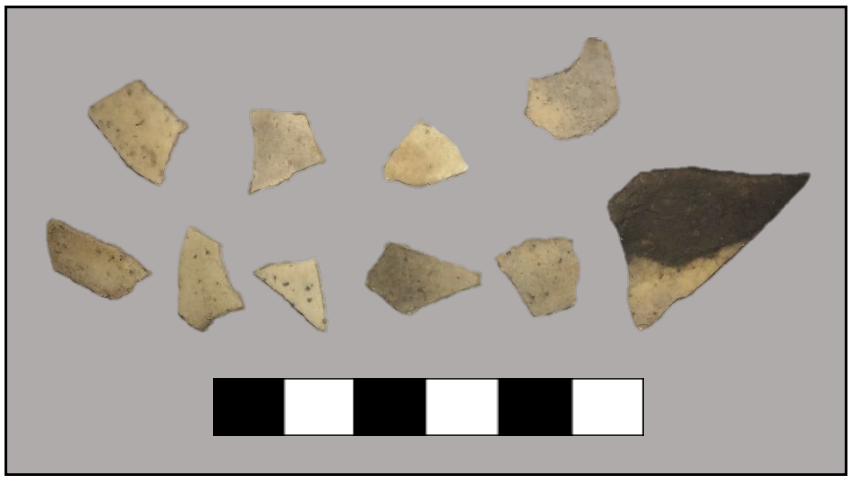

Figure 6.17: A sample of the OES fragments from RD IXG.

6.9.1.2 RD XID

A total of 111 grams of OES fragments were found in RD XID. At least one OES fragment was found in every layer of this square and five of these were burned. The highest frequency of OES fragments was in 2B Sa (41 g) and the lowest was in the dark lens within 3A (1 g). There does not seem to be a clear pattern in the frequencies apart from a general increase towards the upper layers of the square.

6.9.2 Rondefontein 2

6.9.2.1 RD2 5D

A total of one OES fragment was found in RD2 5D. It was found in 1B LYB and was not burned.

6.9.2.2 RD2 6C

Only one OES fragment was found in RD2 6C. It was found in 1A LYB and was not burned.

6.9.2.3 RD2 7C

A total of 10 grams of OES fragments were found in RD2 7C. They were found in all the layers in this square except for 2B RB. The stratigraphic layer called LYB was the same layer across all three squares on RD2 and in most of the squares OES was only found in this layer. The only exception is 7C. The highest frequency of OES fragments was in 1A LYB (5 g) and the lowest

was in 1B LYB (1 g). There is no clear pattern in the frequencies.

6.10 Faunal Remains

In this section the results of the analysis of the faunal remains recovered from both sites at Rondefontein are presented. The minimum number of individuals was used. The species of the remains have been provided where this could be determined; if this was not possible the remains have been classified according to broader size and type categories (Appendix D5).

6.10.1 Rondefontein 1

6.10.1.1 RD IXG

The identified animals in RD IXG are as follows: domesticated sheep (*Ovis aries*), domesticated cow (*Bos taurus*), porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), size class one bovid, size class three bovid and an unidentified rodent. The most common species in this square was domesticated sheep but only by one individual. The size class one and size class three bovids are likely to be wild game such as a springbok or a duiker (size class 1), or a wildebeest or zebra (size class 3).

6.10.1.2 RD XID

The identified animals in RD XID are as follows: domesticated sheep, domesticated cow, common duiker (*Sylvicapra grimmia*), springbok (*Antidorcas marsupialis*), size class one bovid, size class three bovid and one unidentified rodent. The most numerous animals in this square by far (n = 19) are size class one bovids, followed by domesticated sheep (n = 13). The size class one bovids are most likely to be wild game such as springbok or duikers (one of each of these species was identifiable from the remains found). The least numerous animals in this square were rodents (n =1), followed by domesticated cows (n = 4). These ratios are consistent in every layer in this square. From the evidence in this square it seems that the people using this midden consumed mostly small game animals and sheep with the occasional large game animal or cow.

6.10.2 Rondefontein 2

6.10.2.1 RD2 5D

The identified animals in 5D are as follows: domesticated sheep and domesticated cow. There was only one individual of each species identified. This square only shows evidence of the consumption of domesticated animals, but this is a small dataset and will have to be considered

in conjunction with the data from the other squares on RD2.

6.10.2.2 RD2 6C

The identified animals in 6C are as follows: domesticated sheep and size class one bovids. Sheep were the most numerous in this square (*n* = 4), double the amount of size class one bovids (*n* =2). This implies that the people discarding their food waste on this midden consumed both domesticated and wild animals but consumed more domesticated animals.

6.10.2.3 RD2 7C

The identified animals in 7C are as follows: domesticated sheep, domesticated cow, size class one bovids and an unidentified species of small bird. Domesticated sheep were the most numerous in this square (*n* = 4), followed by size class one bovids (*n* = 2) and unidentified small birds (*n* =2), with domesticated cows being the least numerous (*n* =1). This implies a diet consisting mostly of domesticated sheep, supplemented by small game animals and small birds as well as the occasional cow.

6.11 Seeds

Only two seeds were found at Rondefontein, both in Rondefontein 2. The species that were found at Rondefontein are *Silene gallica* and *Amaranthus* sp., one of each. For more information about both these species, refer to the sections on seeds found at Groenvlei.

In the following chapter, the data laid out in this chapter as well as the previous one are woven together and used to establish date ranges for each site as well as trends occurring in the assemblages and sequences at each site. The artefact details and frequencies can provide dating information but also information about the lifeways of the inhabitants of each farm. Once the trends on each farm have been identified, these can also be compared to try to identify similarities and differences between the lifeways of the inhabitants of the two different farms. They can also provide information about the household, interaction and consumption. All these threads of information are discussed in chapter 7.

Chapter 7. Chronology and Trends on Groenvlei and Rondefontein

This chapter opens with a discussion of possible dates derived from ceramic, wire and glass analysis. Absolute dating in the form of carbon dating was deemed unnecessary for this project, partly due to the possibility that the middens had been disturbed, time and budget constraints and due to the availability of date periods for glass and ceramic sherds. This is then followed by a discussion of the date ranges from combined sources for each layer, square and site. The dates arrived at in these sections as well as deposition patterns in the artefact assemblage are then used to identify trends on Groenvlei and Rondefontein.

7.1 Introduction

The date ranges provided by three sources, the ceramic assemblage, the presence of metal wire and the glass assemblage are discussed in this chapter and the next section will discuss the trends shown by the data. None of the other artefacts in any of the middens can provide dating information. I discuss the probable date ranges for each layer in each square, the artefacts that were used for dating and what they indicate for the dating of each layer. In the final part of this chapter I pull together all the dating information to provide a probable date range for each layer, site and square. This is done not only to establish a timeline but also to give more context to the data provided by the other artefacts and to allow for a better comparison between the different sites. All dates provided are *terminus post quem* dates, i.e. only the earliest possible dates for each layer.

7.2 Ceramics

Below I discuss the different diagnostic categories of ceramic wares and decorations which were recovered from the excavations, which date ranges they indicate, and in which squares and layers they were found. Note that these artefacts only indicate minimum dates as objects are often used past the period in which they are fashionable. The assumption is that the ceramics are *in situ*.

7.2.1 Wares

Several different ceramic wares were recovered from the excavations at Rondefontein and Groenvlei. Only the wares which indicate date ranges are discussed here. In order of discussion they are: refined white-bodied industrial refined earthenware, English porcelain, British

stoneware, Asian porcelain and 'Teapot ware' (Teapot ware is a kind of refined earthenware that has a coloured body).

The most commonly found ware at both Groenvlei and Rondefontein was refined white-bodied industrial ware (Figure 7.1). Refined industrial wares are refined earthenwares which were mass-produced in factories starting in the second half of the 18th century (Klose 2009). White-bodied industrial wares were first produced in 1800 (Klose 2009). The presence of this ware in a layer indicates that that layer must post-date the year 1800. Refined white-bodied industrial wares were found in every ceramic-bearing layer at both Groenvlei and Rondefontein, except for layer 7A GY in Square 3 at Groenvlei.

Another kind of ware which was popular at both farms is English porcelain (Figures 7.1 and 7.3). English porcelain is white, translucent, strong, soft-paste porcelain from England (Klose 2009). It was first manufactured in the year 1800, meaning its presence in any layer indicates that layer must post-date this year (Klose 2009). English porcelain was found in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layer 3B DB; Groenvlei Square 4 layer 4 GB; RD IXG layers 1A DG, 2A GB, 2B Be; RD XID layers 1A DG, 1B DB, 3A LYB, 3B DYB; Rondefontein 2 layer 1A LYB.

British stoneware was also found in several layers on both farms (Figure 7.2). Stoneware is a hard, dense ware which is often stone-coloured (Klose 2009). It is often thick and sturdy and mostly used for utilitarian kitchen vessels (Klose 2009). British stoneware was first manufactured in the 16th century but was only imported into South Africa from the year 1800 (Klose 2009). British stoneware was found in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layer 3B DB; RD XID layers 1B DB, 3A LYB and 3B DYB; Rondefontein 2 layer 1B LYB.

Another diagnostic ware which was found in the assemblages of both farms is Asian porcelain (Figure 5.4), specifically Chinese export ware. Chinese export ware is a general term used to describe porcelain which was exported to Europe from China after the 16th century (Klose 2009). Chinese export porcelain was first imported to South Africa in the 1750s and remains popular to this day (Klose 2009). Chinese export porcelain was found in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layer 7A GY; RD XID 2A DB; Rondefontein 2 layer 2A RB.

The final category of diagnostic ware recovered in the course of this research is 'Teapot ware'. 'Teapot ware' refers to a specific kind of refined coloured-body industrial refined earthenware with a dark red to brown body and a brown glaze (Klose 2009). This type of ware was first

produced in the late 19th century and remains popular to this day (Klose 2009). 'Teapot ware' was only found in layer 1A LYB at Rondefontein 2.

The information from ceramic ware types only indicates that this assemblage spans the period of colonial occupation. However, we can now move on to look at decoration which gives us finer resolution on dating.



Figure 7.1: Examples of ceramic wares

Clock wise from top left: Gilded and transfer printed European porcelain, hand-painted and sponged refined earthenware, purple transfer printed refined earthenware, brown transfer printed refined earthenware, blue transfer printed refined earthenware.



Figure 7.2: Examples of wares

Clockwise from top left: European stoneware, Willow ware refined earthenware, unknown ware, industrial slipware, and lustre refined earthenware from RD XID.



Figure 7.3: Examples of wares

Clock wise from top left: Black transfer printed refined earthenware, undecorated European porcelain, Willow ware refined earthenware, lined refined earthenware from RD IXG.

7.2.2 Ceramic Decoration

Most types of ceramic decoration can be used to assign a specific date range to a ceramic artefact. The types found at Groenvlei and Rondefontein are, in order of discussion: transfer printing (Figures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3), 'harsh' colour hand-painting (Figure 7.1), industrial slipware (Figure 7.2), 'flow blue' (Figure 6.8), sponging (Figure 7.2) and gilding (Figure 7.1).

One of the most commonly found categories of decoration among the ceramic sherds at Groenvlei and Rondefontein is transfer printing of various colours and designs (Figures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.2). Transfer printing is a form of ceramic decoration where designs are imprinted onto tissue paper and then transferred onto the vessel from the paper (Klose 2009). Blue transfer printed patterns were the first to be used for ceramic decoration and these were first produced in the 1780s (Klose 2009). Brown was first used in the 1790s and other colours were first developed in the 1820s (Klose 2009). Multi-colour transfer printing was first developed in the 1830s (Klose 2009). Blue transfer printed patterns were found in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layers 2A GB and 3B DRB; RD IXG layer 2B Be. Other colours of transfer printed patterns were found in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layer 4B LRB; Groenvlei Square 4 layer 5RB; RD IXG layers 1A DG, 2B Be, 3A DG; RD XID layers 1A DG, 1B DB, 2A DB, 3A LYB, 3B DYB; Rondefontein 2 layers 1A LYB and 1B LYB. Multi-colour transfer printed patterns were found only in RD IXG in layers 2B Be and 3A DG.

A very popular variation of transfer-printed pattern is the Willow pattern (also called Willow ware) (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). The Willow pattern is always blue and is characterized by scenic depictions of life in China, also known as C*hinoiserie*, as well as geometric borders (Klose 2009). Willow ware was first produced in the 1790s and is still popular to this day (Klose 2009). Willow ware was found in the following squares and layers: RD IXG layers 1A DG, 2A GB, 2A Be, 2B Be, 3A DG; RD XID layers 1A DG, 1B DB, 2A DB, 3A LYB and 3B DYB.

Also popular at both Groenvlei and Rondefontein were ceramics which were hand-painted in 'harsh' colours (Figure 7.2). These 'harsh' colours were very bright chrome-based pigments which were first used in ceramic decoration in the 1830s (Hildyard 2005). This form of decoration was cheap and seen as gaudy and low-brow (Klose 2009). This decoration was found on ceramic sherds in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layer 3B DRB; RD IXG layer 2A GB; RD XID layers 1B DB, 2A DB, 3A LYB, 3B DYB; Rondefontein 2 layer 1B LYB.

Another form of decoration usually used for cheaper vessels is known as industrial slipware (Figure 7.2). Industrial slipware refers to mass-produced decoration produced by applying 'slip' (coloured clay) on top of the vessel body but under the glaze (Klose 2009). Industrial slipware was first produced in the 1790s and was popular until the 1890s but was probably still used after this date (Klose 2009). Industrial slipware was found in the following squares and layers: Groenvlei Square 3 layer 3B DB; RD IXG layer 2B Be; RD XID layers 1A DG, 1B DB, 3A LYB, 3B DYB; Rondefontein 2 layers 1A LYB, 1B LYB and 2A RB.

'Flow blue' is another one of the diagnostic types of ceramic decoration found at both farms (Figure 6.8). 'Flow blue' decoration is characterised by blue patterns which look like the ink has run over the original design (Klose 2009). 'Flow blue' was first produced in the 1820s and was popular until the 1880s but was probably still used after this period (Klose 2009). This type of decoration was found on ceramic sherds in the following squares and layers: RD IXG layers 2A GB, 2B Be, 3A DG; RD XID layers 1B DB, 2A DB, 3A LYB, 3B DYB; Rondefontein 2 layer 1A LYB.

Several of the ceramic sherds at Groenvlei and Rondefontein were decorated with a sponged pattern (Figure 7.2). Some of these were decorated specifically with patterns which were created with cut sponges. These mass-produced cut sponge patterns first arose in the 1840s (Klose 2009). They were found in the following squares and layers; RD XID 1A DG, 1B DG; Rondefontein 2 layers 1A LYB and 1B LYB.

The final diagnostic category of ceramic decoration found during this research is gilding (Figure 7.1). Gilding refers to the application of a thin layer of gold to the surface of a ceramic (Klose 2009). The only example of gilding found in my excavations is on a sherd of English porcelain. Gilded English porcelain was first produced in 1810 (Klose 2009). This sherd was found in RD XID in layer 1A DG.

Further refinement of the date ranges indicated by ceramic decoration can be achieved through analysing the glazes used on the ceramics. This is discussed in the following section.

7.2.3 Glazes

There are many types of ceramic glazes which can provide dating information. However, only one kind was found in the ceramic assemblages of Groenvlei and Rondefontein. This is a liquid glaze which is applied to stoneware vessels. This glaze was first developed in the 1860s (Klose

2009). Liquid glaze on stoneware sherds was found in the following squares and layers: RD XID layer 1B DB; Rondefontein 2 layers 1B LYB and 2A RB.

The ware analyses for both sites indicate that the middens in question date from 1750 to the 20th century. This confirms that the middens being investigated are from the colonial period in this area. The analysis of decoration and glazes provided the following date range: for Groenvlei from the 1750s to the early 19th century, for Rondefontein from the 1830s to the early 19th century.

Clearly, analysis of the ceramic assemblage provides a large amount of useful dating information. However, the analysis of this assemblage has only produced large, vaguely defined date ranges. For further refinement of the date ranges for each site, I therefore also had to incorporate information taken from the analysis of other artefact categories. Metal wire is one of those artefact categories and the information it provides is discussed in the following section.

7.3 Metal Wire

Smooth, rounded wire is machine-made whereas angular wire is hand-made (Krell 2002). The presence of machine-made wire indicates a post 1840s date because that was when the manufacture of machine-made wire became common (Krell 2002). The presence of fencing wire in general also provides more specific dating information in the Sneeuberg area. Fencing on farms in the area was almost unheard of until 1875, when it started to become more common (Neville 1996). The first advertisement for fencing wire in the area appeared in 1877 and fencing only became compulsory in 1891, after much protest from local farmers about the cost (*ibid*.). It is probable therefore that the layers containing fencing wire are no older than 1875.

Along with the information that can be gleaned from the presence of wire and from ceramic analysis, the other artefact category that can provide dating information for Groenvlei and Rondefontein is glass. This is discussed in the following section.

7.4 Glass

Various aspects of glass artefacts can be used for dating purposes. The colour, manufacturing process and shape of glass vessels can all be tied to specific date ranges. All the information available on dating glassware is based on the analysis of full unbroken vessels. No full vessels were found on any of the sites so there is less detail in these analyses than there could be. The

only diagnostic features discussed in the following sections are ones that were present in one or more glass sherds from any of the excavations on Groenvlei and Rondefontein.

7.4.1 Colour

For the purposes of dating, glass colour generally cannot provide much information but there are some colours which can be useful in determining a tentative date. Glass which is colourless with a slight pink tinge is glass that was treated with manganese dioxide in order to remove its colour. Glass treated with this method could date anywhere from the 1820s to the 1930s, but this treatment was most common between 1890 and 1920 (Lockhart 2006). Colourless glass in general was very uncommon before 1870 and became very popular from the 1910s onwards (Fike 1987). Layers containing colourless glass are therefore most likely to post-date 1870.

Aquamarine colouring in glass comes from iron impurities in the glass (Toulouse 1969). This colour was very common from the early 1800s until about the 1920s when it was largely replaced by properly clear glass (Miller & McNichol 2002).

Black glass vessels were very common from the 1840s to the 1880s and stop appearing in the archaeological record in the 1890s. Thus, any layers containing black glass fragments have a likely date range of 1840-1890.

Several of the glass fragments from both Groenvlei and Rondefontein are of a very specific shade of amber sherd called “old” amber which is very uncommon in vessels made after 1890 (Zumwalt 1980).

7.4.2 Shape

Hexagonal pieces of glass are most likely pieces of ink bottles (Faulkner 2009). Ink bottles were much cheaper than inkwells and were meant to be discarded after use (Faulkner 2009). The fragments found at Groenvlei and Rondefontein have vertical sides, which was a popular shape for ink bottles from about 1835 to 1865 but continued to be produced well into the 20th century (Covill 1971).

7.4.3 Finishes

There were several examples of glass vessel fragments with screw top finishes from both farms. A screw top finish on a glass fragments indicates that it dates from the 20th century (Bender 2016). This continuous screw finish was very common throughout this period and was used for a huge variety of different vessels, so the date range cannot be narrowed down further (*ibid.*).

There were also examples of vessel fragments with applied finishes (Bender 2016). These vessels probably date from between 1820 to 1890 (*ibid.*). Moulded rims found on several vessel fragments indicate a machine-made origin meaning they could date to anywhere between 1800 and 1915 (Fike 1987). The double ring finish of which some examples were also found was popular from the 1840s to the 1920s, particularly between the 1850s and the 1910s (Bender 2016).

Combining the dating information provided by the ceramic and glass analyses as well as the presence of metal wire, maximum dates and date ranges were determined for each layer and square where possible. These are presented in the following section.

7.5 Probable Chronology for each Layer, Square and Site

In this section the following is presented: tables showing the date source and date range for each layer and then a discussion of the probable date range for each square and site. Some of the layers from each site did not contain any artefacts that could be used for dating and these are not represented in the tables below.

7.5.1.1 Groenvlei

Square 3

Table 7.1: The probable maximum dates or date ranges for selected layers in GV Square 3.

Layer	Date source			
	Ceramic	Wire	Glass	Date range
2A GB	1800-1870s	1875-	-	1800-
3A DRB	-	-	1870-1890s	1870-1890s
3B DRB	1800-1870s	-	1870-1904	1870-1904
3B DB	1830s-1890s	-	1835-1930s	1835-1890s
4A DB	-	-	1870s-	1870s-
4B LRB	1830s-	-	1840-1890s	1840-1890s
6B LG	1750s-	-	-	1750s-
7A LG	1750s-	-	-	1750s-

The probable date range for Groenvlei Square 3 is from the 1750s to the 1890s or the early 20th century (Table 7.1). 1750 is the earliest possible date for this midden but it could have started later. The layers that are part of the ashy lens (6B LG and 7A LG) could extend to the 1750s. This fits with the historical information on Groenvlei, which dates from 1762.

Square 4

Table 7.2: The probable maximum dates and date ranges for selected layers in GV Square 4.

Layer	Date source			
	Ceramic	Wire	Glass	Date range
2 GB	1800-	-	-	1800-
3 GB	1800-	-	-	1800-
4 GB	1850-1914	-	1885-	1885-1914
5 RB	1820-	1875-	1820s-1930s	1875-1930s
6 RB	1800-	1875-	-	1875-

The probable date range for Groenvlei Square 4 is from 1875 to the 1930s, meaning the deposition at Square 4 started up to 120 years after deposition at Square 3 started (Table 7.2). 1875 is the earliest possible date for this midden but it could have started later. The data indicates that we have a date range for the Groenvlei midden from the 1750s to the 1930s. This data lines up with the information we have from the farm owners and historical documents that the house next to the midden was occupied from 1762 to the 1950s.

7.5.1.2 Rondefontein 1

RD IXG

Table 7.3: The probable maximum dates and date ranges for selected layers in RD IXG.

Layer	Date source			
	Ceramic	Wire	Glass	Date range
1A GB	1820-			1820-
1B GB		1875-	1900-	1900-
2A Be	1830-1880s			1830-1880s
2B Be	1800-	1875-		1875-
3A DG	1830-1880s			1830-1880s

The probable date range for RD IXG is from the 1830s to the present day (Table 7.3). 1830 is the earliest possible date for this midden but deposition could have started later. This does not exactly line up with the information from the farm owners that this midden was used from the 1860s to the present day, but it does not conflict with it either.

RD XID

Table 7.4: The probable maximum dates and date ranges for selected layers in RD XID.

Layer	Date source			
	Ceramic	Wire	Glass	Date range
1A DG	1840-1880s	1875-	1870-1930S	1875-1880s
1B DB	1840-1890s	-	1870-1930s	1870-1890s
2A DB	1840-1890s	1875-	1870-1930s	1875-1880s
2B Sa	-	-	1820-1920s	1820-1920s
3A LYB	1830-1890s	1875-	-	1875-1890s
3B DYB	1830-1890s	1875-	1820s-1930s	1875-1890s
4A YB	-	-	1820s-1930s	1820-1930s

The date range for RD XID is 1860 or earlier to the 1880s (Table 7.4). 1860 is the earliest possible date for this midden but deposition could have started later. This does not conflict with the information from the owners of the farm that the midden was first used in the 1860s until the present day. The overall date range for Rondefontein 1 is from the 1830s to the present day, which matches up with the information that the owners of the farm provided about this midden, which is that it was used from the 1860s up to the present day. Although the midden does start earlier than that date, deposition may have started when the other house was still occupied or when building was started on the newer house.

7.5.1.3 Rondefontein 2

RD2 will be discussed in terms of the two identified stratigraphic layers found at this site rather than in squares and spits because the stratigraphic layers were found to be the same and extend across the site (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: The probable maximum dates and date ranges for selected layers in RD2.

Layer	Date source			
	Ceramic	Wire	Glass	Date range
LYB	1860-1890s	1875-	1800-1890s	1875-1890s
RB	1860-1890s	-	-	1860-1890s

The overall probable date range for this site is therefore from the 1860s to the 1890s. 1860 is the earliest possible date for this midden but deposition could have started later. This does not match the information given by the owners of the farm, which was that this midden was related to the occupation of the older house from the farm which was occupied from the 1830s to the 1860s. It is most probable that this midden is related to another occupation or another depositional period and is not the midden that is associated with the older farmhouse.

In the following sections of this discussion, the date ranges taken from this analysis as well as information gleaned from the other artefact analyses will be used to identify trends on Groenvlei and Rondefontein as well as the differences and similarities between the artefact assemblages on the two farms.

7.6 Trends on Groenvlei

What follows is discussion of the major trends within each artefact category in each square and in the Groenvlei midden overall.

7.6.1 Trends in Artefact Categories

The trends in the artefact assemblage of Groenvlei squares 3 and 4 grouped into artefact categories are as follows:

7.6.1.1 Metal

In GV Square 3, the metal artefacts are concentrated in the upper levels of the square, with no metal appearing below level 4B LRB which dates at most to the 1870s. The presence of metal in the upper layers of the square indicates that metal was being discarded in this section of the midden in the late 19th century and possibly into the early 20th century. The only manufactured metal objects in this square are sections of wire and a single nail. In Square 4, metal artefacts only appear between Layer 3 and Layer 6, meaning metal artefacts were only deposited here somewhere between the 1870s and the 1890s. There are more manufactured metal artefacts in this square than in Square 3, including a bullet casing, a nail and a belt buckle.

The depositional period of metal artefacts at Groenvlei coincides with a period of economic recovery in the region in the 1870s and the period of peak commercial success of the area in the 1880s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 64). However, the low frequency of manufactured metal objects indicates that these periods of economic upturn did not greatly affect the abilities of the inhabitants of Groenvlei to access manufactured metal objects from pedlars or shops, either because they did not themselves experience economic success during this period or because they did not prioritise the purchasing of such objects.

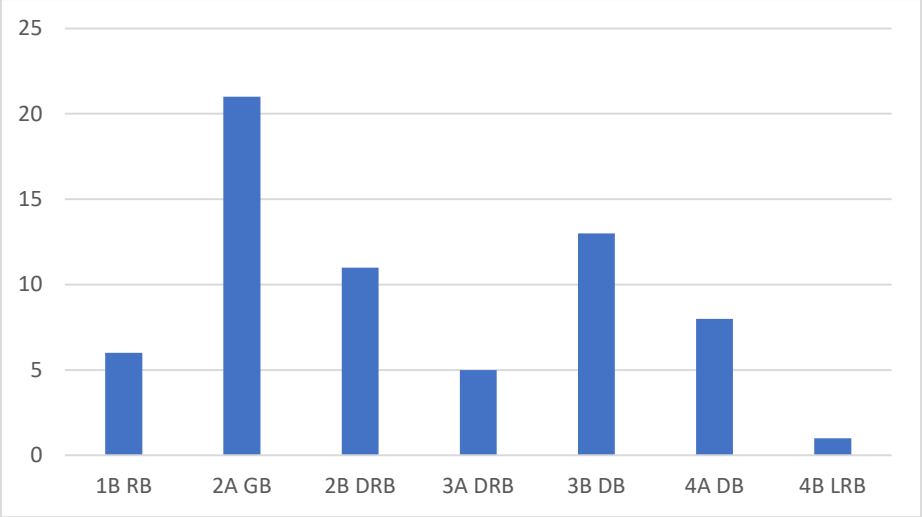

Figure 7.4: Frequency of metal artefacts at Groenvlei Square 3 over time

The first wire in Square 3 appears in layer 2A GB, which dates from the 1870s to the 1890s or the early 20th century. This layer probably coincides with the first installation of wire fences on the farm or with a period of fence repair as many pieces of wire are present. Wire is present in Square 4 in layer 5 and layer 6. The date ranges for Layer 6 coincide with the date range for the first appearance of wire in Square 3.

The installation of fences would have changed the lives of those living on Groenvlei significantly. The fact that they were able to fence on Groenvlei indicates that the inhabitants of this farm were not living in poverty, as fencing at the time was very expensive, especially on a large plot of land such as Groenvlei (Neville 1996: 250). The benefits of fencing were boundless however: more livestock could be kept on the farm as they had the run of the whole farm rather than having to fit into a kraal, the animals would be in better condition since they could graze overnight as well, disease quarantine would be easier, the soil in the field would be fertilised by dung rather than the dung accumulating in the kraal, the wool yield would increase, the value of sheep would increase, fewer herdsmen would be needed so money could be saved on labour, herds could be more closely controlled, predators could be more easily kept in check and the movements of unfamiliar people such as vagrants on the farm could be more easily monitored and controlled (Neville 1996: 249, 250; Beinart 2008: 219). Although fences could not keep predators out until vermin-proof fencing was introduced in the 1890s, the advantages of fencing certainly outweighed the disadvantages and after fencing was installed on Groenvlei the inhabitants of that farm would almost certainly have seen increased economic success afterwards (Beinart 2008: 220).

7.6.1.2 Ceramics

Ceramic sherds first appear in Square 3 in layer 7A LG, which contained only one sherd of Asian porcelain. Ceramics are then absent from the sequence until layer 4B, which contained one sherd of refined earthenware. In the next layer, 3B DB, there was a significant increase in the number of ceramic sherds as well as the first appearance of European porcelain and stoneware. The upper layers of the square contained a comparatively small number of sherds and those that were found are mostly cheap hand-painted or transfer printed refined earthenware. This could indicate that the inhabitants of Groenvlei owned very little ceramic vessels apart from some Asian porcelain from the 1750s to the 1840s, around which time there was a small increase in the frequency of ceramics that they owned. This was followed by a significant increase in ceramic frequency between the 1870s and 1890s, followed by a substantial decrease in ceramic frequency and quality.

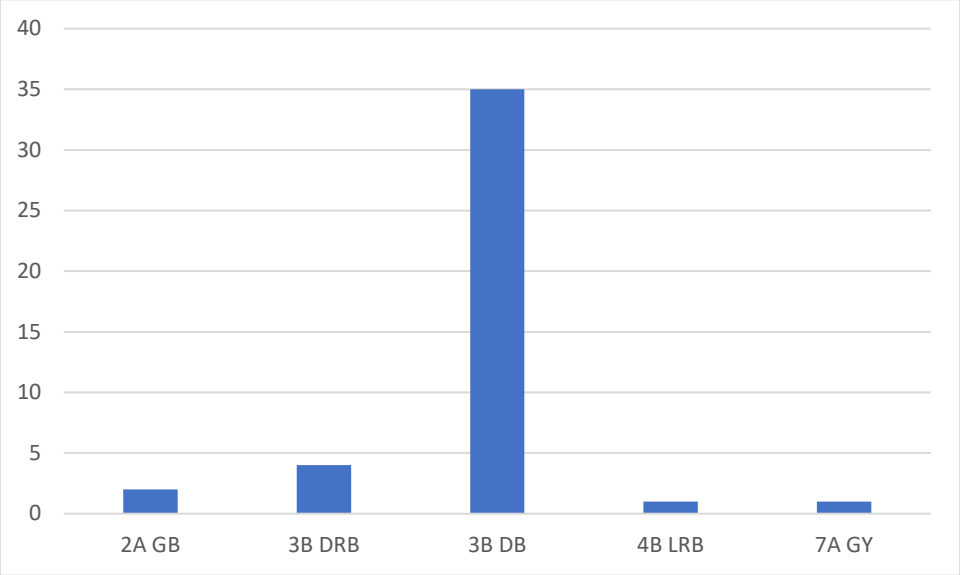

Figure 7.5: Frequency of ceramic sherds at Groenvlei Square 3 over time

Very few ceramic sherds were found in Square 4 overall, only two or three at most in the few layers that they did appear in. Such a small sample size means that no strong conclusions can be made from the ceramic assemblage in this square. The first ceramic sherds, in the form of European porcelain, appear in Layer 6. Refined earthenware sherds appear in Layer 5 and European porcelain is found again in Layer 4. Ceramics were only deposited in this section of the midden from 1875 to the early 20th century. European porcelain was deposited here between 1875 and 1885.

Although Asian porcelain was expensive, especially in the 18th century when trade was difficult and imported goods were in short supply in the Sneeuberg, thus the presence of one sherd in the lower layers of Square 3 does not imply great wealth, especially considering the absence of other ceramics in these layers (Newton-King 1987: 12; Klose 2007: 39). This sherd only indicates the existence of one vessel which could have been purchased in Cape Town where it would be cheaper and brought along when the first settlers at Groenvlei first journeyed there or it could have been a piece that was inherited or saved up for.

The minor increase of ceramic frequency in the 1840s was most likely due to increased availability of imported goods. The number of itinerant pedlars as well as shops in the area had been steadily increasing since the 1820s and imported goods were more readily available and cheaper since they started being brought in from Grahamstown instead of Cape Town around the same time (de V. Minnaar 1987: 11, 12, 57).

The substantial increase of ceramics, including European porcelain and British stoneware, from the 1870s to the 1890s could imply an increase in wealth on the farm. This increase is not satisfactorily explained by an increase in availability of goods. Although the Graaff-Reinet area reached its economic peak in the 1880s, the difference in the availability of imported goods between then and the 1840s was not large enough to explain such a substantial increase in ceramic consumption (de V. Minnaar 1987: 64). The appearance of European porcelain during this time period also implies an increase in wealth rather than availability since availability had already increased in the 1840s, and yet no European porcelain appeared in the midden during that time. Although European porcelain might have been cheaper in the later part of the 19th century than it was in the earlier part of the century, it was still more expensive than refined earthenware and does imply increased purchasing capital (Klose 2007: 54).

The subsequent decrease in both quantity and quality of ceramics at Groenvlei after the 1890s could have a few possible explanations. It is possible that this decrease of sherds in the midden was purely due to changing discard practices, but it could also indicate a loss of wealth. There were several events that took place in the 1890s and the early 20th century in the Graaff-Reinet district that could have negatively affected the economic wellbeing of Groenvlei and its inhabitants. There was an outbreak of rinderpest in 1897 and 1898 which led to significant livestock loss in the area (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77). This was followed by a drought which started in 1899 and only ended in 1905 as well as the Second Boer War, which heavily disrupted farming and trade in the area (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77, 78). Even when the drought and the war

ended the area was plagued by an outbreak of locusts (de V. Minnaar 1987: 78). It is likely that these events affected the livelihoods of the inhabitants of Groenvlei at the time.

The total MNV count for Square 3 was 16 vessels. There were far more examples of flatware than hollow ware. The most abundant vessels in Square 3 from this sample were pieces of lined flatware. Only two ceramic vessels were definitely discarded in Square 4. This could imply preferential discard. This part of the midden is situated much further from the entrance of the longhouse than Square 3 is. It is possible that household crockery was mostly discarded closer to the entrance of the house for reasons of convenience.

The dominance of flatware over hollow ware could indicate a complicated consumer identity at Groenvlei. Zachariou (2017) investigated dominance of hollow ware over flatware at Kerkplaats in the Northern Cape. He argues that the predominance of bowls over plates, as well as the presence of pewter hollow ware, at the Werf 1 site on that farm is indicative of a unique frontier identity and a continuation of Dutch foodways (Zachariou 2017: 282). This trend was reversed at Werf 2, a later site on the same farm, and coincides with an increase in the presence of teaware, especially matching tea sets (Zachariou 2017: 304). Zachariou (*ibid.*) argues that this change in acceptance of some aspects of British culture took place as a result of increased contact with English people due to participation in Merino farming.

The clear preference for flatwater over hollow ware at Groenvlei could therefore indicate a partial emulation of British culture. It is unlikely that the hollow ware at the farm was made of pewter, as was the case with the flatware at Kerkplaats Werf 1, as Zachariou (2017: 228) found through investigation of probate records that pewter hollow ware was very rare. One aspect of British culture that the inhabitants of Groenvlei seem not to have adopted was the use of teaware. Very little teaware was found at this site and there were no matching sets. Matching tea sets were an integral part of British tea drinking culture and the fact that they were not present at Groenvlei could indicate a rejection of this part of British consumer culture. This could also indicate agency, specifically of female household inhabitants, who Zachariou (2017: 262) argues were the main purchasers of household goods such as crockery.

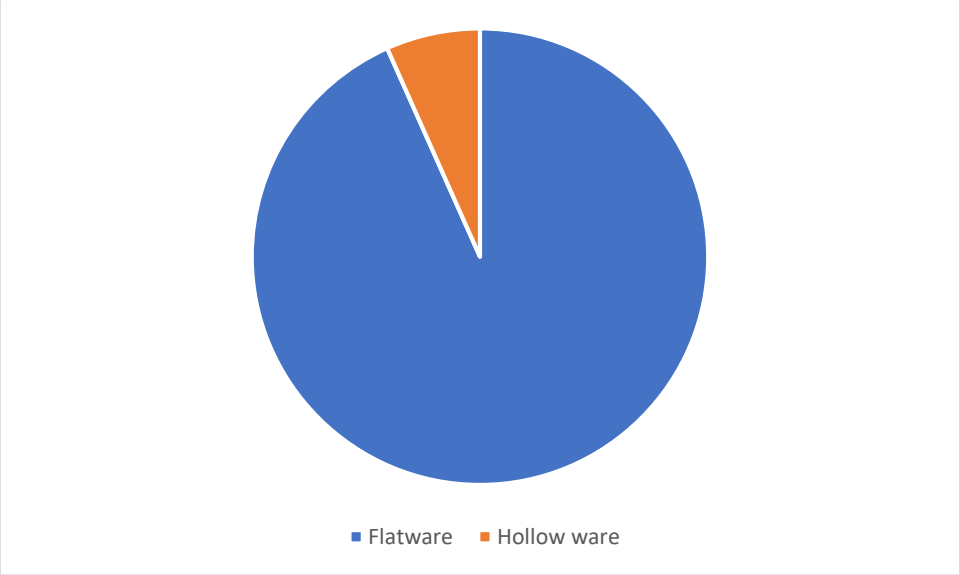

Figure 7.6: Proportion of flatware to hollow ware vessels in the assemblage of Groenvlei

7.6.1.3 Glass

Glass sherds only appear in Square 3 from layer 5B to layer 2A, meaning glass was deposited in this section of the midden from around the 1830s to the 1890s or early 20th century. Only one piece of glass was found in both 4B LRB and 5B DYB. The frequency of glass sherds increases significantly in layer 3B DB and decreases sharply thereafter. A number of ink bottle fragments were found in 3B DB. This indicates a relatively small amount of glass discard in this section of the midden from the 1830s to the 1870s, followed by an increase from the 1870s to the 1890s and a decrease after the 1890s. In Square 4, glass sherds only appear in Layers 4 and 5. A relatively large frequency of glass sherds were found in Layer 5 with a significant decrease in Layer 4. This indicates that glass was only deposited in this section of the midden from 1875 to the early 20th century, with much more glass being discarded here from 1875 to the 1890s and a subsequent decrease after the 1890s.

The first appearance of glass in the archaeological sequence of Groenvlei in the 1830s is probably due to higher availability of goods. Manufactured goods such as glass vessels were more easily obtained after the 1820s, when they started to be imported from Grahamstown and when the number of shops and itinerant hawkers in the area increased (de V. Minnaar 1987: 11, 12, 57). This could have been the first time that the purchasing of glass vessels became accessible to the inhabitants of Groenvlei.

As with the ceramic data, the increase of glass sherds from the 1870s to the 1890s probably indicates an increase in wealth. Although glass vessels would have been easier to obtain during

this period and therefore probably cheaper than earlier in the century, they were still fragile objects which would be difficult to transport and thus not the cheapest available containers (de V. Minnaar 1987: 49). The presence of ink bottles also reinforces this. Ink bottles were not essential everyday items and in Newton-King's (1987: 23) study of probate records, even the richest households did not have ink bottles in their inventories. This increase in wealth was probably due to the fencing of the farm as well as the economic prosperity of the Graaff-Reinet district during this period (de V. Minnaar 1987: 64; Neville 1996: 250; Beinart 2008: 219, 220).

Also correlating with the ceramic data, the decrease of glass sherds in the sequence from the 1890s onwards could also indicate a decrease in wealth. It is unlikely that the inhabitants of the farm would need fewer glass vessels during this period and as mentioned in the glass section, it is unlikely that the combined effects of a rinderpest outbreak, a drought and the Second Boer War did not influence the finances of the inhabitants of Groenvlei. The Second Boer War was probably especially deleterious as the farm was located on the main road from Graaff-Reinet to the north and thus would have been an easy target for soldiers moving through the area looking for supplies.

7.6.1.4 Beads

Beads were only found in Square 4, in layers 6B and 7A and 7B. Both are white glass beads with a silvery coating are both are robust and roughly made. These beads could date from anywhere between the 1750s and the 1830s.

7.6.1.5 Building Material

Building material only occurs in square from layer 4B to layer 1B, indicating that building material was only discarded in this section of the midden from the 1840s to the early 20th century. A high concentration of building material in layers 4A and 3B could indicate an intense period of building activity from the 1870s to the early 20th century. In Square 4, building material was only found between Layers 7 and 3. The highest frequency of building material was in Layers 5 and 6, possibly indicating an intense period of construction or maintenance between 1875 and the early 20th century.

The presence of building material in the midden from the 1840s onwards is probably indicative of additions and alterations made to the longhouse behind the midden. Several alterations were made to this house to expand it from one room in the 1760s to the much larger building which exists today. The possible evidence of intense periods of construction or maintenance from the

1870s to the early 20th century also correlates with the ceramic and glass data, reinforcing the possibility of a wealth increase resulting in the ability to buy more manufactured bricks and cement.

7.6.1.6 Ostrich Eggshell

Ostrich eggshell (OES) fragments first appear in Square 3 in layer 8A. They are then absent from the sequence until layers 6A and 6B, absent again in layers 5A and 5B and reappear again from layers 4B to 3B. This could indicate higher consumption of ostrich eggs from the 1750s to the 1830s, lower consumption during the 1830s and increased consumption again from the 1840s to the early 20th century. Only three OES fragments were found in Square 4, all in Layer 4 which dates from 1885 to 1914.

These fluctuations in OES fragment frequency do not coincide with specific periods of depression or growth on the farm and so the consumption of ostrich eggs does not seem to be tied to economic necessity on Groenvlei.

7.6.1.7 Faunal Remains

Due to the small sample size, no strong conclusions can be drawn about the diet of the inhabitants of Groenvlei but there are some identifiable patterns and tentative inferences can be made.

In Square 3, domestic sheep was the most common species in the assemblage, followed by size class 1 bovids (small game) and domestic cows. The least common species were rodents, small birds, freshwater crab and size class 3 bovids. The most faunal remains were found in 7A LG and 7B LG which is the very ashy layer which dates to at most the 1750s. Sheep, cows and size class 1 bovids were most common in this layer. The presence of sheep bones is consistent throughout the square. The same is true for size class 1 bovids as well. Cow bones appear consistently until 6A, are absent until layer 4A and then do not appear again after that layer. None of the supplementary food animals (i.e. any non-domestic or game animals which were atypical of the *trekboer* diet) appear in the same layer.

Domestic sheep were also the most common species found in Square 4, followed by size class 1 bovids. Present in the faunal assemblage were also one crab and one rodent. As in Square 3, the presence of domestic sheep remains was consistent throughout Square 4, except in Layer 2 which only contained size class 1 bovids. Size class 1 bovids were also consistent throughout the square except in layer 3B which only contained sheep. As in Square 3, the supplementary

species do not occur in the same layers.

The faunal remains from Groenvlei indicate that the meat which was consumed most frequently and consistently for the entire period that this midden was in use (1750s-20th century) on this farm was mutton, lamb and venison. This was a typical diet for *trekboers* and farmers in this area in general (Smith 1976: 3).

Beef was consumed less frequently than mutton and venison but still regularly from the 1750s to 1840s, less regularly from the 1840s to the 1870s, more frequently during the 1870s and less frequently from the 1880s to the 20th century. Cows do require more grazing land than sheep but their presence in the sequence probably does not indicate economic changes, especially as Merino sheep, which were the most commonly farmed livestock in the area, would have been more expensive to purchase and more valuable (de V. Minnaar 1987: 75). Rather, their presence probably indicates only the farming preferences of the inhabitants at the time.

The supplementary food species such as rodents and small birds appear consistently in small frequencies throughout the sequence and do not correlate with any droughts or periods of economic downturn. This indicates that the consumption of non-typical animal species was not especially necessary during times of hardship but probably that they were consumed whenever they were available.

7.6.1.8 Seeds

In Square 3, seeds were recovered from layer 1A to layer 6 RB. The largest number of seeds were found in 1A, 1B RB and 2A GB, layers that date from the 1890s to the early 20th century and possibly to the 1950s. This could be due to more frequent usage of plants during this period or preservation issues in earlier layers.

The most common plant species found in Square 3 was *Amaranthus sp.* Various species of *Amaranthus* are consumed throughout South Africa, including the Eastern Cape, to this day (Bvenura 2014). The young leaves, growth points and whole plants are harvested and cooked into a stew which is consumed with a starchy staple (Jansen van Rensburg *et al.* 2007: 319). This species occurred in large numbers throughout the layers that contained seeds, with the highest amount appearing in 1B RB. This could indicate that the *Amaranthus* species was used as a food source on Groenvlei and that it was consumed for the entire period of colonial occupation, from the 1750s to the 20th century. The large numbers of these seeds indicate that this was probably an important part of the diet at Groenvlei. It was possibly one of the only

plant food sources that were readily available, as *Amaranthus* is fairly easy to cultivate, does well even in poor soils and grows well even without cultivation (Jansen van Rensburg *et al* 2007: 320).

The next most common species in Square 3 was *Silene undulata. S. undulata* is used extensively by amaXhosa people for various purposes during initiation rites (Dold & Cocks 2012). The most common uses are as a ritual cleanser before contacting the ancestors during initiation as well as to facilitate communication with ancestor spirits through dreams (Hirst 2000; Sobiecki 2008). However, there is no record of this plant being used for this purpose in the Sneeuberg and furthermore, there are no records of Xhosa people living in the Sneeuberg or encountering the Boer or Khoe-San people of the area, nor of the Boers or the Khoe-San having used it (Sampson & Neville 2018). Therefore, although it cannot be ruled out completely, it is unlikely that *S. undulata* was used by the Boers or the Khoe-San for medicinal, ritual or practical purposes. Although it is tempting to suggest that the presence of *S. undulata* indicates distant contact with amaXhosa people, there is no evidence to support this.

As *Silene undulata* is also called *wildetabak* (meaning wild tobacco) it is possibly that this plant was being smoked. The presence of its seeds in the midden as well as their carbonisation could be explained by the process of shaking out ashes from a smoking pipe into the fire. This species occurred in the following layers: 1A, 1B, 2A and 5B. It occurred in the highest numbers in 2A and in the lowest numbers in 5B. If we assume that this plant was being smoked, it might have first been used infrequently by the inhabitants of Groenvlei in the 1830s and then used quite frequently from the 1890s onwards.

Silene gallica was present in all but one of the layers in this square that contained seeds but in very low numbers. Jamieson and Sayre (2010) found *S. gallica* seeds in the archaeological assemblage in the remains of a Spanish Colonial town in Riobamba, Ecuador. They suggested that the plant was used as fodder for guinea pigs and the dung of the guinea pigs was subsequently used as fire fuel. The presence of *S. gallica* seeds in the Groenvlei and Rondefontein assemblages also may indicate animal fodder and incorporation into dung which may have subsequently been used as fuel for fire. It was absent from layer 5B. *S. gallica* was most common in layer 1A and least common in layer 4A. This could indicate that this plant was used infrequently as fodder from the 1870s and then in large amounts from the 1890s onwards.

Atriplex semibaccata was only present in this square in layers 1A, 1B and 2A, with the highest frequency in 1A and the lowest in 2A. There is a record of *A. semibaccata* being purposefully imported into South Africa for use as a fodder plant (Vlok & Schutte-Vlok 2015). As both Groenvlei and Rondefontein have very poor-quality soil and often experience extreme climatic conditions, it is reasonable to suggest that *A. semibaccata* was purposefully introduced onto these farms as fodder. *A. semibaccata* was possibly introduced onto Groenvlei as a fodder plant in the 1890s and heavily used from the 1890s well into the 20th century. This as well as the increase in *S. gallica* during this time period could indicate a period of heavier land usage resulting in the need for imported fodder plants or perhaps the first availability of these fodder plants in this area.

Five *Massonia depressa* seeds were found in 2A GB. There are no records of this plant being used for ritual purposes or for fodder; currently, it is used mostly as a decorative garden flower (Johnson *et al.* 2001). Although it is not recorded for this area, it could have been growing naturally at Groenvlei and accidentally eaten by an animal, entered the animal's dung which could have been used for fire fuel or it could have been cultivated in the garden and possibly burned as garden debris.

7.6.1.9 Broader Trends

The clearest trend in the midden at Groenvlei is the substantial increase in frequency of artefacts in the period between the 1870s and the 1890s and then a sharp decrease again afterwards. There is an increase in the frequency of ceramics and glass during this period, as well as the appearance of expensive luxury items like European porcelain and ink bottles. The frequency of building materials also increased during this period.

As discussed in the sections on ceramic and glass trends, these increases from the 1870s to the 1890s are not readily explained by an increased availability of manufactured goods. In the Graaff-Reinet district, the biggest increase in availability of imported and manufactured items took place in the 1820s, well before this period (de V. Minnaar 1987: 11, 12). If ease of access was the only contributing factor, it would be expected that the increased purchasing of imported and manufactured items would have occurred before the 1870s. An increase in wealth during this period is much more likely, especially as the farm was recently fenced which would save on labour costs and increase the quality and quantity of wool output, the main export item of this region (Neville 1996: 249, 250). This was also a period of economic prosperity for the area as a whole.

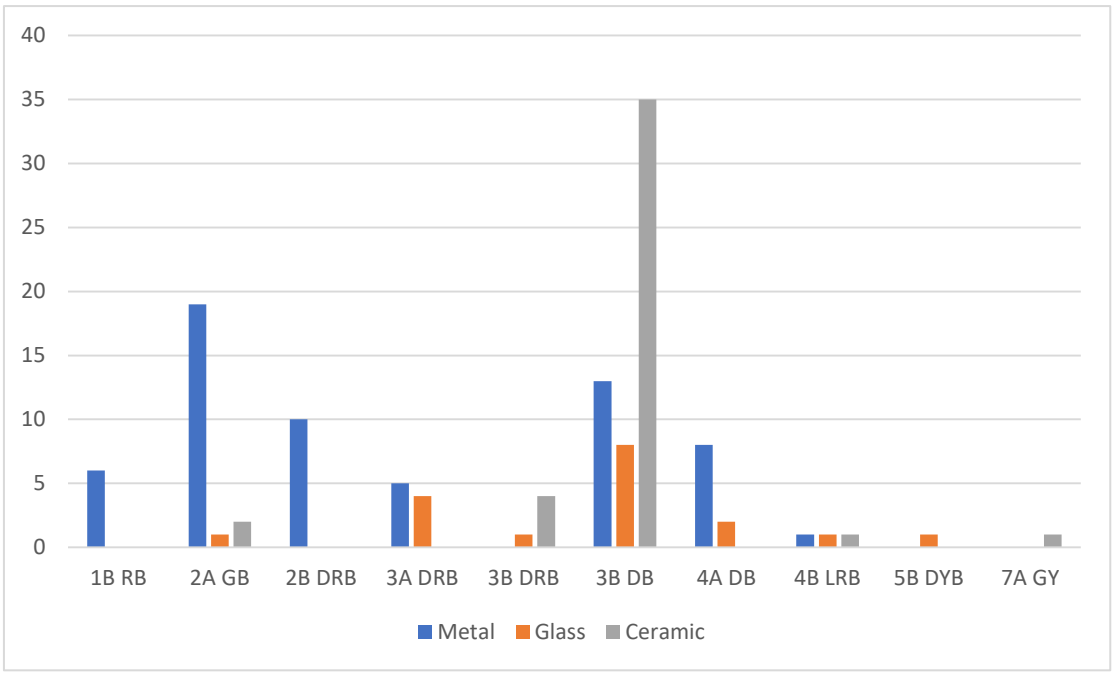

Figure 7.7: The frequencies of metal, glass and ceramic artefacts at Groenvlei over time

7.7 Trends on Rondefontein

In the following section the major trends in the artefact assemblages are discussed according to artefact category.

7.7.1 Rondefontein 1

7.7.1.1 Metal

Metal occurs in RD IXG from layer 1A to layer 2B Be, meaning metal artefacts were discarded in this section of the midden from 1875 to the 1880s. The highest frequency of metal artefacts occurred in layers 1B GB and 2A GB. There were no manufactured metal goods in this square apart from a single nail. Wire first appears in layer 2B Be which dates from around 1875. In RD XID, metal appears from 4A YB up to the surface, indicating that metal artefacts were discarded in this section of the midden from the 1860s or earlier to the 1880s. Many small manufactured metal goods were present throughout the square, including nails, clothing fasteners, decorative objects, jewellery and a thimble. Wire first appears in RD XID in layer 3B DYB which dates from the 1870s. Overall, metal was discarded on Rondefontein 1 from the 1860s to the 20th century, with an increase from the 1875 to the early 20th century.

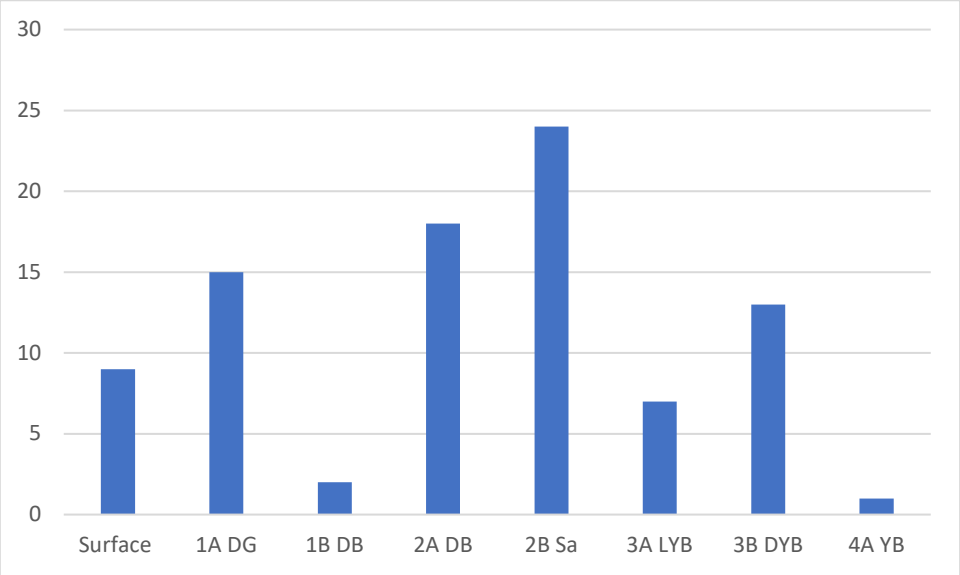

Figure 7.8: Frequency of metal artefacts at RD XID over time

The first instances of metal discard on this midden in the 1860s correlates with the beginning of occupation of the house associated with this midden (Elize Vogel pers. comm.). The first pieces of fencing wire appear in layers dating to the 1870s, implying that the farm was first fenced during this decade. Many farms in the Sneeuberg were first fenced in during this period

(Neville 1996: 249). Apart from the expense, the introduction of fencing would have vastly improved the lives of the inhabitants of Rondefontein as more livestock could be kept, they could be kept in better condition, the quantity and quality of their wool output would increase, money could be saved on farm labour and the livestock could be better protected from predators (Neville 1996: 249, 250; Beinart 2008: 219, 220).

The introduction of fencing probably improved the financial situation of the inhabitants of Rondefontein and this could have contributed to the increase of metal artefacts after 1875. Another contributing factor could have been the general economic prosperity of the area from 1871 onwards (Dubow 1982: 14). This increase in consumption of metal goods is not satisfactorily explained by greater access to goods as not all the metal artefacts were manufactured and an increase in the availability of goods for purchase had already started in the 1820s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12).

The presence of small, mostly personal manufactured metal goods throughout the sequence is probably partly due to the increase in availability of these goods from the 1820s onwards as well as the financial success of the Graaff-Reinet district during the wool boom of the 1850s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). The amount of metal artefacts during the 1860s, a period of widespread economic depression across the Colony, is relatively small (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). However, it is unlikely that this is due to poverty as the inhabitants of Rondefontein were able to purchase enough building materials to construct a fairly large house during this period. It is possible that Rondefontein did so well during the wool boom that it was able to weather the drought and drop in wool price that took place in the 1860s (*ibid.*).

7.7.1.2 Ceramics

Ceramic sherds appear in RD IXG from layer 2B Sa to layer 1B GB, indicating that ceramics were discarded on this section of the RD1 midden from the 1860s to the early 20th century. The highest frequency of ceramic sherds appeared in layer 2B Sa, including refined earthenware and European porcelain. The next layer, 2A Be, contained the lowest frequency of ceramic sherds, all cheap refined earthenware. Both porcelain and refined earthenware experienced a small increase in frequency in 2A GB. In 1B GB the second highest number of refined earthenware sherds and the highest number of porcelain sherds appears.

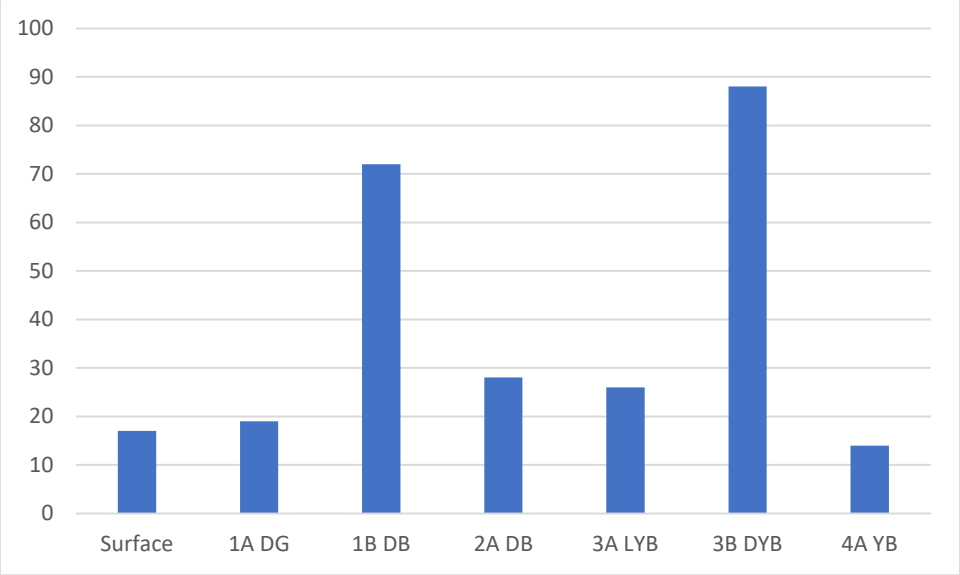

Figure 7.9: Frequency of ceramic sherds at RD XID over time

Ceramics occur in RD XID from layer 4A YB to layer 1A DG, indicating that ceramics were discarded in this section of the midden from the 1860s to the 1880s. All the layers that date from the 1870s to the 1880s contain far more ceramic sherds than 4A YB. These layers also contain stoneware and porcelain, whereas 4A YB contains only refined earthenware. Both stoneware and porcelain steadily increase in frequency over time, culminating in the highest frequencies of both appearing in layer 1B DB.

The first appearance of ceramic sherds in Rondefontein 1 in the 1860s coincides with the construction and occupation of the house associated with this midden (Elize Vogel pers. comm.). The high frequency of ceramics during this period as well the presence of relatively expensive European porcelain could imply that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were not too badly affected by the economic depression of the 1860s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). The inhabitants of Rondefontein were possibly already financially well off by this period, probably due to the wool boom of the 1950s (*ibid.*).

The increase of ceramic frequency, especially of European porcelain, from the 1870s to the 1890s is also probably indicative of greater financial prosperity during this period. This greater prosperity was probably due to the fencing of the farm in the 1870s as well as a general period of economic success through the larger Sneeuberg area during the 1880s (Dubow 1982: 14; Beinart 2008: 220). The subsequent further increase in ceramic frequency and substantial increase in European porcelain frequency after the 1890s is less easily explained. A series of events during the 1890s negatively affected the economy of the whole area, including an

outbreak of rinderpest, a very long drought and the outbreak of the Second Boer War (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77, 78). The increased purchasing of porcelain and other ceramics at Rondefontein after the 1890s could indicate that this farm was not heavily affected by these events. It is possible that they were already so wealthy that they could weather these problems, that they practiced good veld management and so could deal with the drought or that their isolation made them less vulnerable to the rinderpest and to the predations of soldiers travelling through the countryside during the war (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77, 78).

A total of 18 ceramic vessels were represented in RD IXG. Most of these vessels were examples of flatware. As on Groenvlei, this could imply either differential discard practices where hollow ware was discarded elsewhere on the midden. The most popular decoration for vessels found in RD IXG was blue transfer print of various patterns, including willow ware.

Many ceramic vessels were represented in RD XID, 72 in total. This is the largest number of vessels for any of the sites excavated for this project. RD XID contained many more hollow ware vessels than any of the other squares on either farm, but flatware was still the most common vessel type by far. Again, this could imply differential discard practices. The most popular decoration among the vessels from this square was industrial slipware and blue transfer print of various patterns.

The possible preference for flatware over hollow ware at both middens could also, as on Groenvlei, indicate the partial adoption of British foodways and consumer culture (Zachariou 2017: 284). This could be due to the inhabitant's participation in the Merino trade as well as the increased popularity of British fashions in South Africa during the 1800s in general (Malan 1993: 175; Zachariou 2017: 293). I say partial adoption of British consumer fashion because there were no teacups or matching tea sets found at Rondefontein, indicating a possible rejection of British tea culture, like at Groenvlei (Zachariou 2017: 206). This could indicate a consumer identity specific to these farms or even this area which adopted some British foodways but stuck to Dutch or Afrikaner foodways in other areas. As Zachariou (2017:296) notes, women were the members of the household who did most of the household purchasing from shops and pedlars and so this could indicate a specific female consumer identity. It also indicates female agency in choosing which fashionable trends to adopt.

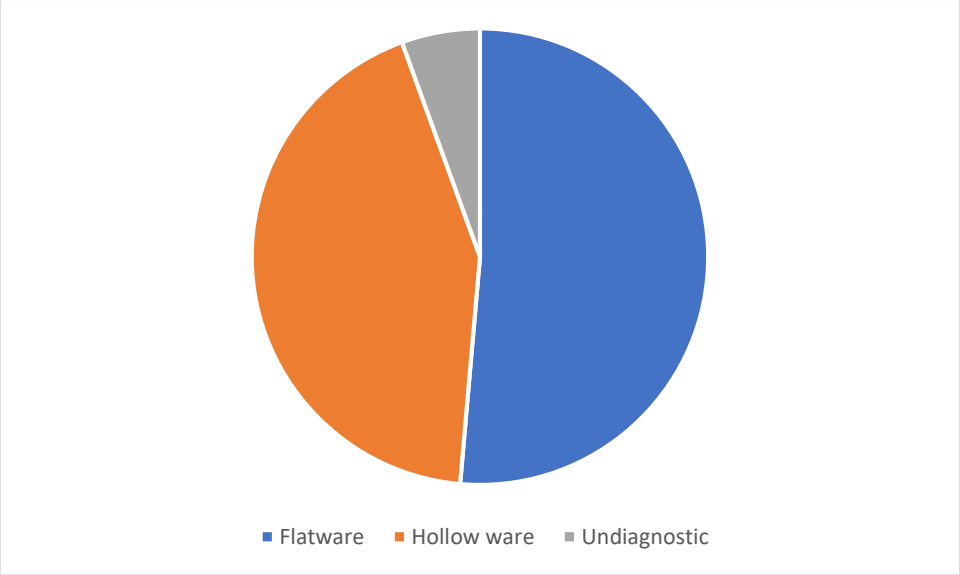

Figure 7.10: Proportion of flatware, hollow ware and undiagnostic vessels in the Rondefontein assemblage

7.7.1.3 Glass

Glass in RD IXG only appears from layer 2A Be to layer 1A BG, indicating that glass was discarded in this section of the midden from 1875 to the early 20th century. The highest frequency of glass sherds appeared in 1A BG. The lowest frequency of glass sherds appeared in 2A Be. Glass in RD XID appears in layer 4A YB through to layer 1A DG, indicating that glass was discarded in this part of the midden from the 1860s or earlier to the 1880s.

Glass vessels were first discarded at Rondefontein 1 in the 1860s, coinciding with the construction and beginning of occupation of the house associated with this midden (Elize Vogel pers. comm.). The small increase in frequency from the 1870s to the 1880s coincides with a period of economic prosperity in the region as a whole and it is probably that the inhabitants of Rondefontein also did well financially during this period (Dubow 1982: 14). The highest amount of glass artefacts appears from the 1890s to the early 20th century, indicating possibly that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were not too badly affected by the outbreak of disease, drought and the Second Boer War that took place during the 1890s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77, 78).

7.7.1.4 Beads

The only bead found on Rondefontein 1 was found in the surface layer of RD IXG. This bead is a small, delicate white glass bead and dates from the early 20th century.

7.7.1.5 Building Material

Building material appears in RD IXG from layer 2B Be to the surface, indicating that building material was discarded in this section of the midden from the 1870s to the early 20th century. Most of the building material in this square, including a notably large amount of cement, was found in layers 1A and 1B GB. In RD XID building material appears from layer 4A YB to the surface, indicating that building material was discarded in this section of the midden from the 1860s or earlier to the 1880s.

The first deposition of bricks and cement in Rondefontein 1 during the 1860s coincides with the construction of the house associated with this midden (Elize Vogel pers. comm.). There was an increase in frequency of building material from 1875 to the 1880s. This correlates with a period of increased affluence in the Sneeuberg as a whole and could imply that the inhabitants of Rondefontein became wealthier during this period and thus could afford to purchase more bricks and cement, possibly for alterations to the house (Dubow 1982: 14). A very large amount of cement was discarded on Rondefontein 1 from the 1890s to the early 20th century, possibly indicating a period of intense maintenance or construction involving cement. This reinforces the implications of the trends in other artefact categories that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were not negatively affected by the events of the 1890s as they could afford to undertake major construction or maintenance projects (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77).

7.7.1.6 Pipe Fragments

The remains of smoking pipes in RD IXG appeared from layer 3A GB to layer 2A GB, indicating that smoking pipe remains were discarded in this section of the midden from the 1860s to the early 20th century. The highest frequency of pipe remains appeared in layers 2A GB and 2A Be and the lowest frequency appeared in layer 3A GB. Smoking pipe remains in RD XID were only found in layer 4B RYD. This indicates only that pipe remains were discarded in this section of the midden from the 1860s to the 1870s.

The first appearance of smoking pipes in Rondefontein 1 in the 1860s coincides with the period of construction and first occupation of the house associated with this midden (Elize Vogel pers. comm.). The increase in smoking pipe frequency from 1875 to the early 20th century correlates with trends in the other artefact categories and further reinforce the indications that the inhabitants of Rondefontein probably became wealthier from the 1870s onwards and were not financially affected by the events of the 1890s (Dubow 1982: 14; de V. Minnaar 1987: 77).

7.7.1.7 Ostrich Eggshell Fragments

Ostrich eggshell fragments (OES) appear in RD IXG from layer 2B Be to the surface, indicating that the remains of ostrich eggs were discarded on this part of the midden from 1875 to the early 20th century. The highest frequency of OES fragments was found in 1B GB and the lowest was in 2B Be. OES fragments appear in RD XID from the layer 4A YB to the surface, indicating that the remains of ostrich eggs were discarded on this section of the midden from the 1860s or earlier to the 1880s.

The trends in the deposition of OES fragments in Rondefontein 1 echo the trends in the other artefact categories. They were first deposited in the 1860s, coinciding with the first occupation of the house and increased from 1875 to the 20th century. However, very little is known about the ostrich egg consumption habits of the Sneeuberg inhabitants so these trends cannot be used to infer anything about the lifestyle of the inhabitants of Rondefontein apart from the fact that they consumed ostrich eggs from the 1860s onwards and consumed more of them from 1875 to the 20th century.

7.7.1.8 Faunal Remains

The most commonly occurring animal species found in the faunal remains in RD IXG is domestic sheep. Only one individual of all the other species was found, including cows, size class 1 bovids, size class 3 bovids and rodents. Sheep remains appeared most frequently in layers 2A GB and 2A Be. Cow, porcupine and other rodent remains were found in 2A and 2B Be. Small and large game remains only appeared in 1A BG.

In RD XID, faunal remains appeared from layers 4A YB to 1A DG, indicating that animal bones were only discarded on this section of the midden from the 1860s or earlier up to the 1880s. The most common species present in this square were size class 1 bovids, domestic sheep and size class 3 bovids. The least common were domestic cow and rodents.

Domestic sheep appeared consistently throughout RD XID. The highest frequency of sheep remains appeared in 1B DB. The lowest frequency of sheep remains occurred in 3A LYB and 1A DG. Cow remains were only present in the following layers: 1B DB, 3A LYB, 3B DYB and 4A YB. Size class 1 bovids (small game) were also present from 4A YB to 1A GB, except for an absence in 3A LYB. The same is true for size class 3 bovids.

The faunal remains from Rondefontein 1 indicate a diet heavy in mutton, lamb and small game which is typical of the diet for stock farmers in this area (Smith 1976: 3). Beef was consumed

irregularly, mostly from the 1860s to the 1880s. The highest amount of both small and large game was consumed after the 20th century. This is interesting as the area was largely devoid of free-roaming game herds by this point and it is possible that the inhabitants of Rondefontein either purchased this meat or owned their own herds (Sampson & Neville 2018: 180).

7.7.2 Rondefontein 2

All of the artefacts from Rondefontein 2 are discussed in terms of stratigraphic layers rather than separate squares as the same layers were found to be continuous across all the squares excavated on this midden.

7.7.2.1 Metal

Metal artefacts appear in Rondefontein 2 from layer 2B RB to the surface, indicating that metal was discarded here from the 1860s to the 1890s. The fewest metal artefacts were found in layers 2B RB and 2A RB. 1B LYB contained more metal artefacts, including manufactured objects such as clothes fasteners and nails. 1A LYB contained the highest frequency of metal artefacts including many manufactured goods such as clothing studs and fasteners, pins, a door hinge and a watch face. The first sections of wire also appeared in this layer.

The first deposition of metal artefacts in Rondefontein 2 does not correlate with the occupation of the house thought to be associated with this midden but could be related to the use of that building as a barn or to the occupation of the house associated with Rondefontein 1. The increase in the frequency of metal artefacts, especially manufactured ones, from the 1870s to the 1890s could indicate an increase of wealth during this period. The Sneeuberg area as a whole experienced economic success during this time and it is probable that the inhabitants of Rondefontein benefited from this as well (Dubow 1982: 14). The appearance of wire in 1875 also coincides with the first fencing of the farm, which would also have had a beneficial effect on the finances of those living at Rondefontein (Neville 1996: 249; Beinart 2008: 220).

7.7.2.2 Ceramics

The highest number of ceramic sherds were found in 1A and 1B LYB. The ceramics are mostly refined earthenware and Asian and European porcelain as well as some pieces of stoneware. There were fewer ceramic sherds in layer 2A RB and none below this layer. Layer 2A RB also contained European porcelain.

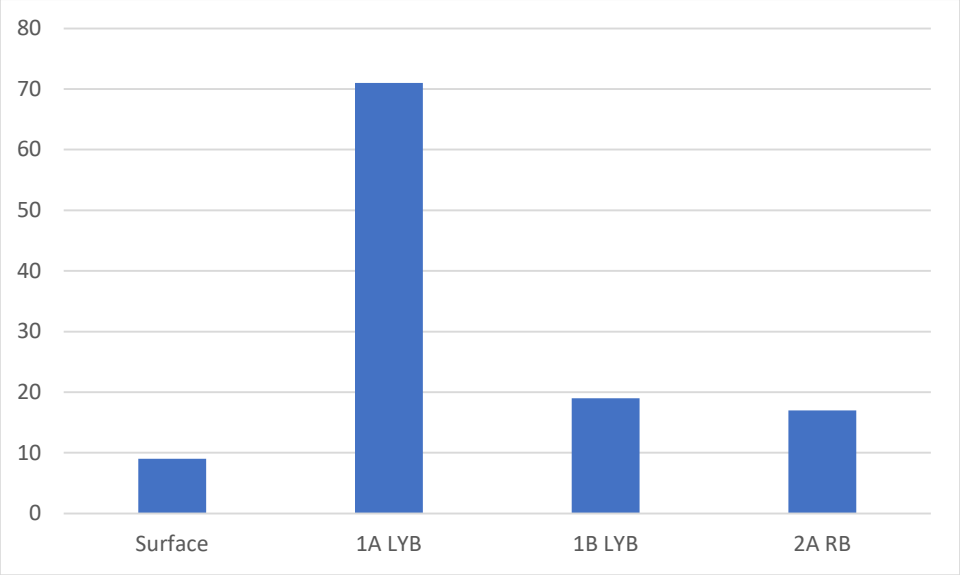

Figure 7.11: Frequency of ceramic sherds at RD2 over time

This indicates a lower rate of ceramic consumption from the 1860s to the 1870s and an increase in ceramic consumption between 1875 and the 1890s. European porcelain was present throughout, although in fewer numbers before 1875. These trends complement the ceramic data from Rondefontein 1, where the same pattern was observed. The presence of European porcelain in the 1860s implies that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were already wealthy by this point (probably due to the wool boom in the 1850s) and the increase in consumption of ceramics, especially of both European and Asian porcelain after 1875, implies that they became more affluent after this period (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12; Klose 2007: 39). This increase in wealth was probably due to the fencing of the farm in the 1870s which would have increased the wool output as well as saved money on labour, and the general increase in economic prosperity of the wider area during this period (Dubow 1982: 14; Neville 1996: 249; Beinart 2008: 220).

The total number of ceramic vessels represented in RD2 is 42. Many more hollow vessels were found at this site in comparison to RD1 and Groenvlei. This could imply differential discard practices compared to the other sites. The most popular decorations for vessels from RD2 are lined vessels and blue transfer printed decorations of various patterns including willow ware.

As at Groenvlei and RD1, the possible preference for flatware over hollow ware could indicate a partial adoption of British foodways and consumer trends (Malan 1993: 175; Zachariou 2017: 284). Also common to all three middens is an absence of teacups and matching tea sets, indicating a rejection of British tea culture (Zachariou 2017: 206). This strengthens the

argument that on these two farms, and possibly in the larger area, there was a specific consumer identity that adopted only some parts of the British consumer culture that has previously assumed to be hegemonic (Malan 2003: 175; Zachariou 2017). It also strengthens the argument that we can see in these middens a display of consumer agency, specifically female agency.

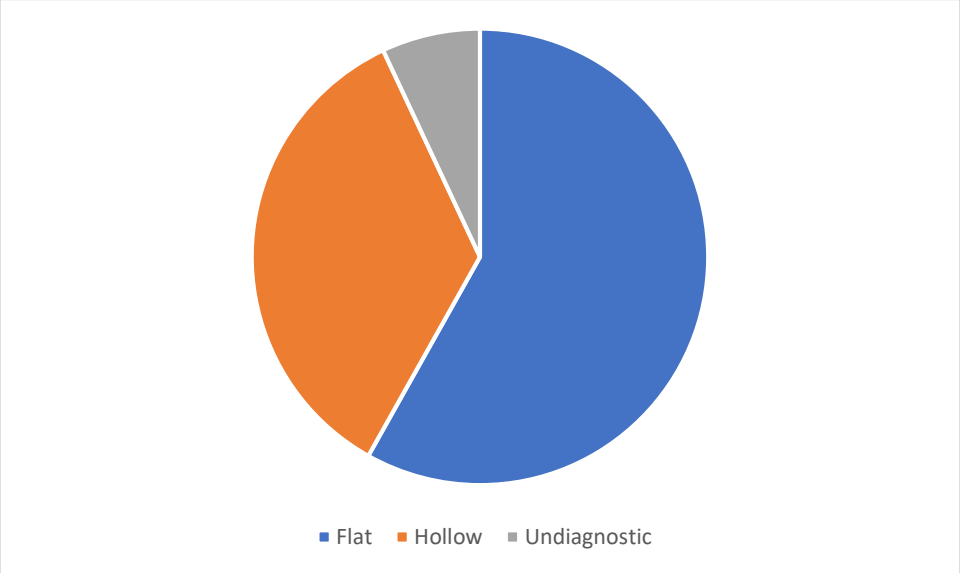

Figure 7.12: Proportion of flatware, hollowware and undiagnostic vessels in the assemblage of Rondefontein 2

7.7.2.3 Glass

Glass sherds were found in Rondefontein 2 from 2A RB to 1A LYB, indicating that glass was discarded in this midden from the 1860s to the 1890s. The stratigraphic layer RB contained the least glass sherds and LYB contained the most.

Glass was first discarded at Rondefontein 2 in the 1860s, which correlates with the trends in other artefact categories from this midden but also from Rondefontein 1 and coincides with the construction of the house associated with that midden. The increase in glass sherds from 1875 also correlated with the trends from other artefacts in this midden and in RD1 and further reinforces the possibility of an increase in wealth during this period as glass vessels were fragile and difficult to transport and therefore would not have been cheap to purchase (de V. Minnaar 1987: 49).

7.7.2.4 Beads

The only bead from Rondefontein 2 was found in the LYB stratigraphic layer in square RD2 7C. The bead is a small, delicate glass bead which is dark green with a lustrous coating. This

bead dates from somewhere between 1875 and the 1890s.

7.7.2.5 Building Material

Across all the squares in Rondefontein 2, more building material was found in the LYB stratigraphic layer than in the RB stratigraphic layer. This could indicate a more intense period of construction or maintenance somewhere between 1875 and the 1890s.

This increase in building from 1875 to the 1890s could indicate an increase in wealth on the farm as the inhabitants could afford to purchase manufactured bricks and cement. This correlates with the data from other artefact categories in this midden and from Rondefontein 1 and was probably due to the general increase in financial wealth in the Sneeuberg area that took place during this period (Dubow 1982: 14).

7.7.2.6 Ostrich Eggshell Fragments

Across most of the squares in Rondefontein 2, OES fragments were only found in the LYB stratigraphic layer. The only exception to this is in RD2 7C, which contains four OES fragments in the RB stratigraphic layer. This indicates that ostrich eggs were consumed, and the shell remains were discarded here from the 1860s to the 1890s and that many more ostrich eggs were consumed and discarded from 1875 to the 1890s. As very little is known about the ostrich egg consumption practices of the settlers in the Sneeuberg, no inferences can be made from these trends apart from dietary habits.

7.7.2.7 Faunal Remains

Domestic sheep and small game were the most common faunal remains found in Rondefontein 2. They were found in all layers of the sequence and increase in frequency in layer LYB. The remains of only one domestic cow were found, in layer RB. The remains of small birds were also found in layer LYB.

The faunal remains indicate a diet heavy in mutton, lamb and small game. This was typical of a stock farmer's diet in the area and matches the data from both Rondefontein 1 and Groenvlei (Smith 1976: 3). The cow remains found in RB indicates that beef was consumed very infrequently and only in the 1860s. This is only true of this midden and not of Rondefontein as a whole as cow bones were found during other time periods on Rondefontein 1.

7.7.2.8 Seeds

There were only two seeds found in Rondefontein 2. Both were found in the LYB stratigraphic

layer in square RD2 5D. The seeds were identified as belonging to the species *Silene gallica* and *Amaranthus sp.* This sample size is far too small to draw any kind of inferences, but it is interesting that these species were found on both farms and it possibly indicates that *S. gallica* was also used on this farm as a fodder plant and that *Amaranthus sp.* was consumed as a good source.

7.7.2.9 Broader Trends

As mentioned in the dating section of this discussion, Rondefontein 2 is not associated with the occupation of the older house on the farm as was first thought. The beginning of this midden does coincide with the period of construction and first occupation of the house associated with Rondefontein 1 and it is possible that this midden is associated with the newer house or with the older house when it was being used as a barn.

The clearest trends on Rondefontein are related to wealth. The presence of expensive items and manufactured goods from the 1860s onwards in both middens indicates that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were probably already quite wealthy at this point, probably due to the wool boom of the 1850s (Dubow 1982: 130). It also indicates that the finances of the inhabitants of Rondefontein were not negatively affected by the economic depression of the 1860s, especially as they could afford to build a new house during this period (de V. Minnaar 1987: 17). This could be due to several reasons: they could have been so wealthy due to the wool boom that the depression did not make much of a difference and they could have practiced good land management or had enough water somehow to make it through the drought that took place during this period (de V. Minnaar 1987: 17).

On both middens there was also an increase in the frequency of artefacts, especially manufactured, imported and expensive items, from the 1870s to the 1890s. This increase took place after the fencing of the farm which would have increased wool output and quality and during a period of economic success for the wider area in general and could indicate a further increase in wealth on the farm (Dubow 1982: 14; Neville 1996: 249; Beinart 2008: 220). The sequence in Rondefontein 2 stops in the 1890s but on Rondefontein 1 there was a further increase in the frequency of expensive, manufactured and imported goods and artefacts in general after the 1890s. This could indicate that the finances of the inhabitants of Rondefontein were not greatly affected by the outbreak of rinderpest, drought and the Second Boer War that took place at the end of the 1890s and the early 20th century (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77). It could be that they were wealthy enough to deal with these problems and that the farm was isolated

enough that they were not greatly affected by rinderpest or the soldiers moving through the countryside in search of supplies.

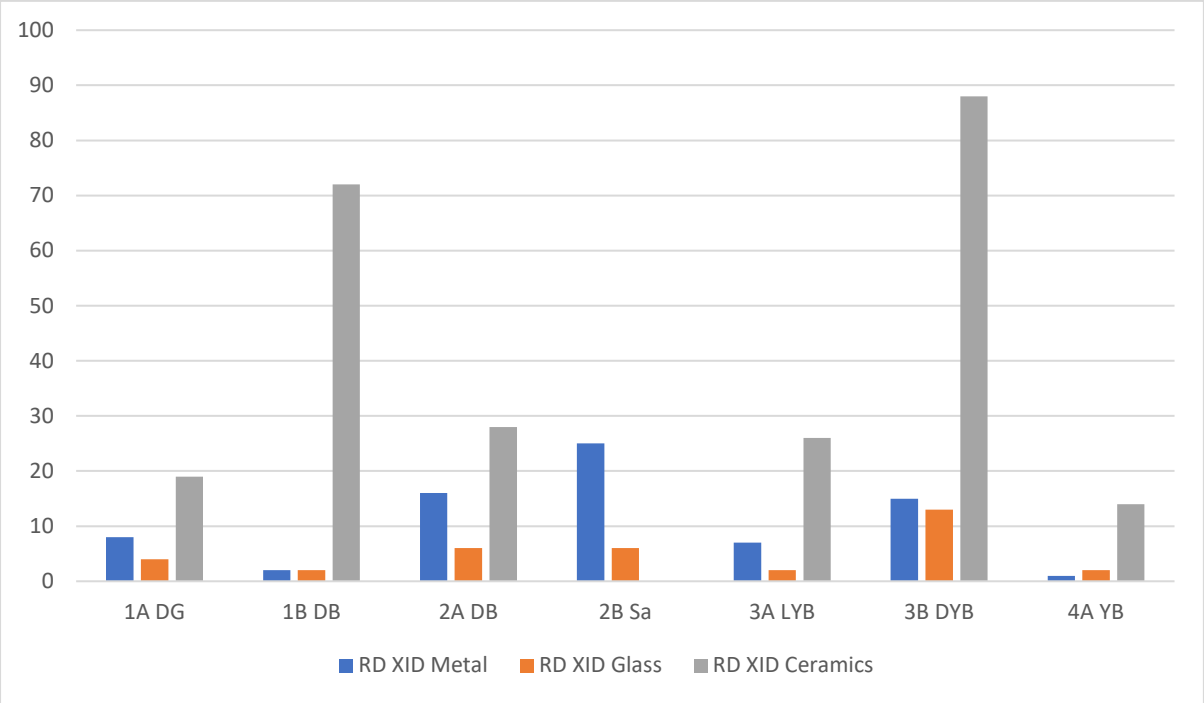

Figure 7.13: Frequencies of metal, glass and ceramics at Rondefontein over time

7.8 Similarities and Differences

7.8.1 Similarities between Rondefontein and Groenvlei

One of the most striking similarities between the archaeological assemblages at Rondefontein and Groenvlei is the similarity between the diets of their inhabitants. On both farms, the diets were heavily meat-based and dominated by mutton, lamb and small game which is characteristic of the *trekboer* diet (Smith 1976: 3). These animals would have been most accessible to the inhabitants of the farms as most of the farming in the area was based on Merino sheep and small game roamed across the countryside freely before the introduction of fencing in the late 19th century (de V. Minnaar 1987: 4; Neville 1996: 249; Sampson & Neville 2018: 130). Beef, large game and smaller animals like rodents and birds were consumed infrequently on both farms, which was also typical for *trekboers* (Smith 1976: 3). On both farms, the only non-meat food source that was found was *Amaranthus* sp., although at much greater frequencies on Groenvlei than on Rondefontein. Various species of *Amaranthus* were and still are eaten as a vegetable although they are rarely cultivated and mostly grow wild (Bvenura 2014). Generally, they are eaten as a stew accompanying a starchy staple like *pap* (Bvenura

2014), although on Groenvlei and Rondefontein no evidence of starchy foods was found. It is possible that other food crops were not grown there and that *Amaranthus* was their main plant food source, especially on Groenvlei; although the absence of other plant food evidence could also be explained by preservation issues or differential discard practices.

There was another commonality in the evidence of plant consumption on Rondefontein and Groenvlei. Although there was very little evidence of plant consumption in general on Rondefontein, the two plant species that were identified on this farm (*Silene gallica* and *Amaranthus* sp.) appear in the archaeological assemblages of both farms. The presence of *S. gallica* on both farms could indicate that the inhabitants of both farms were using the same fodder plants although clearly at a much lower frequency on Rondefontein than on Groenvlei.

On both farms there is a trend in the consumption of ceramic vessels. Both show a distinct preference for flatware over hollow ware. According to Zachariou (2017: 284), this indicates a desire to assimilate into British culture by adopting British material consumption preferences. This could have been due to increased contact with English people as a result of Merino breeding and the subsequent participation in the Merino market, which was overwhelmingly a British one (Zachariou 2017: 300). However, on both farms there is also a rejection of British consumer fashion, in the form of the distinct absence of teaware and matching tea sets. This shows the agency of the inhabitants of the farms in choosing which parts of the dominant cultural narrative they will adopt and which they will reject. As women were mainly the consumers out on frontier farms, especially for household goods like ceramics, this could also be an indicator of female agency specifically (Zachariou 2017: 263).

An intriguing similarity between the archaeological sequences on Rondefontein and Groenvlei is that on both farms there was a significant increase in artefacts from all categories between the 1870s and the 1890s, especially manufactured and imported items. On both farms this probably indicates an increase in wealth rather than an increase in the availability of goods as the inhabitants of both farms already had access to imported commodities before this period and the biggest increase in the access to imported goods took place in the 1820s, well before this period (de V. Minnaar 1987: 57). The whole Graaff-Reinet district experienced a period of economic recovery in 1871 from the depression of the 1860s and reached its commercial and economic peak in the 1880s (Dubow 1982: 20; de V. Minnaar 1987: 64). It is likely that the inhabitants of Groenvlei and Rondefontein benefited from this economic upturn and their increased affluence is reflected in the archaeological record on both farms.

7.8.2 Differences between Rondefontein and Groenvlei

Although there were some similarities between the evidence of plant consumption on Rondefontein and Groenvlei, there were also several differences. The most obvious is the difference between the amounts of seeds found on either farm. Only two seeds were found on Rondefontein in total whereas on Groenvlei more than 400 seeds were found. Several of the species found on Groenvlei were not found on Rondefontein, namely *Atriplex semibaccata*, *Silene undulata* and *Massonia depressa.* This does not necessarily mean that these plants did not occur or were not used on Rondefontein, it could be that they were not discarded in the parts of the middens that I excavated or that they were not preserved if they were present.

The most striking difference between the archaeological assemblages of the two farms is the difference in overall frequency of artefacts. For most of the artefact categories, the frequency on Rondefontein was much higher than on Groenvlei. This is not due to volume differences as the volume of soil excavated on Groenvlei (801 litres in total) was much more than the volume excavated from both middens on Rondefontein combined (688 litres in total). Ceramics especially appeared in much larger numbers on Rondefontein, especially refined earthenware and porcelain. There were more ostrich eggshell fragments, metal artefacts and glass sherds on Rondefontein than on Groenvlei. Pipe fragments were also found on Rondefontein and not on Groenvlei. This could indicate more wealth on Rondefontein than on Groenvlei or a larger household. As discussed in the section on trends on Rondefontein, most of the data trends from the artefact categories indicate that the inhabitants of Rondefontein were quite wealthy as they were able to purchase expensive manufactured goods in large quantities even during a period of economic depression and they could afford to build a new house during this period (Dubow 1982: 19).

The data also indicates that the inhabitants of Rondefontein grew even more wealthy during this period and stayed wealthy even during the 1890s despite the effects of a drought, a disease outbreak and the Second Boer War, which were generally devastating to the Graaff-Reinet district as a whole (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77). Groenvlei on the other hand, seems to have experienced a period of hardship during this decade indicated by the decrease in both quality and quantity of artefacts during and after this period. It is possible that Groenvlei was more vulnerable than Rondefontein to disease outbreak and raiding by soldiers due to its very exposed position on what used to be the main road from Graaff-Reinet to the north (de V. Minnaar 1987: 12). It is also possible that the inhabitants of Groenvlei were less financially

secure before the 1890s than the inhabitants of Rondefontein and thus were less well equipped to deal with the events of that period.

There were also more domestic artefacts found on Rondefontein that represented parts of the household that are sometimes archaeologically invisible, such as women and especially children. No artefacts were found on Groenvlei that were specifically related to children or to activities that are traditionally associated with women. On Rondefontein however, there were several pieces of jewellery and pieces of sewing equipment as well as children's toys such as a marble, a porcelain doll and a thimble that was clearly meant for a child. This indicates that there were different discard patterns of household objects at Groenvlei than at Rondefontein.

I move on from these farm specific trends in the archaeological record on to the larger and more general issues mentioned in Chapter 3, questions about the household, about interaction and colonialism and about consumption, and I discuss these in the following section with reference to the data taken from the excavations and other research.

7.9 The Bigger Picture

The "bigger picture" is an ambiguous term, one that could be used to describe many different aspects of research. Here, this term is used to refer to the bigger issues surrounding this project, ones that are not limited to the boundaries of the two farms in question. Two of the issues that are discussed in this chapter, the household and interaction, were developed in the literature review and have formed the backbone of the approach taken to this investigation. The third issue, consumption, arose during the course of the research and became a much larger part of the project as it progressed. These three larger issues are discussed with specific reference to data from this project. Discussion of these issues is then followed by a comparison to data from other historical sites, as one of the reasons for conducting this research was to produce data that could be used to build up a knowledge database about rural frontier homesteads.

7.9.1 The Household, Consumption, Interaction and Colonialism

A fair amount of information could be gathered about consumption practices from the archaeological data, especially when combined with information from the historical record. The analysis of data from middens is therefore useful for investigating households as the understanding of these practices is one of the main goals of household and historical archaeology (Allison 1998, Allison 1999, Voss 2000). The data from the middens provides information about consumption practices that is not available from looking at architectural

structures or household floor deposits. Although some discard probably took place within the house, it is unlikely that it was to the same extent as the deliberate discard in the midden itself.

As mentioned in the section in Chapter 3 on household archaeology, this approach to historical archaeology can sometimes provide information on members of the household that are usually archaeologically invisible, i.e. anyone other than white, adult men (Tringham 2012: 86). From the data collected at Rondefontein in particular, the results of this study support this supposition. Several household artefacts, specifically household artefacts usually associated with women (such as sewing equipment and jewellery), were found on both middens at Rondefontein. As mentioned above, women were generally the ones who acquired household goods and therefore the analysis of the household consumption patterns are partially an analysis of female consumption patterns (Zachariou 2017: 263). Artefacts specifically associated with children such as a toy marble, a tiny thimble and a porcelain doll were also found at Rondefontein 1. These artefacts represent intimate glimpses into the lives of women and children, people who were vastly under-represented in the historical record (Tringham 2012: 86).

This evidence of the presence of women and children is encouraging for the usefulness of household archaeology in investigating historically invisible members of the population. However, there were people who would have been part of the households on both farms who were not specifically represented in the archaeological assemblage. No artefacts were found on either farm that could specifically be linked to members of the household who were servants or slaves, most likely of Khoe-San origin. We know from the historical record that it is highly likely that farmers living in this area would have employed servants and that many farmers in the area also owned slaves (Neville 1996: 205, Penn 2005: 141). From excavations done by Sampson (1993) in the Seacow River Valley, the artefacts that we might expect to see which could be definitively tied to servants or slaves could include arrow heads, stone tools, ostrich eggshell beads and local pottery. None of these were found on either farm. Neither was there a presence of any evidence of medicinal plants or food plants used by indigenous people of the area.

The absence of artefacts that are specifically indigenous does not imply an absence of indigenous people on these farms. Nor does it imply that they were not using the European manufactured artefacts that were found. The absence of indigenous artefacts could imply several different scenarios. It could be that the cultural hegemony of the white settlers was so

overpowering that indigenous artefacts were replaced on farms. This correlates to a certain extent with the data from excavations undertaken by Sampson (1996) in historical layers of Khoe-San rock shelters and open-air sites, where glass beads, tobacco pipes and other European artefacts increased massively after contact with Europeans. In the Khoe-San sites, the European artefacts do not replace the indigenous artefacts completely, and it could be that on settler farms the cultural pressure to assimilate was much stronger. This is not the only scenario that could explain the lack of indigenous artefacts, however. It could simply be the case that the slaves and servants discarded their non-European goods in parts of the middens that I did not excavate or that they did not discard them on these middens at all. This could tie into structuration theory, as the expected social structure from the historical records is not present in the archaeological assemblage and is possibly a product of individual agents acting outside societal norms and altering the structure at these two farms (Giddens 1984: 26).

Associating the slaves and servants with specific artefacts is problematic. It can lead to stereotyping people and power relations as well as to falling into the trap of cultural assimilation (Orser 2014: 64, Jordan 2009). However, I do not propose that the lack of indigenous artefacts implies that only white settlers were present here or that indigenous people could not have used these artefacts. The lack of indigenous artefacts simply implies that the indigenous culture seems to have had no influence on settler consumption or discard patterns, if not generally then certainly on these farms specifically. One could excavate on middens known to be used by workers who lived separately but this would only indicate settler cultural influence on indigenous people whereas I was investigating indigenous influence on settler culture.

Although interaction and colonialism could not be demonstrated in this study, it is clear that household archaeology was an appropriate approach and that data from middens can be used to conduct household research. Approaching the household through the analysis of a midden archaeological assemblage is possibly one of the best ways to understand the consumption practices of the household. Except for household purchasing records or probate records, the midden of a house contains the most information about consumption practices as almost everything that was consumed had to be discarded. This data can be used for comparison to other sites in order to build up a database of knowledge about rural consumption patterns in the South African interior from the 18th to the 20th century. In the following section I compare my results to the results from similar sites.

7.9.2 Comparison to Other Historical Sites

At both Groenvlei and Rondefontein, European refined industrial ware was by far the most common ware type in the ceramic assemblages (82% MNV and 80% MNV respectively). The same is true of the ceramic assemblages at both sites at Kerkplaats and at Warmhoek. (Viljoen 2011; Zachariou 2017) (See section 3.5). European porcelain occurs at similar proportions at Groenvlei, Rondefontein and KP Werf 2, however, none was recovered at Warmhoek and very little from KP Werf 1. Asian porcelain was found in similar proportions at Groenvlei and KP Werf 1; fewer from Werf 2 and very little was recovered from Rondefontein and Warmhoek. The proportion of European stoneware at KP Werf 1 and 2 is much higher than that found at Groenvlei (where there is none) and Rondefontein (where there is relatively little). The proportion of European stoneware found at Warmhoek is almost identical to that found at Rondefontein. Apart from a few small differences, the sites are generally very similar in their ceramic ware signature.

Transfer printing is the most popular decoration category at every site except for KP Werf 1, where it is the second most common decoration. The most common decoration at KP Werf 1 is slipware which is only present in small amounts at the other sites. The proportions of sponged ware are fairly similar at all the sites except at Groenvlei, where it is not present at all. Lined vessels did not appear at KP Werf 1 but are present in relatively large quantities at KP Werf 2 and Groenvlei. At Rondefontein the proportions of lined vessels are lower than at KP Werf 2 and Groenvlei and but are very similar to the proportion of lined vessels at Warmhoek. Hand painted vessels appear in relatively large amounts at KP Werf 1. There are far fewer hand painted vessels at Groenvlei and Rondefontein, which have very similar amounts of hand painted vessels to one another. There are even fewer hand painted vessels at KP Werf 2. Again, the assemblages are all fairly similar to one another in terms of decoration preferences, except for KP Werf 1 where there is a marked preference for slipware which does not appear at the other sites.

Overall, the assemblages at all the sites (except KP Werf 1, which is older) exhibit a lot of the qualities of typical late 19th century ceramic assemblages found in Cape sites (Klose 2007). The features that are most like more urban late 19th century sites are the predominance of European refined industrial earthenware and transfer printing. This due to increased availability during this time period, the relative cheapness of refined earthenware and transfer printing, as well as attempts to imitate fashionable British society (Klose 2007; Zachariou 2017). There

are, however, minor differences in preferences for other ware types at each site which could indicate individual household agency in consumer choices. It could also be due to availability issues, as each site is fairly isolated from large commercial centres and would have relied mostly on itinerant peddlers. The differences between the later 19th century sites and KP Werf 1 can be explained by the fact that KP Werf 1 is older than most of the other sites. Although part of Groenvlei's sequence is contemporaneous with KP Werf 1, the differences between these two sites can be explained by the earlier adoption of merino farming near Graaff Reinet which exposed these inhabitants to English culture (Zachariou 2017: 293). The inhabitants of KP Werf 1 were probably enmeshed in Dutch Trekboer culture far longer than the inhabitants of Groenvlei were.

At every site except for KP Werf 1, there are more flatware vessels than hollow ware vessels. At Groenvlei and Rondefontein there are far more flatware vessels, almost twice the amount of hollow ware vessels. At KP Werf 2 and Warmhoek the difference between the two categories are smaller but there are still more flatware vessels. At KP Werf 1 the amount of hollow ware vessels is substantially larger than the amount of flatware.

According to Zachariou (2017: 282), the predominance of hollow ware at KP Werf 1 is indicative of a continuance of Dutch foodways. He also states that the change in proportions of hollow ware and flatware, as well as the introduction of tea sets and a change in decoration preference at the later site, KP Werf 2, are indicative of attempts to imitate British consumer culture (Malan 1993: 175; Zachariou 2017: 284, 291, 295). The similarities in the ceramic assemblages between KP Werf 2 and Warmhoek, Groenvlei and Rondefontein indicate that the inhabitants of these farms were also heavily influenced by British consumer trends. The change in ceramic preference seems to start earlier at Groenvlei than at Kerkplaats and this is probably due to an early adoption of merino farming in the Eastern Cape as well as the early influx of English and Irish settlers into that area, resulting in a more extensive exposure to English markets and culture (Zachariou 2017: 293).

There is, however, one major difference between the Groenvlei and Rondefontein and the two other sites which seem to have made attempts to adopt British culture. At both KP Werf 2 and Warmhoek, many examples of matching tea sets and teaware in general were found. A few saucers were found at Groenvlei and Rondefontein, but no teacups were found, and no matching sets were found either. British tea culture was quite dominant during the 19th century and the fact that tea sets were found at sites that were exposed to British culture later than

Groenvlei and Rondefontein indicates that the absence of teaware at these sights is not due to a lack of availability. It is more probable that this was deliberate consumer choice and that the inhabitants of these farms chose not to enmesh themselves in British tea culture as many other households did during that period.

It is possible that this could be part of a larger trend in the Sneeuberg area, but this requires more ceramic analysis and more comparisons to ceramic assemblages from this area. It is also possible that the similarities between KP Werf 2, Warmhoek and Groenvlei and Rondefontein could indicate the existence of a rural, frontier ceramic assemblage but again this would require more wider comparisons and more research.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

This research set out to investigate the consumption practices of the settlers who were at Groenvlei and Rondefontein through analysis of the archaeological assemblages of each farm. A secondary goal of this research was to investigate interactions between the settlers and indigenous people in the area and whether the material culture of the indigenous people had any influence of the material culture of the setters.

To achieve these research goals, excavation was undertaken on both farms as well as analysis of the recovered artefacts. These were used to identify broader trends on each farm as well as for comparison between the two. The conclusions of this research are presented in this chapter and recommendations for further research are suggested.

8.1 Conclusions

From the data on each separate farm, the following main conclusion was reached: There was evidence for an increase in wealth on both farms in the latter half of the 19th century. On Groenvlei, there was evidence of a period of increased wealth between the 1870s and the 1890s, indicated by an increase in the frequency and quality of artefacts during this time which was probably related to an increase in prosperity across the whole Graaff-Reinet district (Dubow 1982: 14). There was also evidence of a subsequent decrease in wealth at Groenvlei after the 1890s, as indicated by a drop in the frequency of artefacts recovered after this date. This was probably due to the effects of an economic downturn in the area from the 1890s onwards due to livestock disease, droughts and war (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77). The data trends on Rondefontein indicate that the inhabitants of this farm were possibly already wealthy in the 1860s, probably due to the huge increase in the price of wool during the 1850s, so much so that they were not greatly affected by a Colony-wide economic depression during the 1860s (de V. Minnaar 1987: 3). There is evidence of a similar increase in wealth at Groenvlei from the 1870s to the 1890s, probably for the same reason. However, there is also evidence that the events of the 1890s did not affect the finances of the inhabitants of Rondefontein as they did at Groenvlei. This could be due to the wealth of the inhabitants of Rondefontein as well as the relative isolation of the farm which could have protected the farm from disease as well as the worst ravages of the Second Boer War (de V. Minnaar 1987: 77).

Another major similarity between the assemblages on the farms is that the inhabitants of both Groenvlei and Rondefontein seemed to have very similar diets. Both relied heavily on meat,

specifically mutton, lamb and venison. This is in accordance with historical evidence that indicates that the land in the Sneeuberg area was not conducive to crop production and that people had to rely on the consumption of farm animals and hunting (Sampson & Neville 2018: 26). It also correlates with the characteristic *trekboer* diet which was common throughout the Sneeuberg area (Smith 1976: 3). Evidence of only one plant food source was found, which was *Amaranthus* sp., a leafy plant which is still consumed as a vegetable (Bvenura 2014). The seeds of *Amaranthus* were found in great abundance at Groenvlei, indicating that this was probably an important part of the diet on that farm. Only one seed of this plant was found at Rondefontein but it is possible that this was due to preservation issues or discard practices.

There were several differences between the consumption and discard patterns on Groenvlei and Rondefontein as well. There was far more evidence of plant consumption on Groenvlei, with more than 400 seeds found on that farm whereas only two seeds were found on Rondefontein. Most of the seeds found on Groenvlei were fodder plants concentrated in the parts of the midden that date from the 1870s to the early 20th Century, possibly indicating that the inhabitants of Groenvlei relied more heavily on purchasing or growing feed for their flocks rather than grazing them on grass during this time period.

There was also a significant difference between the number of artefacts discarded at Rondefontein and Groenvlei which could not be attributed to differences in excavated soil volume. There were far more artefacts of every type recovered from Rondefontein, further reinforcing the possibility that the inhabitants of this farm were wealthier than the inhabitants of Groenvlei, at least from the 1860s onwards. More domestic artefacts were also recovered from Rondefontein, most notably those that could be linked to women and children. This does not indicate that there were no women or children living at Groenvlei but only that these members of the household were invisible in the midden at Rondefontein.

The fact that usually archaeologically invisible members of the household and specific household practices could be identified through this research indicates that household archaeology as a framework of practice was appropriate for this project and that it is a useful method for historical archaeology in general. The fact that these inferences could be made from data taken from midden excavation also indicates that the investigation of middens is useful for the practice of household archaeology, rather than a reliance on household floor excavations or architectural analysis which is often practiced in this field (Brandon & Barile 2004).

Unfortunately, this method did not yield any information about interactions between settlers and the indigenous people they must have encountered. It also indicated that, at these farms at least, the material culture of the indigenous people of the area did not appear to have any influence on the material culture of the settlers. It could be that there is evidence of this in other areas of the middens that were not excavated. It could also indicate an altering of the expected structure (i.e. we know that there was contact between people in this area and that servants and slaves often occupied the same houses as settlers, so why isn't their material culture present in the middens of these structures?) by the agents on these specific farms, subverting the expected pattern of household occupation and discard in the area (Giddens 1984: 26). This could be explored further by future researchers and other suggestions for future research are presented in the next section.

8.2 Recommendations for Future Research

As previously stated, there is scope for further investigation into the consumption practices of people during the historical period, especially outside of major population centres such as Cape Town. This could be done through a detailed investigation of the few historical sources that are available on this subject, as well as through larger excavation projects. In the Sneeuberg specifically the middens of more farms could be investigated, ideally situated over a much wider area. Where possible, the investigation of historical middens in towns such as Graaff-Reinet, Richmond and Nieu Bethesda could also contribute valuable knowledge. A wider database of comparison for consumption practices in different areas during the historical period would also be useful for further research and understanding.

Other possible areas for investigation could be the excavation of farm middens specifically associated with the households of farm labourers. This could give more insight into interaction on farms and would also be useful for comparison to settler middens.

This project has only scratched the surface of a wealth of information that can be gleaned on the consumption practices of people farming in the Sneeuberg as well as the history of this area in general. Many questions remain to be answered and historical archaeology issues in particular beg further investigation.

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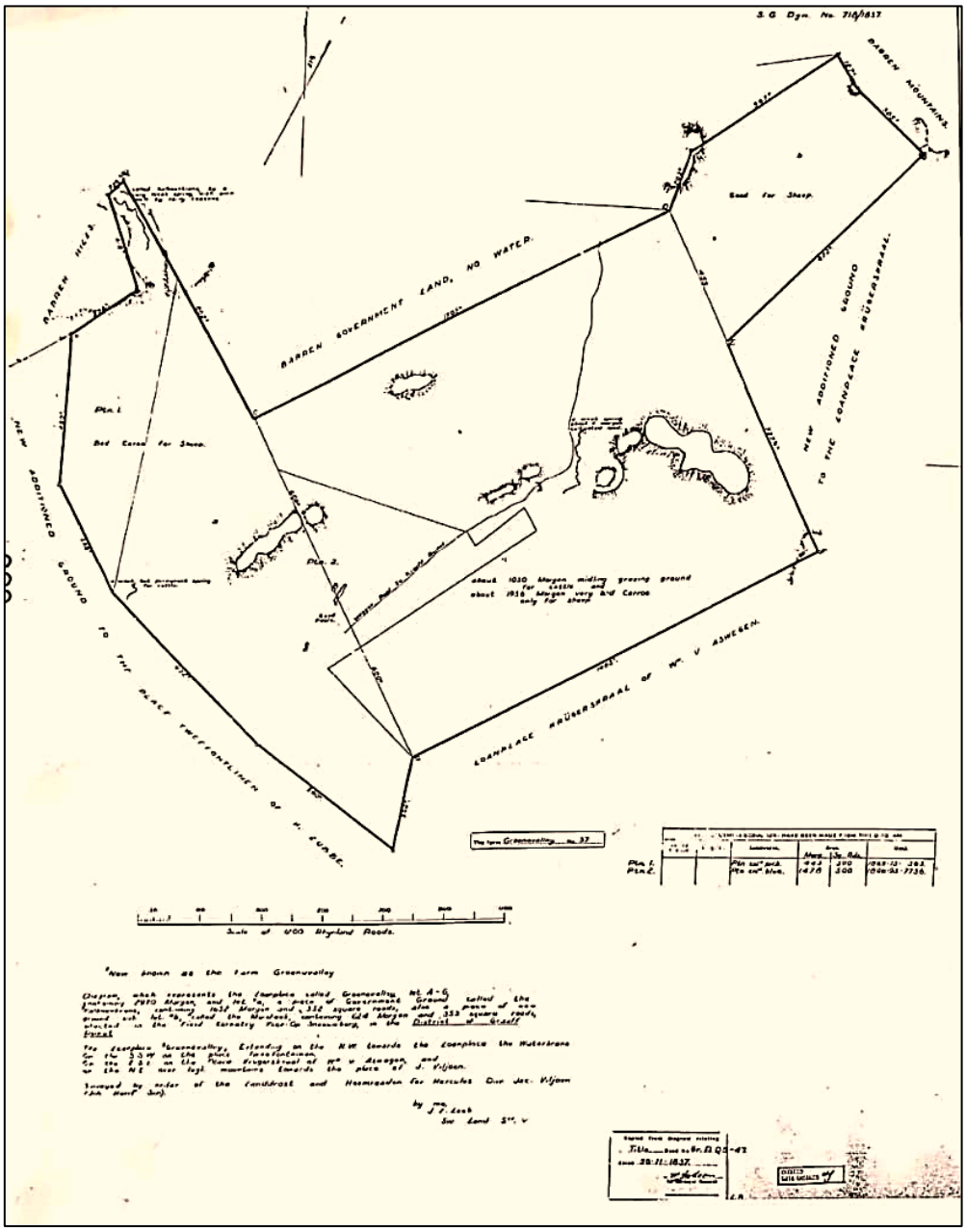
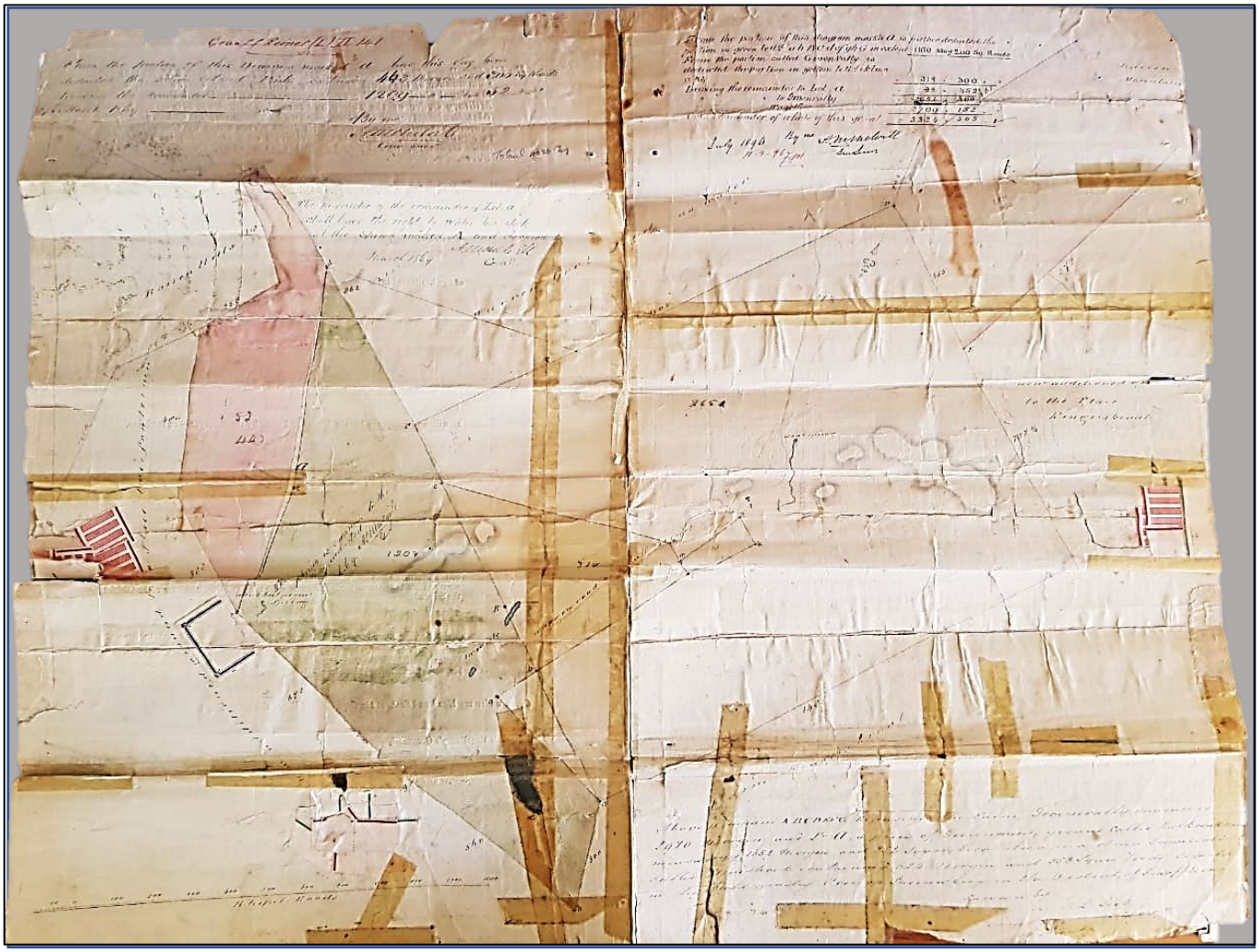
Appendix A. Documentary Evidence

A1. Records for Groenvlei

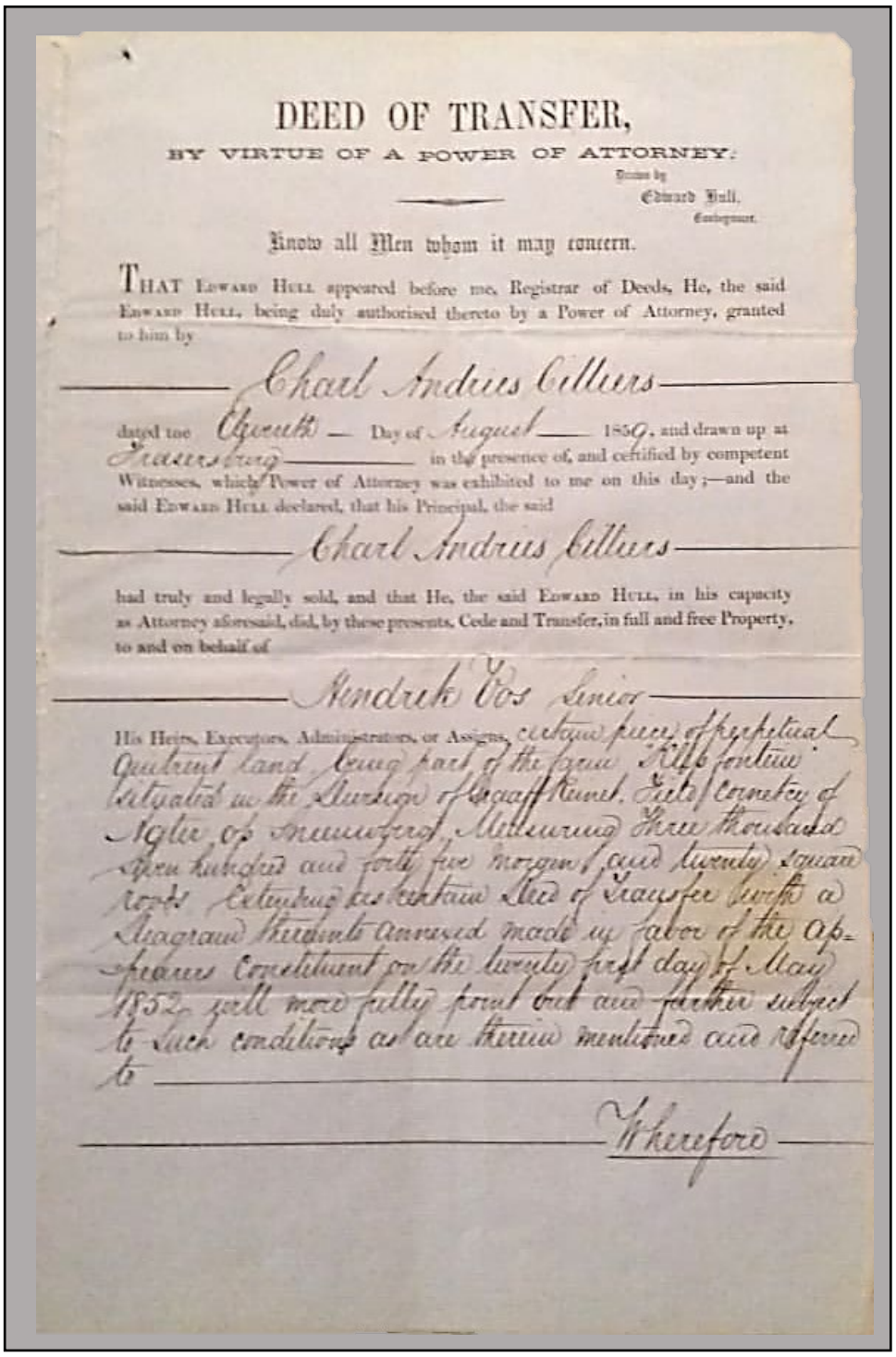


Survey diagram of Groenvlei from 1837



Original title deed for Groenvlei from 1830

A2. Records of Rondefontein



DEED OF TRANSFER,

BY VIRTUE OF A POWER OF ATTORNEY.

Drawn by
Edward Hull,
Conveyancer.

Know all Men whom it may concern.

THAT EDWARD HULL appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, He, the said EDWARD HULL, being duly authorised thereto by a Power of Attorney, granted to him by

Charl Andries Cilliers

dated the Eleventh Day of August 1859, and drawn up at Fraserburg in the presence of, and certified by competent Witnesses, which Power of Attorney was exhibited to me on this day;—and the said EDWARD HULL declared, that his Principal, the said

Charl Andries Cilliers

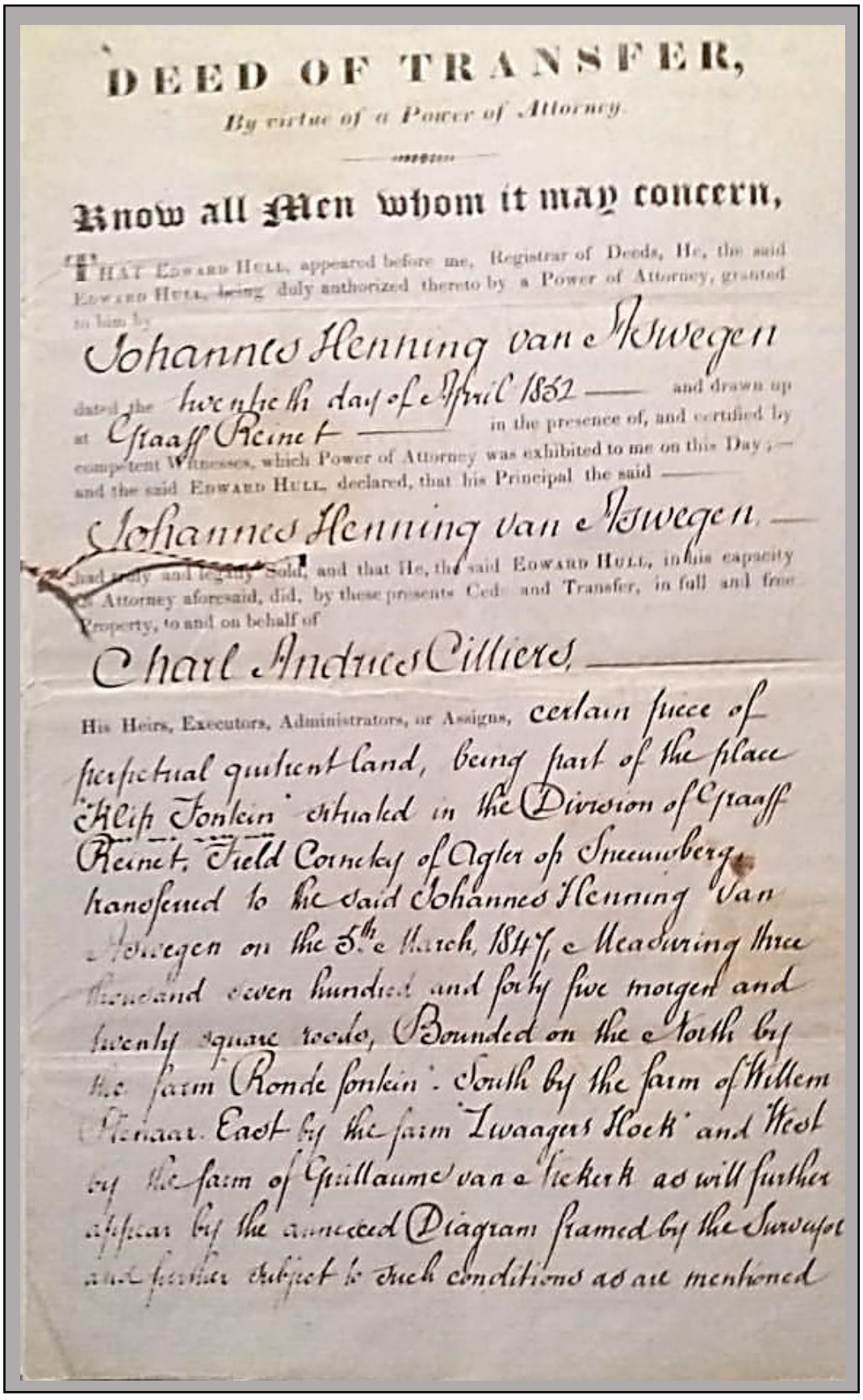
had truly and legally sold, and that He, the said EDWARD HULL, in his capacity as Attorney aforesaid, did, by these presents, Cede and Transfer, in full and free Property, to and on behalf of

Hendrik Vos Senior

His Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, certain piece of perpetual Quitrent land being part of the farm "Klipfontein" situated in the Division of Graaff Reinet, Field Cornetcy of Agter op Sneeuwberg, Measuring Three thousand Seven hundred and forty five morgen and twenty square roods Extending as certain Deed of Transfer with a Diagram thereunto annexed made in favor of the appearers Constituent on the twenty first day of May 1852 will more fully point out and further subject to such conditions as are therein mentioned and referred to

Wherefore

Deed of transfer for Klipfontein from 1830



DEED OF TRANSFER,

By virtue of a Power of Attorney.

Know all Men whom it may concern,

THAT EDWARD HULL, appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, He, the said EDWARD HULL, being duly authorized thereto by a Power of Attorney, granted to him by

Johannes Henning van Aswegen

dated the twentieth day of April 1852 — and drawn up at Graaff Reinet — in the presence of, and certified by competent Witnesses, which Power of Attorney was exhibited to me on this Day;— and the said EDWARD HULL, declared, that his Principal the said —

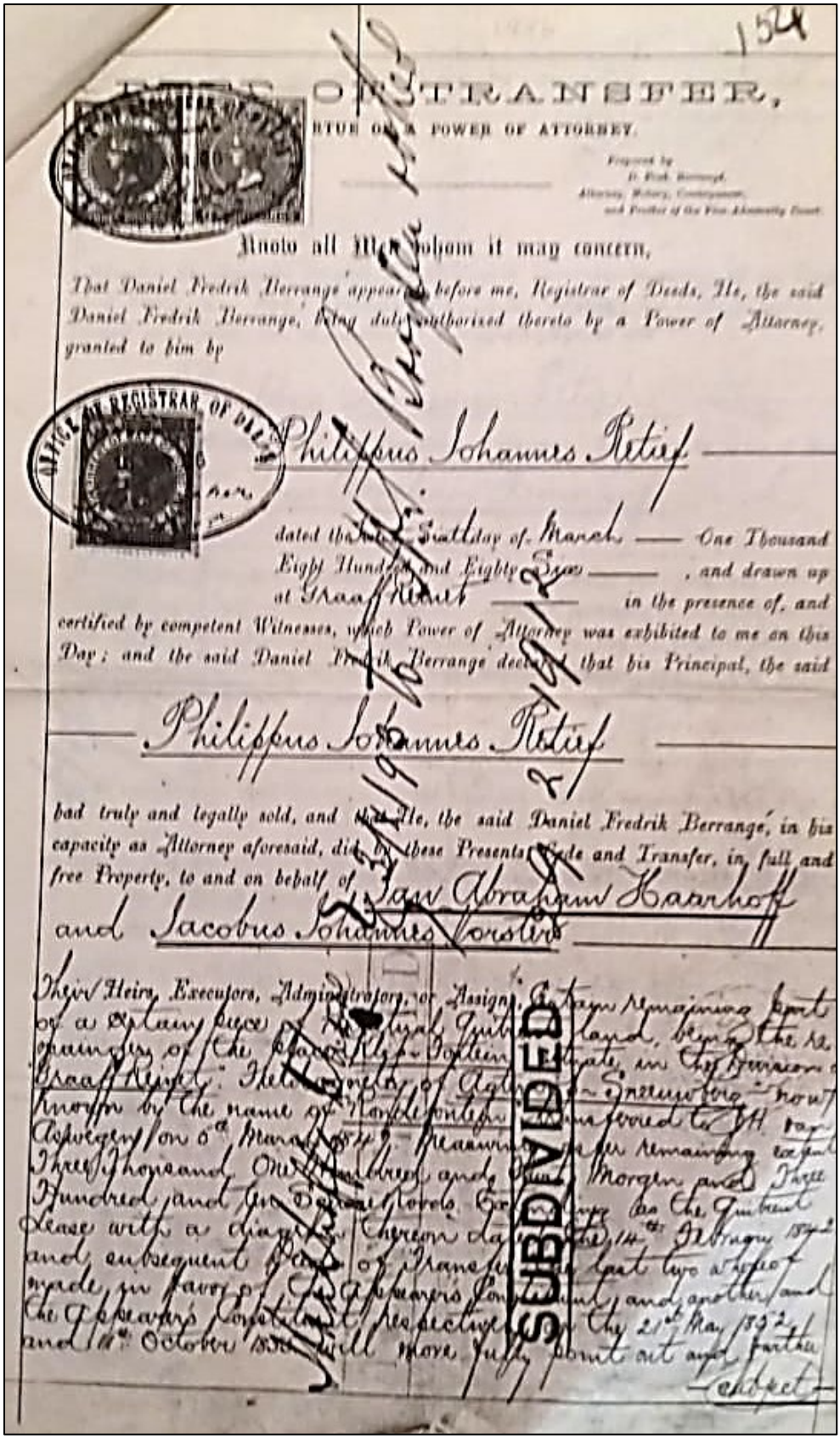
Johannes Henning van Aswegen, —

had truly and legally Sold, and that He, the said EDWARD HULL, in his capacity of Attorney aforesaid, did, by these presents Cede and Transfer, in full and free Property, to and on behalf of

Charl Andries Cilliers, —

His Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, certain piece of perpetual quitrent land, being part of the place "Klip Fontein" situated in the Division of Graaff Reinet, Field Cornetcy of Agter op Sneeuwberg, transferred to the said Johannes Henning van Aswegen on the 5th March, 1847, Measuring three thousand seven hundred and forty five morgen and twenty square roods, Bounded on the North by the farm "Ronde fontein". South by the farm of Willem Plenaar. East by the farm "Zwaagers Hoek" and West by the farm of Guillaume van Niekerk as will further appear by the annexed Diagram framed by the Surveyor and further subject to such conditions as are mentioned

Deed for part of Klipfontein from 1832



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DEED OF TRANSFER,

PURTUE OF A POWER OF ATTORNEY.

Prepared by
D. Fred. Berrange,
Attorney, Notary, Conveyancer,
and Practice of the Vice-Admiralty Court.

Know all Men whom it may concern,

That Daniel Fredrik Berrange appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, He, the said Daniel Fredrik Berrange, being duly authorized thereto by a Power of Attorney, granted to him by

Philippus Johannes Retief

dated the Sixth day of March One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty Six, and drawn up at Graaff Reinet in the presence of, and certified by competent Witnesses, which Power of Attorney was exhibited to me on this Day; and the said Daniel Fredrik Berrange declared that his Principal, the said

Philippus Johannes Retief

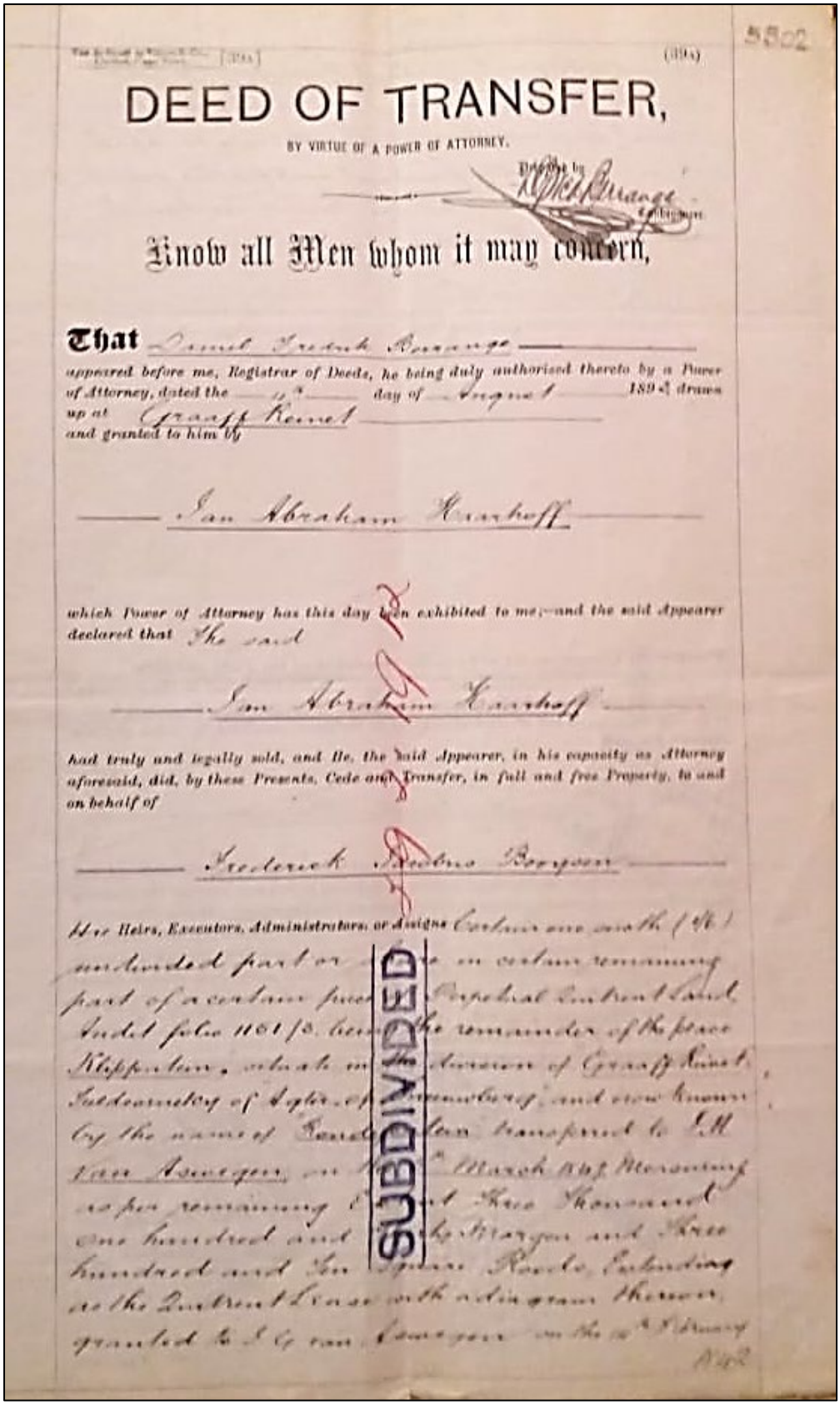
had truly and legally sold, and that He, the said Daniel Fredrik Berrange, in his capacity as Attorney aforesaid, did by these Presents Cede and Transfer, in full and free Property, to and on behalf of Jan Abraham Haarhoff and Jacobus Johannes Vorster

Their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, Certain remaining part of a certain piece of Perpetual Quitrent land, being the remainder of the place Klip-Fontein situate in the Division of Graaff Reinet, Fieldcornetry of Agterkloof-Sneeuwberg, now known by the name of Rondefontein transferred to J.H. van Aswegen on 6th March 1849, measuring as per remaining extent Three Thousand One Hundred and Eight Morgen and Three Hundred and ten Square Roods. Excluding as the Quitrent Lease with a diagram thereon dated the 14th February 1842 and subsequent Deeds of Transfer the last two whereof made in favor of the Appearer's Constituent, and another and the Appearer's Constituent respectively on the 21st May 1852 and 11th October 1853 will more fully point out and further

Chopet

SUBDIVIDED

Deed of transfer for Rondefontein from 1886



5502

(394)

DEED OF TRANSFER,

BY VIRTUE OF A POWER OF ATTORNEY.

Drawn by [signature] Cambridge

Know all Men whom it may concern,

That Daniel Frederik Bourange

appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, he being duly authorised thereto by a Power of Attorney, dated the 11th day of August 1892 drawn up at Graaff Reinet and granted to him by

Jan Abraham Haarhoff

which Power of Attorney has this day been exhibited to me;—and the said Appearer declared that The said

Jan Abraham Haarhoff

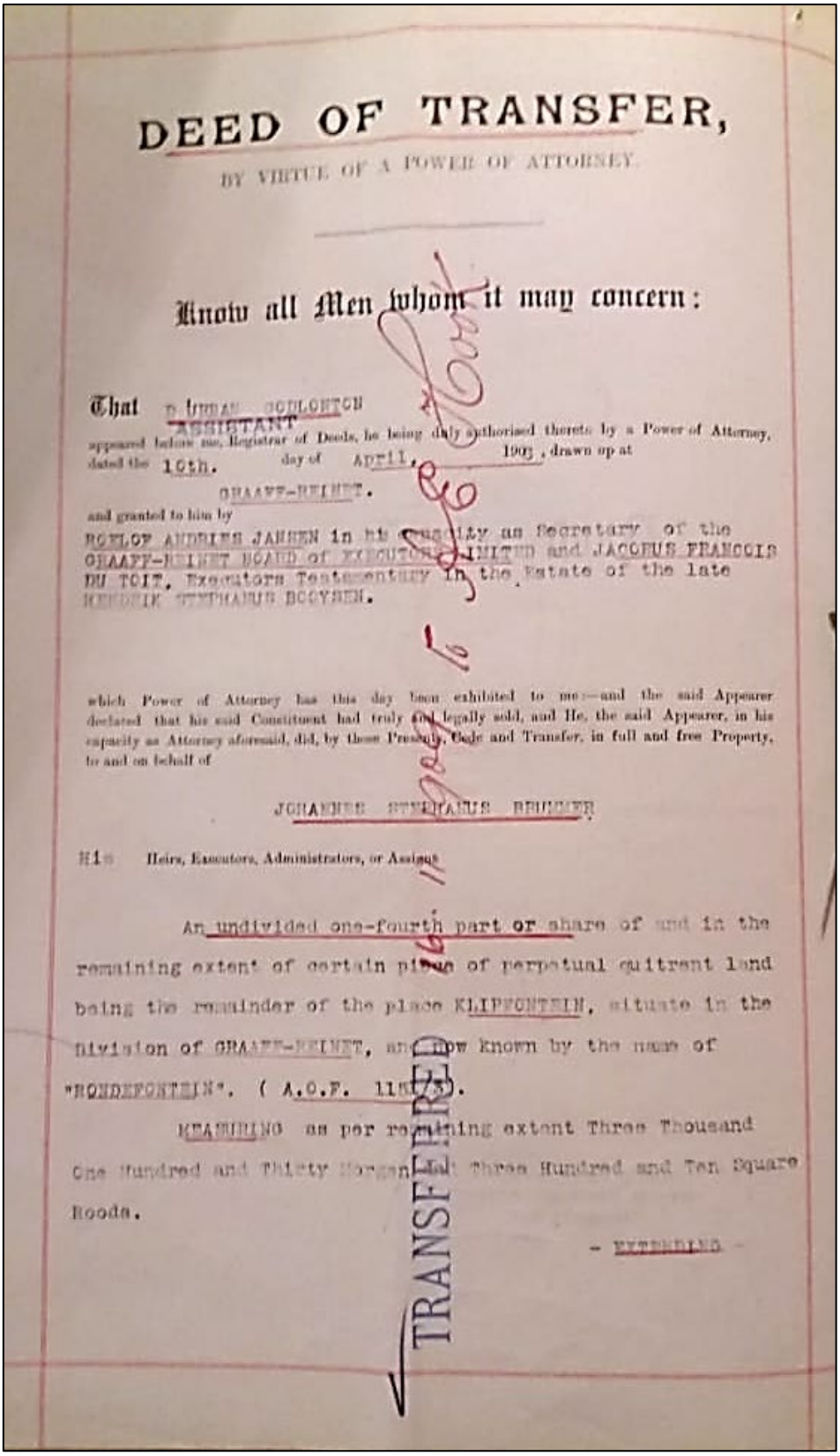
had truly and legally sold, and He, the said Appearer, in his capacity as Attorney aforesaid, did, by these Presents, Cede and Transfer, in full and free Property, to and on behalf of

Frederick Jacobus Booysen

Her Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns Certain one sixth (1/6) undivided part or share in certain remaining part of a certain piece of Perpetual Quitrent Land, Audit folio 1161/3, being the remainder of the place Klippfontein, situate in the division of Graaff Reinet, Fieldcornetcy of Agter-op-Bruinsberg, and now known by the name of Rondefontein transferred to J.M. van Aswegen on the 1st March 1847 Measuring as per remaining Extent Three Thousand One hundred and Sixty Morgen and Three hundred and Ten Square Roods, Extending as the Quitrent Lease with a diagram thereon, granted to J.G. van Aswegen on the 10th February 1842

SUBDIVIDED

Deed of transfer for Rondefontein from 1890



DEED OF TRANSFER,

BY VIRTUE OF A POWER OF ATTORNEY.

Know all Men whom it may concern:

That THOMAS BODLOETCH
ASSISTANT
appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, he being duly authorised thereto by a Power of Attorney, dated the 10th. day of APRIL, 1903, drawn up at
GRAAFF-REINET.
and granted to him by
ROELOF ANDRIES JANSEN in his capacity as Secretary of the GRAAFF-REINET BOARD of EXECUTORS LIMITED and JACOBUS FRANCOIS DU TOIT, Executors Testamentary in the Estate of the late HENDRIK STEPHANUS BOOYSEN.

which Power of Attorney has this day been exhibited to me—and the said Appearer declared that his said Constituent had truly and legally sold, and He, the said Appearer, in his capacity as Attorney aforesaid, did, by these Presents, Cede and Transfer, in full and free Property, to and on behalf of

JOHANNES STEPHANUS BRUINER

His Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns

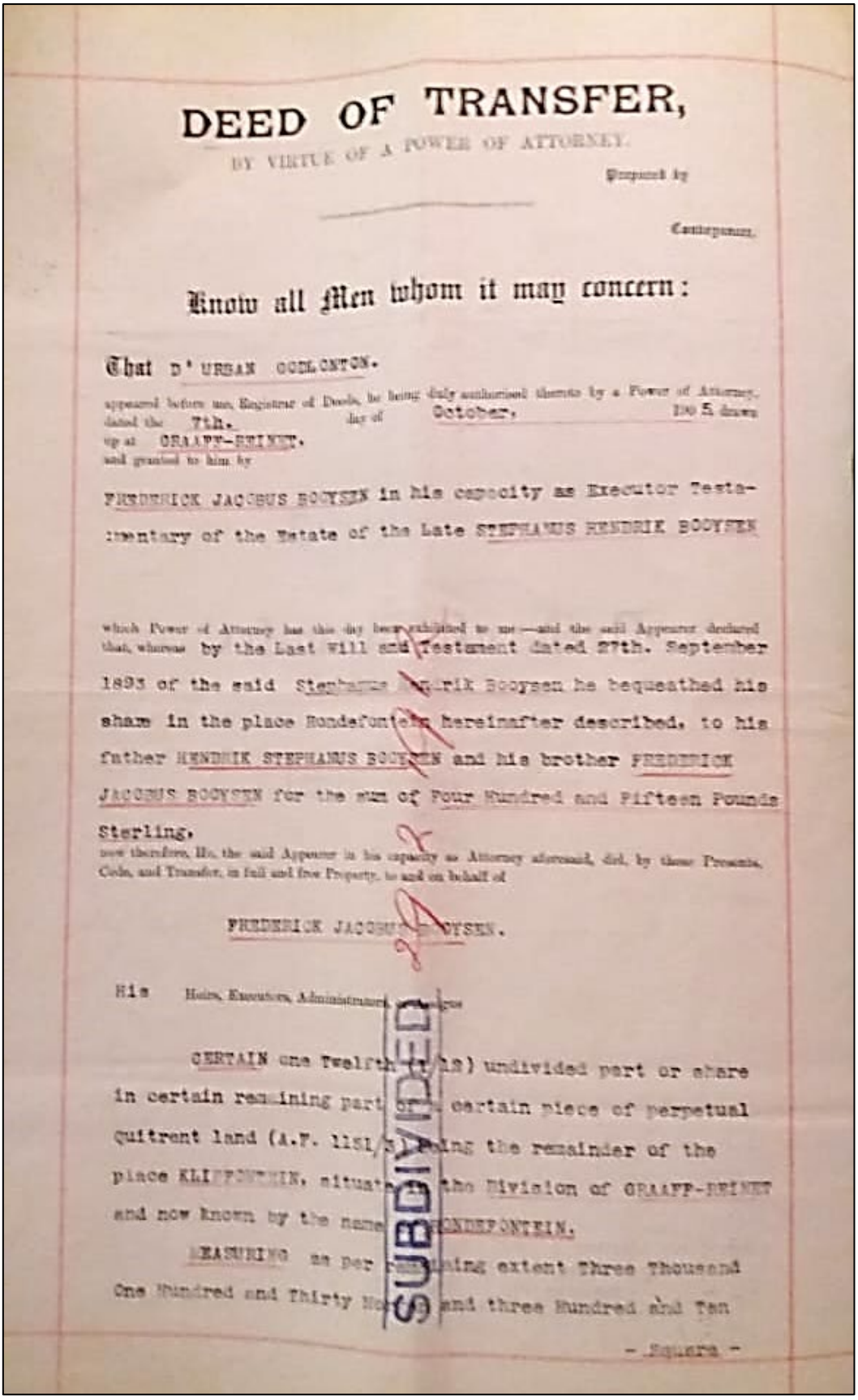
An undivided one-fourth part or share of and in the remaining extent of certain piece of perpetual quitrent land being the remainder of the place KLIPFONTEIN, situate in the division of GRAAFF-REINET, and now known by the name of "RONDEFONTEIN". (A.O.F. 11[illegible]).

MEASURING as per remaining extent Three Thousand One Hundred and Thirty Morgen and Three Hundred and Ten Square Roods.

- EXTENDING -

TRANSFERRED

Deed of transfer for Rondefontein from 1903



DEED OF TRANSFER,

BY VIRTUE OF A POWER OF ATTORNEY.

Prepared by

Conveyancer.

Know all Men whom it may concern:

That D'URBAN COCKCROFT.

appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, he being duly authorised thereto by a Power of Attorney, dated the 7th. day of October, 1905 drawn up at GRAAFF-REINET, and granted to him by

FREDERICK JACOBUS BOOYSEN in his capacity as Executor Testamentary of the Estate of the Late STEPHANUS HENDRIK BOOYSEN

which Power of Attorney has this day been exhibited to me—and the said Appearer declared that, whereas by the Last Will and Testament dated 27th. September 1893 of the said Stephanus Hendrik Booysen he bequeathed his share in the place Rondefontein hereinafter described, to his father HENDRIK STEPHANUS BOOYSEN and his brother FREDERICK JACOBUS BOOYSEN for the sum of Four Hundred and Fifteen Pounds Sterling.

now therefore, He, the said Appearer in his capacity as Attorney aforesaid, did, by these Presents, Cede, and Transfer, in full and free Property, to and on behalf of

FREDERICK JACOBUS BOOYSEN.

His Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns

CERTAIN one Twelfth (1/12) undivided part or share in certain remaining part of a certain piece of perpetual Quitrent land (A.F. 1151/5) being the remainder of the place KLIPFONTEIN, situate in the Division of GRAAFF-REINET and now known by the name of RONDEFONTEIN.

MEASURING as per remaining extent Three Thousand One Hundred and Thirty Morgen and three Hundred and Ten

- Square -

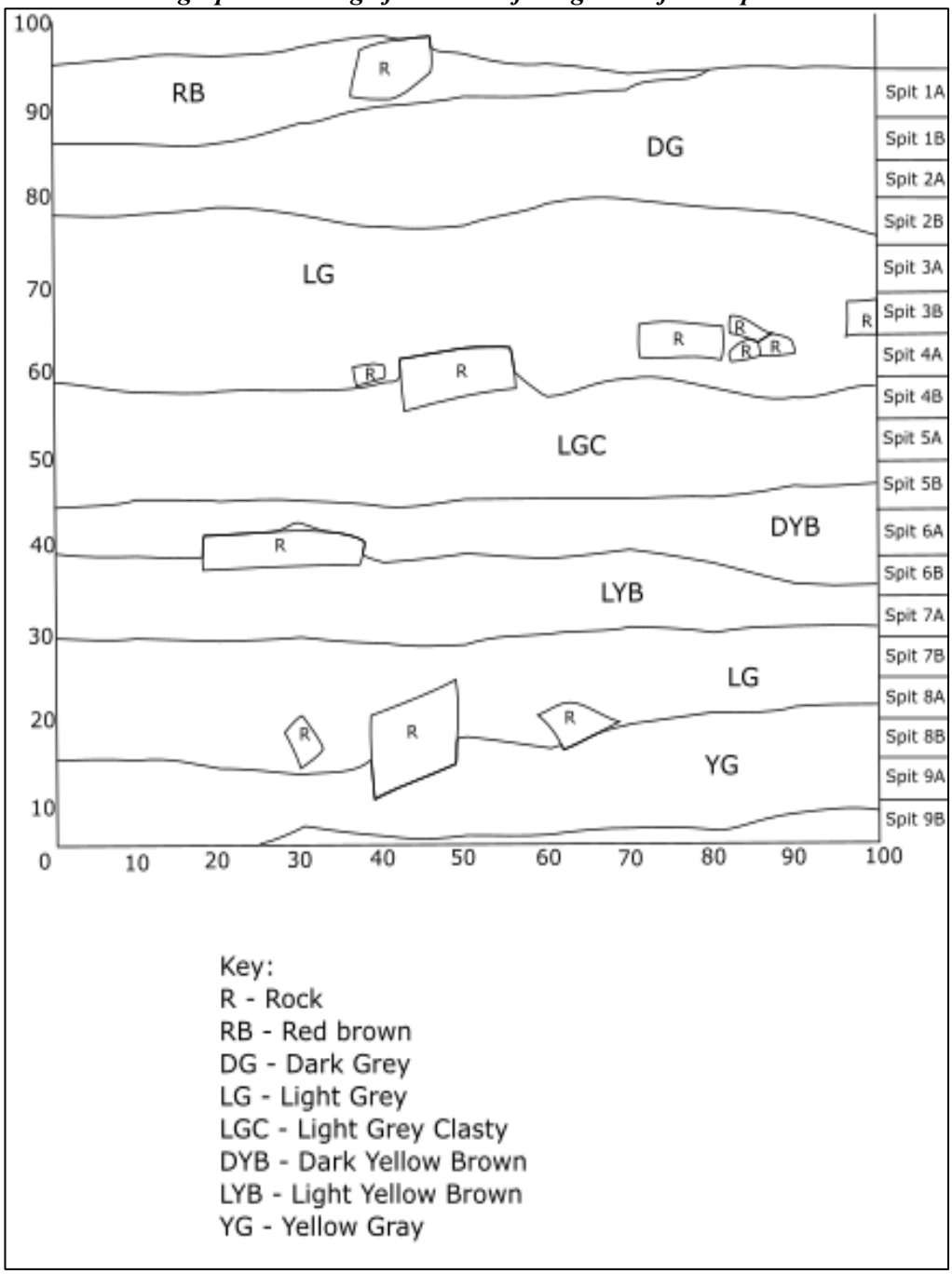
SUBDIVIDED

Deed of transfer for Rondefontein from 1905

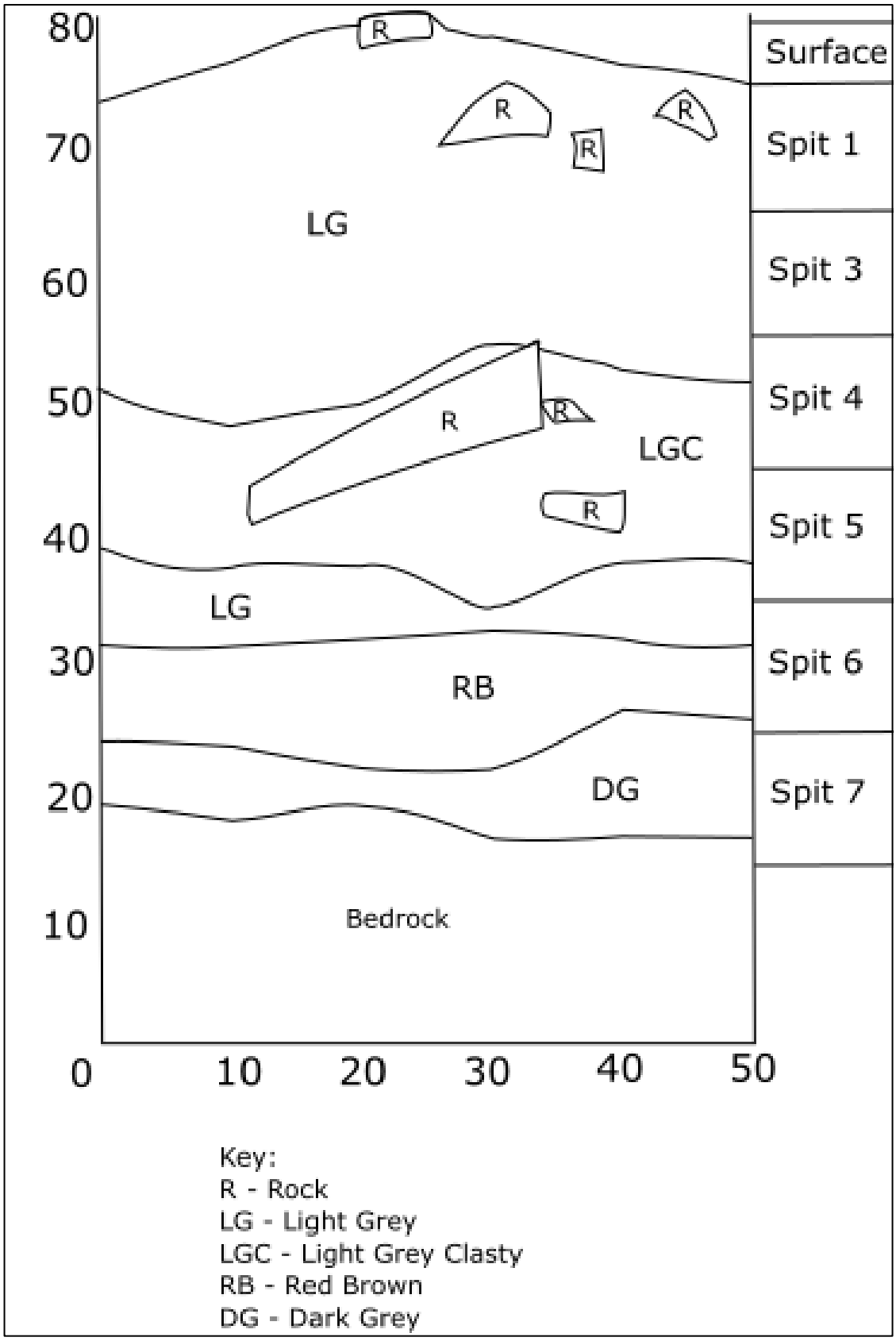
Appendix B. Stratigraphy

B1. Stratigraphy of Groenvlei Square 3

Stratigraphic drawing of the north-facing wall of GV Square 3

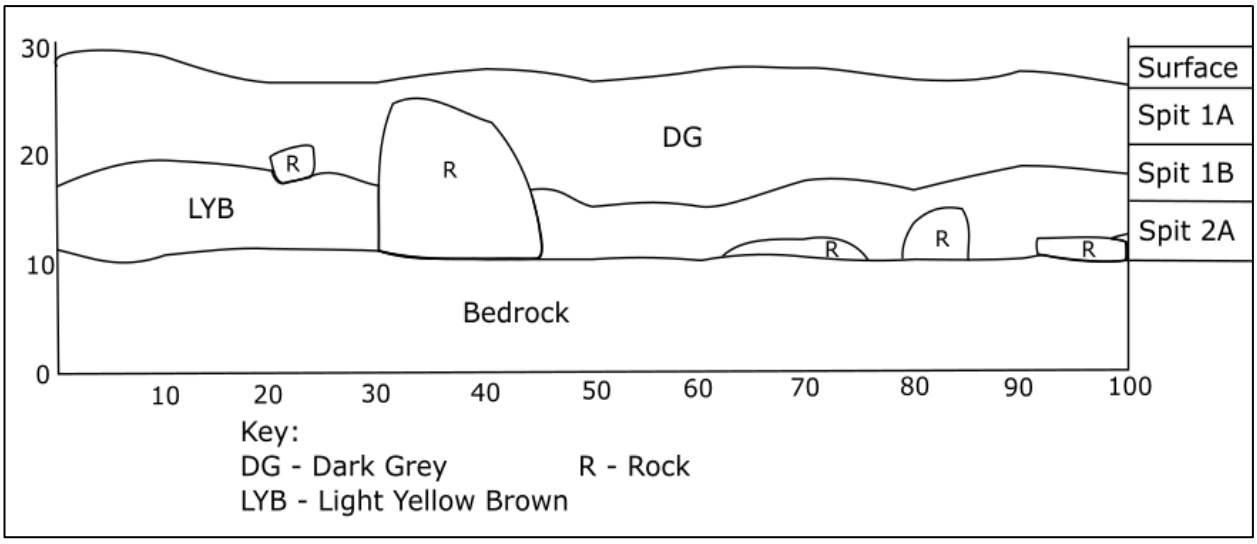


B2. Stratigraphy of Groenvlei Square 4



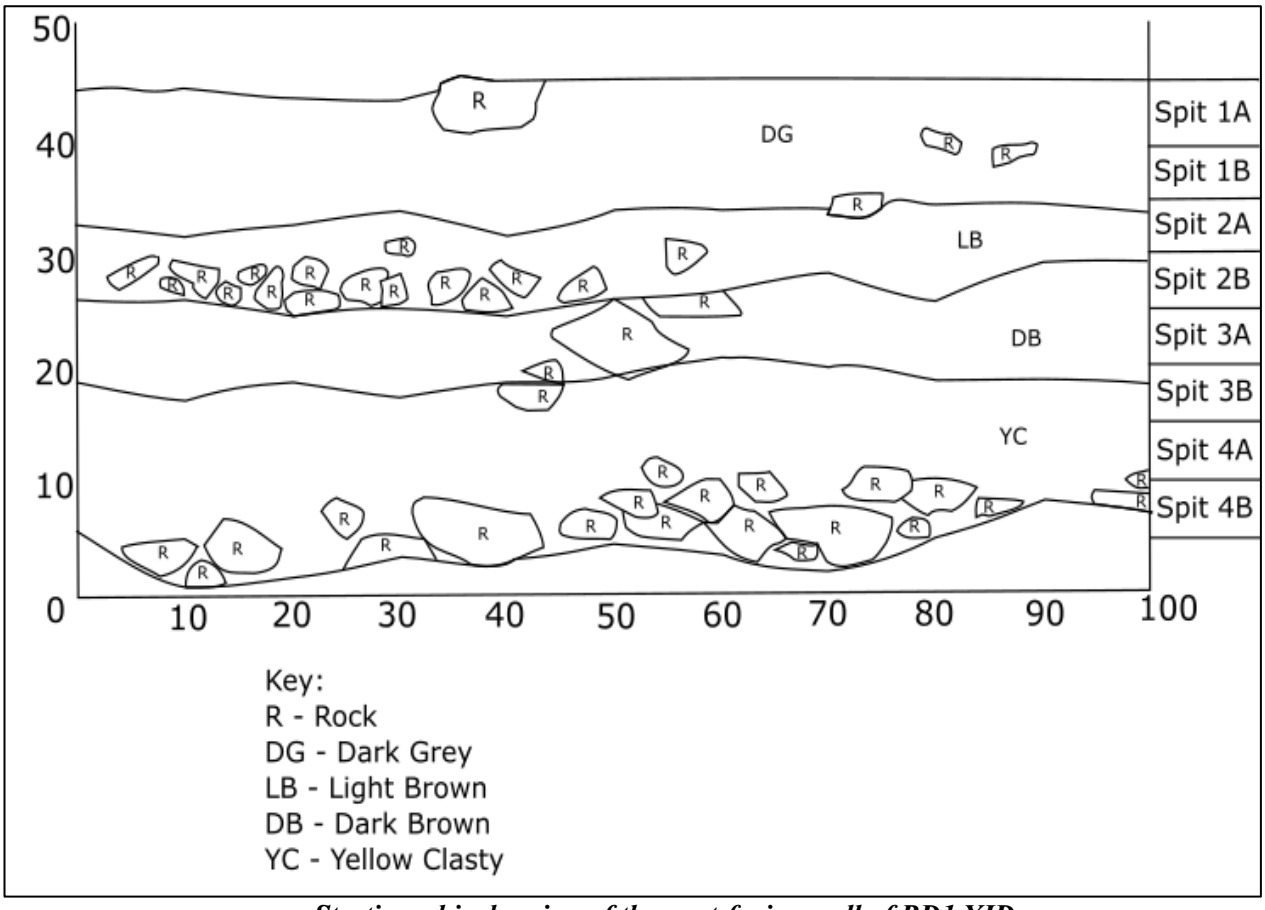
Stratigraphic drawing of the north-facing wall of GV Square 4

B3. Stratigraphy of RD1 RDIXG



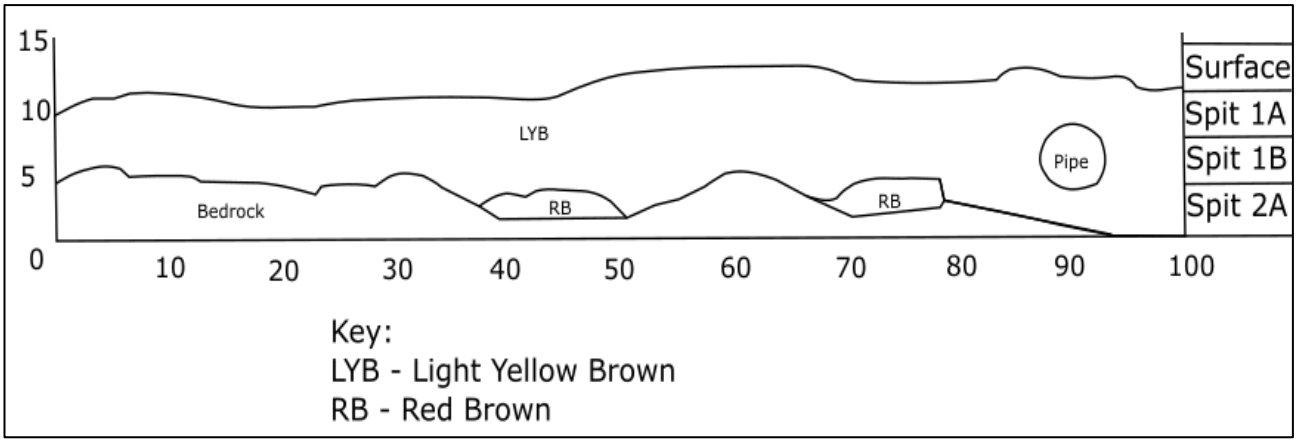
Stratigraphic drawing of the west-facing wall of RD1 IXG

B4. Stratigraphy of RD1 XID



Stratigraphic drawing of the west-facing wall of RD1 XID

B4. Stratigraphy of RD2 7C and 6C



Stratigraphic drawing of the south-facing wall of RD2 7C and 6C

Appendix C. Artefacts from Groenvlei

C1. Metal Artefacts from Groenvlei

Metal artefacts from Groenvlei

Square 3	
Layer	Description
1B RB	4 pieces of thin sheet (steel)
	2 pieces of thick sheet (iron)
2A GB	Thick wire, rounded
	Flat sheet folded over (steel)
	Thick, flattened wire
	Small thick nail (iron)
	15 small pieces of flat metal (steel)
2B DRB	Thick folded sheet (iron)
	2 Thick fragments (iron)
	7 Small fragments (iron)
3A DRB	5 thick, flat sheets (iron)
3B DB	13 Small to medium fragments (iron)
4A DB	8 small fragments (iron)
4B LRB	1 small sheet (steel)
Square 4	
3 GB	Thin nail, possibly a pin or a horseshoe nail
4 GB	.22 Bullet casing
5 RB	Wheel axle (iron)
	Large bracket (iron)
	Flat sheet (steel)
	Thick wire, rounded
	2 pieces of extremely thin wire, rounded
	Broken nail (iron)
	Part of buckle, D-shaped (iron)
	2 pieces of thick, rounded wire
	Flattened nail (steel)
	Very thin piece of wire
6 RB	Thin piece of wire
	3 Fragments (iron)

C2. Building Material from Groenvlei

Building material from Groenvlei

Square 3		
Layer name	Description	Frequency
1B RB	Red brick	18
	Cement	9
2A GB	Red brick	29
2B DRB	Red brick	6
3A DRB	Red brick	6
3B DB	Red brick	29
4A DB	Red brick	18
	Cement	1
4B LRB	Red brick	5
Square 4		
3 GB	Red brick	4
4 GB	Red brick	20
	Cement	7
5 RB	Red brick	22
	Cement	2
6 RB	Red brick	12
	Cement	3
7 LRB	Red brick	12
	Cement	3

C3. Ceramics from Groenvlei

Ceramics from Groenvlei

Square 3							
Layer	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
2A GB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Unidentifiable	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
3B DRB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand-painted bright	Hand-painted line on rim	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
3B DB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Grey
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Grey
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Lined hand-painted	Four thin lines	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Grey
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Pink
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Green

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Grey
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Red dot	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Willow ware	Blue
	Stoneware	English	Grey	Salt glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated		
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Two thin lines	Pink
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Hand painted line	Under glaze	Pink

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Botanical	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
4B LRB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer print	Geometric	Green
7A GY	Porcelain	Asian	White	Glazed	Hand painted and enamelled	Unidentifiable	Blue, green and red

Square 4

Layer	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
2 GB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	None	-	-
3 GB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	None	-	-
4 GB	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
5 RB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Grey
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
6 RB	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-

C4. Glass Artefacts from Groenvlei

Glass artefacts from Groenvlei

Square 3		
Layer name	Colour	Diagnostic features
2A GB	Very dark green	Rim seams
3A DRB	Colourless	Bottle rim intact, separate from the neck, with seams and other diagnostic features
	Black	Some kind of ridge, possibly lip or bottom ridge
	Colourless	Fragment of a bottle rim
	Dark blue	Fragment of a bottle rim
3B DRB	Colourless	Fragments of writing: "B.G." "PORT"
3B DB	Dark green	Possibly incised line
	Colourless	Angular shape, like a hexagonal bottle
	Colourless	Angular shape, like a hexagonal bottle
	Colourless	Possible rim and some kind of shape stands out
	Colourless	Rim piece
	Colourless	Angular shape, like a hexagonal bottle
	Colourless	Embossed letter "L"
	Colourless with pink tinge	Rim
4A DB	Dark green	Quite narrow neck, seam on neck and on rim, rim attachment, full rim
	Colourless with blue tinge	Angular bottle shape

4B LRB	Black	Rim attachment to neck
5B DYB	Dark green	Angular shape
Square 4		
Layer name	Colour	Diagnostic features
4 GB	Dark green	Neck and rim with faint seams on neck
	Light green	Neck and rim with faint seams on neck
5 RB	Colourless	None
	Colourless	None
	Colourless	None
	Colourless	None
	Colourless	None
	Colourless	None
	Colourless	None
	Light green	"2" with a strange marking over the top, other marking is unidentifiable

C5. Faunal Remains from Groenvlei

Faunal remains from Groenvlei (MNI)

GV Square 3											
	Ovis aries	*Bos taurus*	*Equus asinus*	*Erethizon dorsatum*	*Sylvicapra grimmia*	*Antidorcas marsupialis*	*Potamonautes sidneyi*	Size class 1 bovid	Size class 3 bovid	Rodent	Bird - small size
2A GB	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
2B DRB	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
3B DRB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3B DB	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4A DB	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
4B LRB	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
5A RB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5B DYB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
6A LG	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
6B LG	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-

	Ovis aries	*Bos taurus*	*Equus asinus*	*Erethizon dorsatum*	*Sylvicapra grimmia*	*Antidorcas marsupialis*	*Potamonautes sidneyi*	Size class 1 bovid	Size class 3 bovid	Rodent	Bird - small size
7A + 7B GY	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
8A GY	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
8A RB	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8B RB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	*16*	*6*	*1*	-	-	-	*1*	*9*	*1*	*3*	*2*
GV Square 4											
2 GB	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
3 GB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 GB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
5 RB	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
6 RB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
7 LRB	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
8 LRB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total	*7*	-	-	-	-	-	*1*	*6*	-	*1*	-

C6. Ostrich Eggshell Fragments from Groenvlei

Ostrich eggshell fragments from Groenvlei

Square 3		
Layer name	Burned (g)	Unburned (g)
3B DB	-	4
4B LRB	-	2
6B LRB	-	1
8A RB	-	2
Total	-	9
Square 4		
Layer name	Burned (g)	Unburned (g)
4 GB	-	3

Appendix D. Artefacts from Rondefontein

D1. Metal Artefacts from Rondefontein

Metal artefacts from Rondefontein

RD IXG	
1A BG	Very thin, flat, folded sheet (steel)
	Flat sheet (iron)
1B GB	5 Pieces of wire
	6 Sheets (steel)
	35 fragments (iron)
2A GB	Large section of barbed wire
	Long section of rounded wire
	Nail (iron)
	9 Fragments (iron)
2A Be	2 Pipe fragments
	Flat circular sheet (iron)
2B Be	Rounded, thick section of wire
RD XID	
Surface	9 fragments (iron)
1A DG	2 Sections of rounded wire
	Small section of angular wire
	2 Nails (iron)
	Small section of wire
	2 small fragments (iron)
1B DB	Clothing hook
	Small copper object, decorative
2A DB	Small section of rounded wire
	15 thick fragments (iron)
2B Sa	2 large fragments (iron)
	Clothing hook
	Rivet (steel)
	Flat circular fragment (steel)
	Very thin sheet (steel)
	5 thick fragments (iron)
	3 iron nails
	10 small fragments (iron)
3A LYB	Nail (iron)
	Thin, rounded section of wire

	Thick fragment
	4 thick fragments
3B DYB	Very small thimble
	Thick, angular section of barbed wire
	4 thin, rounded sections of wire
	Nail (iron)
	8 thick fragments (iron)
4A YB	Strangely shaped fragment, possible attachment of some kind
RD2 5D	
Surface	Smooth rounded wire
1A LYB	Iron flake <5cm
1B LYB	Clothing fastener
	Partial horse shoe
	Iron nail
	Steel nail
2A RB	Iron screw
RD2 6C	
1A LYB	Thin steel pin
	“Female” half of steel press stud
	Rounded smooth wire
	Iron nail
	2 clothing fasteners
	2 steel nails
1B LYB	5 iron flakes <5cm
2B RB	Iron fishing hook

RD2 7C	
Surface	Bent steel rod, saw marks on one end
1A LYB	Folded steel sheet
	Clothing fastener
	“Female” half of press stud
	2 sections of barbed wire
	2 steel nails
	Steel bolt
	Iron door hinge
	Watch face
2A RB	Button
	Steel pin

D2. Ceramic Artefacts from Rondefontein

Ceramic artefacts from Rondefontein

RD IXG							
Layer	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
1B GB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Green
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Enamelled	Unidentifiable	Black
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Line and band	Brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
2A GB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Botanical	Blue

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Lines	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted harsh	Unidentifiable	Black and green
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated		
2A Be	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
2B Sa	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted and stamped	Flowers and dots	Purple and blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Very wide band and two narrow lines	Blue and brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif and botanical	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Stamped	Unidentifiable	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Black

Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Narrow band and wide band	Brown and blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Narrow line and broad band	Black and blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Narrow line and broad band	Black and blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Green
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Unidentifiable	Blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Green
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Red
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted and stamped	Two lines and flowers	Green and pink
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Pink
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Black

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Orange and black

RD XID							
Layer	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
1A DG	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Transfer printed and gilded	Unidentifiable	Brown and orange
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Transfer printed and gilded	Unidentifiable	Brown and orange
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	4 brown lines, blue band	Brown and blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Blue

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	3 lines	Brown
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Sponged and hand painted	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Two lines	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Blue wash	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Green and pink
1B DB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Blue wide band, 4 thin brown bands	Blue and brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	Stoneware	English	Buff	Salt glaze	Rouletted line	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Green

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	Stoneware	English	Buff	Liquid glaze	None	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Blue wash	-	Blue
	Porcelain	English	White and grey	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	One thin blue band, one thin brown band	Blue and brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Pink
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Sponged and hand painted	Flowers and dots	Purple and blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Geometric motif	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	Yellow	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Brown bands	Brown
	Porcelain	English	White	Unglazed	Enamelled	Unidentifiable	Brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Black
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	3 thin bands, one wide band	Brown and blue
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Unidentifiable	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Thin band underneath wide band	Pink and green

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Light blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted and stamped	Geometric motif	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Botanical	Dark green
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Light blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
2A DB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Geometric motif and band	Green and red
	Porcelain	Asian	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Bands	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Jar on one side, "Foliage" in a cloud on other side	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Stoneware	English	Grey	Salt glaze	Undecorated	-	-

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Lines	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Pink
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Green
3A LYB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Blue
	Stoneware	English commercial	Buff	Salt glaze	Incised writing	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed and hand painted	Unidentifiable	Green and red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Two thin bands	Light blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Alesbury blue	Two lines	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Narrow band	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Geometric motif	Black and green
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Green
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Geometric motif	Green
3B DYB	Stoneware	English commercial	Grey	Salt glaze	Brown dipped	-	Brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	Stoneware	English commercial	White	Liquid glaze	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	Stoneware	English commercial	Grey	Salt glaze	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Botanical	Blue
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	Grey and white	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Unidentifiable	Black and green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Wheat	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Wide band	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Geometric motif	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Geometric motif	Orange and black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Purple

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed and painted	Geometric motif	Orange and black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	Porcelain	English	White	Glazed	Lined moulding	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	English	Grey and white	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Two narrow bands, one wide band	Brown and blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Aylesbury blue	Two narrow bands, one wide band	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Purple
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue

	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Aylesbury blue	Two narrow bands	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
4A YB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	Lines	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Narrow line	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Line on rim	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printing	Willow ware	Blue

Rondefontein 2							
Layer Name	Ware	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour
1A LYB	Porcelain	Asian	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Two lines	Blue
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	RCB	Red	Glazed	Lustre	-	Silver
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Grey-green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Blue band	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	RCB - 'teapot' ware	Brown	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Flow blue	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Sponged and hand painted	Two flowers and four coloured bands	Red, yellow and caramel
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright	Two lines	Red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Aylesbury pink	-	Pink

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted bright and sponged	Painted line on rim, painted leaves, sponged flowers	Red, blue and green
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Cabling	White and brown on blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Green
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Botanical	Pink
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Transfer printed and gilded	-	-

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Sponged	-	Blue
	Porcelain	European - gold and white	White	Glazed	Gilding	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Lines	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Lines	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Wide band	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Lines	Blue
	Porcelain	European - gold and white	White	Glazed	Gilding	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Narrow band	Dark brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Green
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Black
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Line	Yellow

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undiagnostic blue smudge	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
1B LYB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	-	Blue and brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Hand painted	Line	Red
	Stoneware	English	Grey	Liquid glaze	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Pink
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Blue band	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Sponged	-	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Sponged and hand painted	-	Blue and red
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Maybe willow ware	Blue
2A RB	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Willow ware	Blue
	Stoneware	European	Buff	Liquid glaze	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Maybe willow ware	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	Porcelain	European	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Brown band	Brown
	Porcelain	Asian	White	Glazed	Enamelled with hand painting	Unidentifiable	Green, yellow and brown

	Variety	Paste	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Pattern or motif	Colour	Ware
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Transfer printed	Unidentifiable	Blue
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Two thin bands	Brown
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undecorated	-	-
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Industrial slipware	Black band	Black
	RIW	WW	White	Glazed	Undiagnostic blue smudge	-	-

D3. Glass Artefacts from Rondefontein

Glass artefacts from Rondefontein

RD IXG		
Layer name	Colour	Diagnostic features
1A BG	Light brown	Top of bottle, screw top, thin metal band, mould seams on both sides
	Light brown	Section of bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern, "O ES"
	Light brown	"B" possibly partial "A"
	Light brown	bumpy pattern, "INRUIL"
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern, "NTS", "D GE"
	Light brown	bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
1B GB	Colourless	Bottom of bottle, seam visible on side and ridges on bottom
	Dark brown	Letters "TH A" possible partial E
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern and "WER"
	Light brown	Bottom of bottle
	Colourless	Top of bottle, no seams
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
2A GB	Light pink/purple	Rim
	Light brown	Possibly bottom of a bottle

	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern, "AN"
2A Be	Light brown	Possibly bottom of bottle, bumpy pattern, "EBROU" possibly but mostly illegible
	Light brown	Top of bottle, possible seam
	Colourless	Possible fragment of ridge

RD XID		
Layer name	Colour	Diagnostic features
1A DG	Colourless	Multi-sided angular
	Colourless	2 partial letters
	Colourless	Ridge in centre
	Light brown	Slight bumps
1B DB	Colourless	Ridge in centre, glass wavy
	Dark green on inside but covered with strange blue/grey coating	Aforementioned coating, white when in contact with glass
2A DB	Colourless	Possible seam and ridge
	Dark green with bluey grey outer coating	Outer and inner coating
	Light brown	"ABLE"
	Light green	"NA" and another partial letter
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern, "TS", "GE"
2B Sa	Colourless	Bottle neck, attachment to body and lip

	Aquamarine	Square or rectangular shape
	Aquamarine	Square or rectangular shape
	Dark brown with white and grey coating	Strange coating on outside of glass
	Colourless	2 raised bumps, raised ridges almost in diamond like pattern
	Colourless	Rim piece
3A LYB	Dark brown	Lip attachment, possible visible seam
	Light brown	Bumpy pattern, thicker area under pattern
3B DYB	Aquamarine	None
	Aquamarine	None
	Colourless	Multi-sided angular shape
	Aquamarine	Small ridge on one corner
	Colourless	Small ridge on one end
	Colourless	Ridge on one end
	Colourless	Lines on inside on one end
	Colourless	Ridges on one side
	Colourless	Attachment to lip
	Colourless	Two incised lines
	Colourless	Ridge, possibly lip
	Colourless	Possible lip
	Colourless	Multi-sided angular shape
4A YB	Dark brown	None
	Colourless	None

RD2 5D		
Layer name	Colour	Diagnostic features
1B LYB	Aquamarine	Neck with no seams
	Light green	Bottom of vessel with deep indentation
	Amber	None
	Aquamarine	None
RD2 6C		
1A LYB	Aquamarine	Double ring finish
	Amber	None
	Colourless	None
	Colourless	Moulded rim
1B LYB	Colourless	Raised diamond pattern
	Medium cobalt blue	Moulded rim
1B RB	Colourless	None
RD 2 7C		
1A LYB	Dark green	Wine bottle fragment
	Aquamarine	Seam at lip attachment to neck
	Colourless	None
2A RB	Dark brown	None
	Dark green	Wine bottle fragment
	Colourless	None

D4. Building Material from Rondefontein

Building Material from Rondefontein

RD IXG		
Layer name	Description	Frequency
Surface	Red brick	4
	Cement	7
1A BG	Red brick	1
	Cement	26
1B GB	Red brick	1
	Cement	31
2A GB	Red brick	1
	Cement	3
2A Be	Red brick	1
	Cement	6
2B Be	Red brick	1
	Cement	4

RD XID		
Layer name	Description	Frequency
Surface	Red brick	3
	Cement	1
1A DG	Red brick	3
	Cement	1
1B DB	Red brick	18
	Cement	1
2A DB	Red brick	7
2B Sa	Red brick	14
	Cement	1
3A LYB	Red brick	12
3B DYB	Red brick	7
	Cement	3
4A YB	Red brick	2
Rondefontein 2		
Surface	Red brick	12
1A LYB	Red brick	27
	Cement	3
1B LYB	Red brick	14
	Cement	4
1B RB	Red brick	3
2A RB	Red brick	7

D4. Faunal Remains from Rondefontein

Faunal Remains from Rondefontein (MNI)

	Ovis aries	*Bos taurus*	*Equus asinus*	*Erethizon dorsatum*	*Sylvicapra grimmia*	*Antidorcas marsupialis*	*Potamonautes sidneyi*	Size class 1 bovid	Size class 3 bovid	Rodent	Bird - small size
RD IXG											
1A BG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
2A GB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2A BE	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2B BE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total	*2*	*1*	-	*1*	-	-	-	*1*	*1*	*1*	-
RD1 XID											
1A DG	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-
1B DB	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-
2A DB	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	-
2B Sa	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
3A LYB	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
3B DYB	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

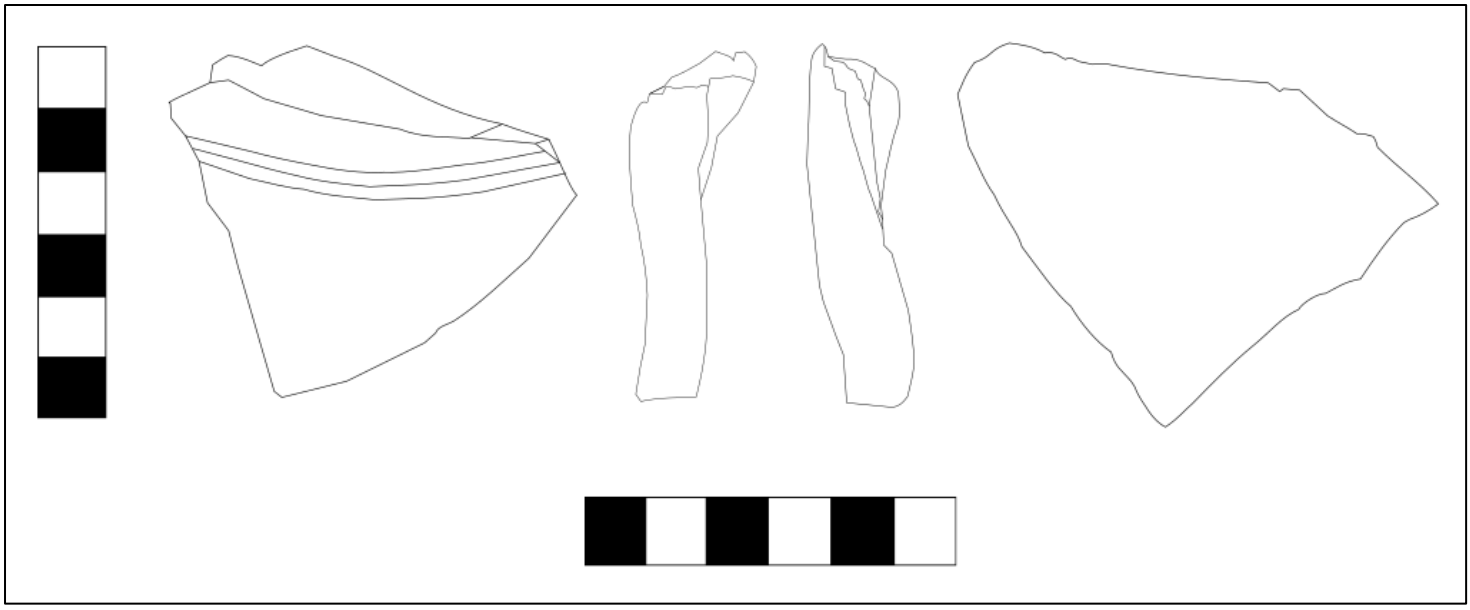
	Ovis aries	*Bos taurus*	*Equus asinus*	*Erethizon dorsatum*	*Sylvicapra grimmia*	*Antidorcas marsupialis*	*Potamonautes sidneyi*	Size class 1 bovid	Size class 3 bovid	Rodent	Bird - small size
4A YB	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
Total	*13*	*4*	-	-	*1*	*1*	-	*17*	*6*	*1*	-
RD2 5D											
1A LYB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2A RB	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	*1*	*1*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RD2 7C											
1A LYB	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1B LYB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
2A RB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Total	*4*	*1*	-	-	-	-	-	*2*	-	-	*2*
RD2 6C											
1A LYB	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
1B LYB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2A RB	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total	*4*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*2*	-	-	-

D5. Ostrich Eggshell Fragments from Rondefontein

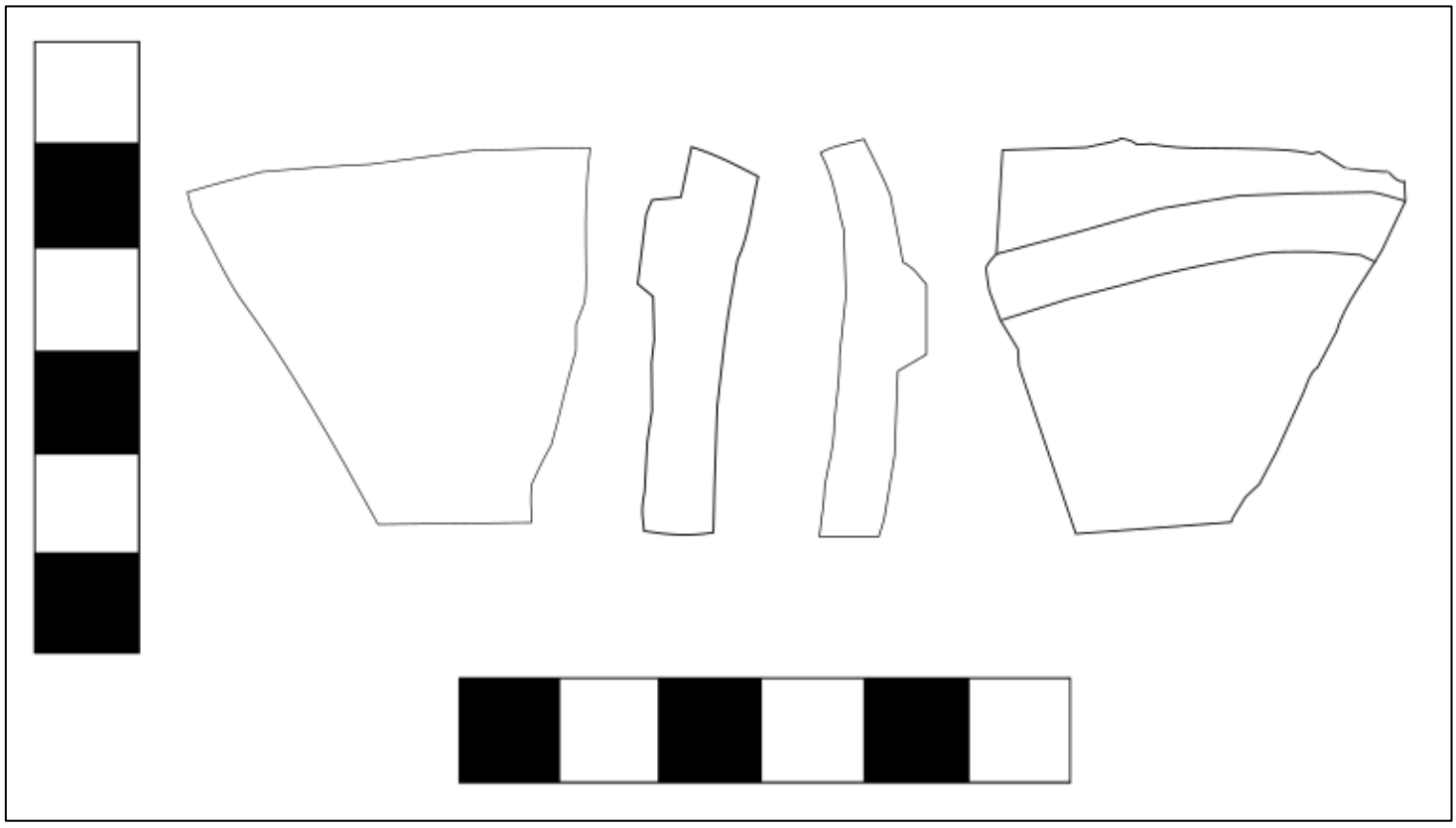
Ostrich eggshell fragments from Rondefontein

RD IXG		
Layer name	Burned (g)	Unburned (g)
Surface	1	1
1A BG	-	16
1B GB	-	42
2A Be	-	2
2B Be	-	1
Total	1	62
RD XID		
Surface	1	9
1A DG	-	1
1B DB	-	28
2A DB	1	10
2B Sa	1	40
3A Dark lens	1	-
3A LYB	-	7
3B DYB	-	9
4A YB	1	1
Total	5	106
RD2 5D		
1B LYB	-	1
RD2 6C		
1A LYB	-	1
RD2 7C		
1A LYB	-	5
1B LYB	-	1
2A RB	-	4
Total	-	10

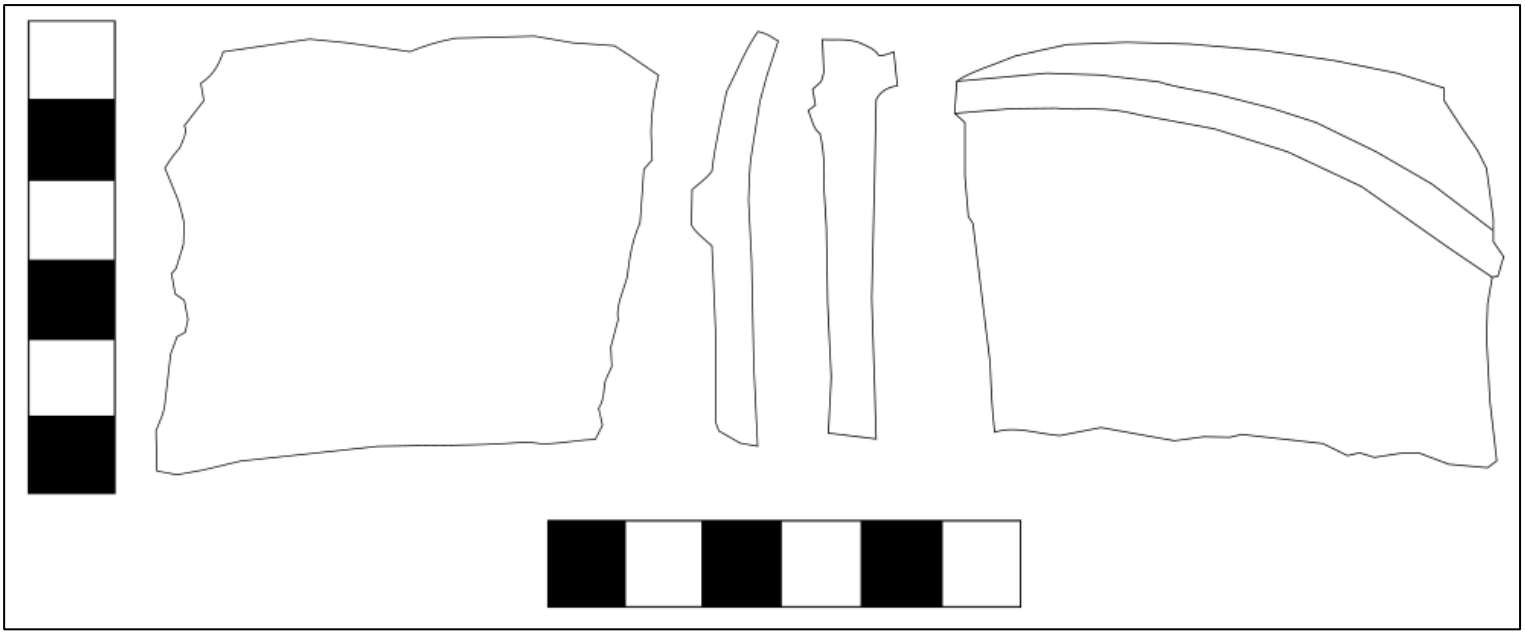
Appendix E. Drawings of representative ceramic sherds from Groenvlei and Rondefontein



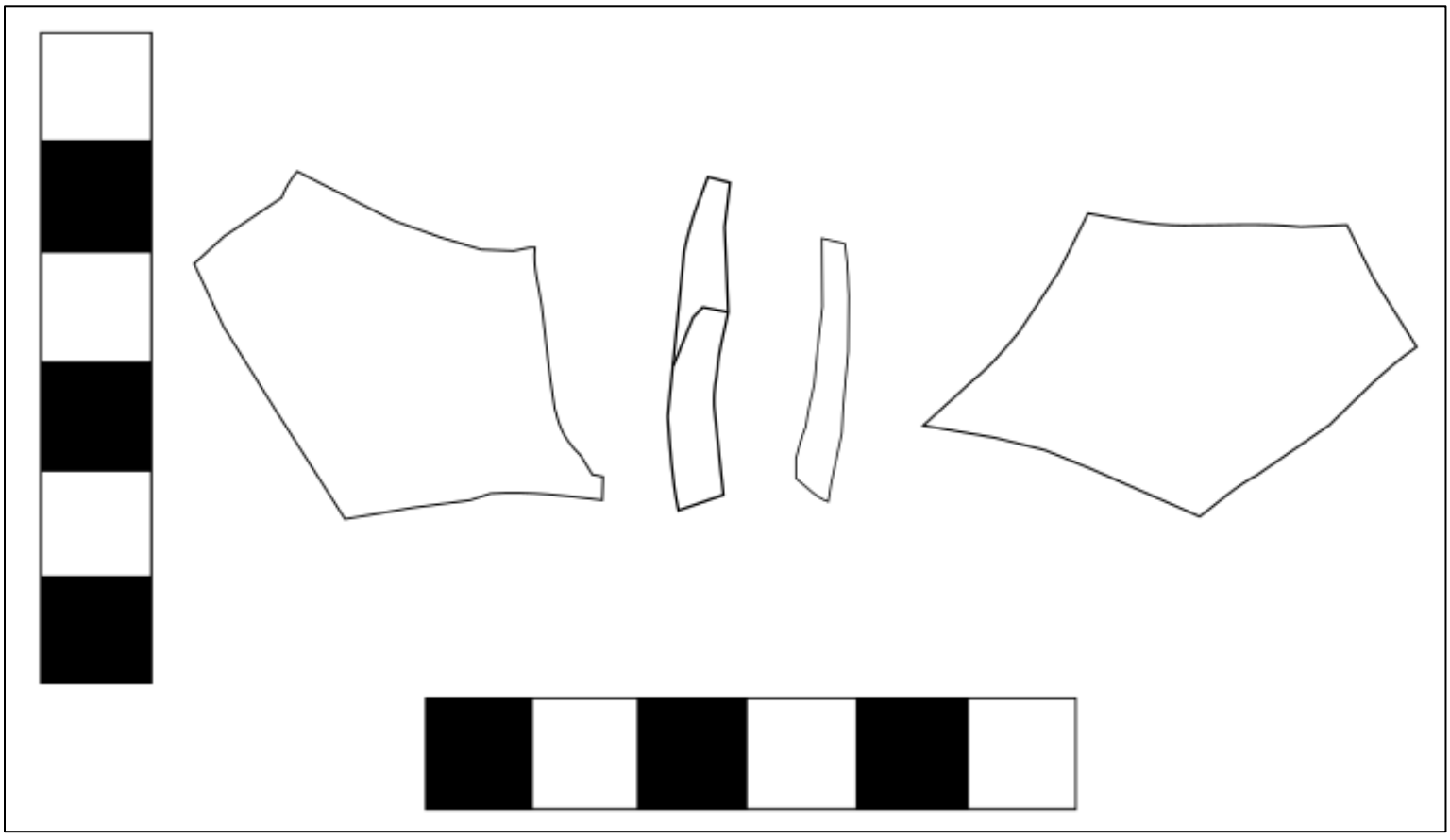
Stoneware sherd from RD XID



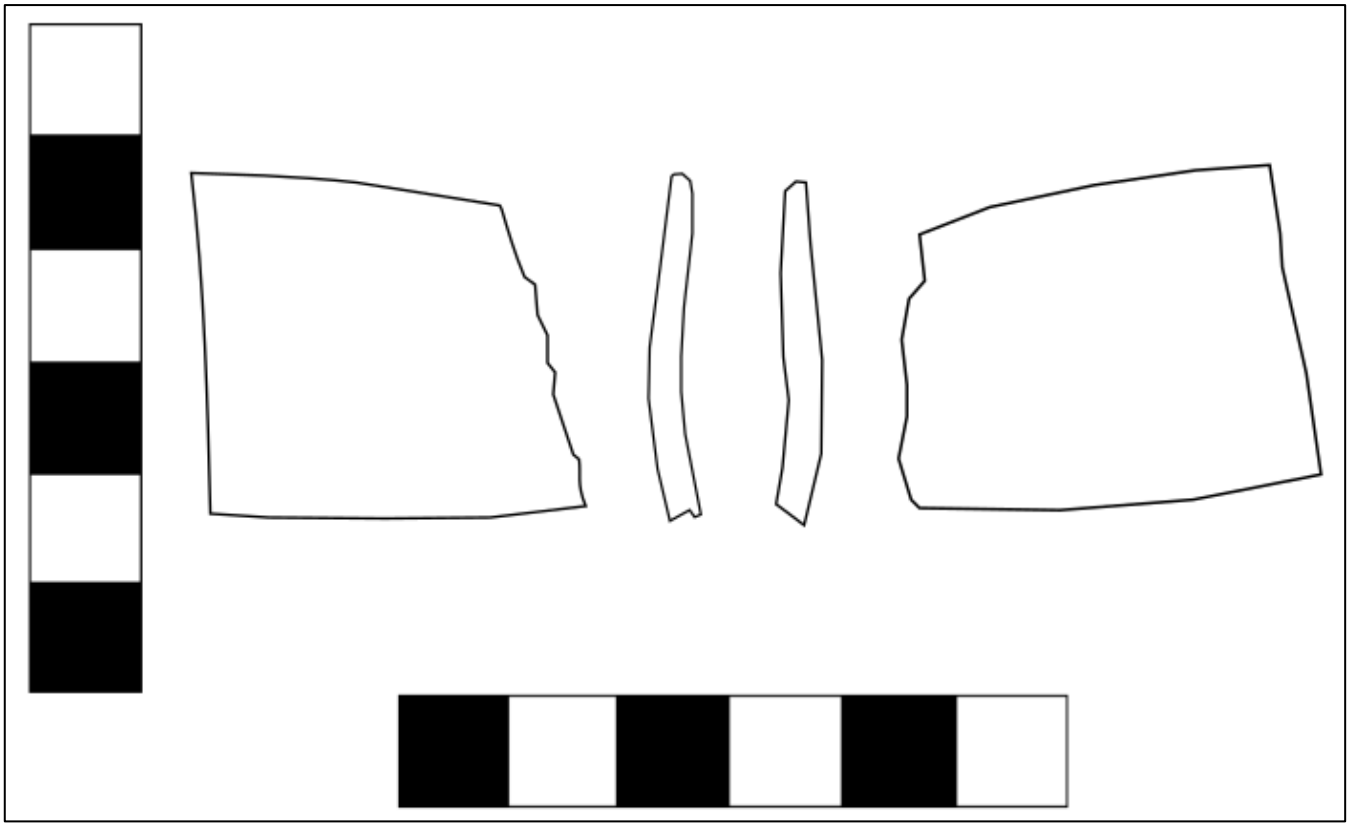
Refined earthenware sherd from RD XID



Refined earthenware plate base from RD XID



Sherd of Asian porcelain from GV 3



Sherd of European porcelain from RD IXG